

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

**VOLUME 18—RUSSIAN EXPEDITIONS,
1808-1827**

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

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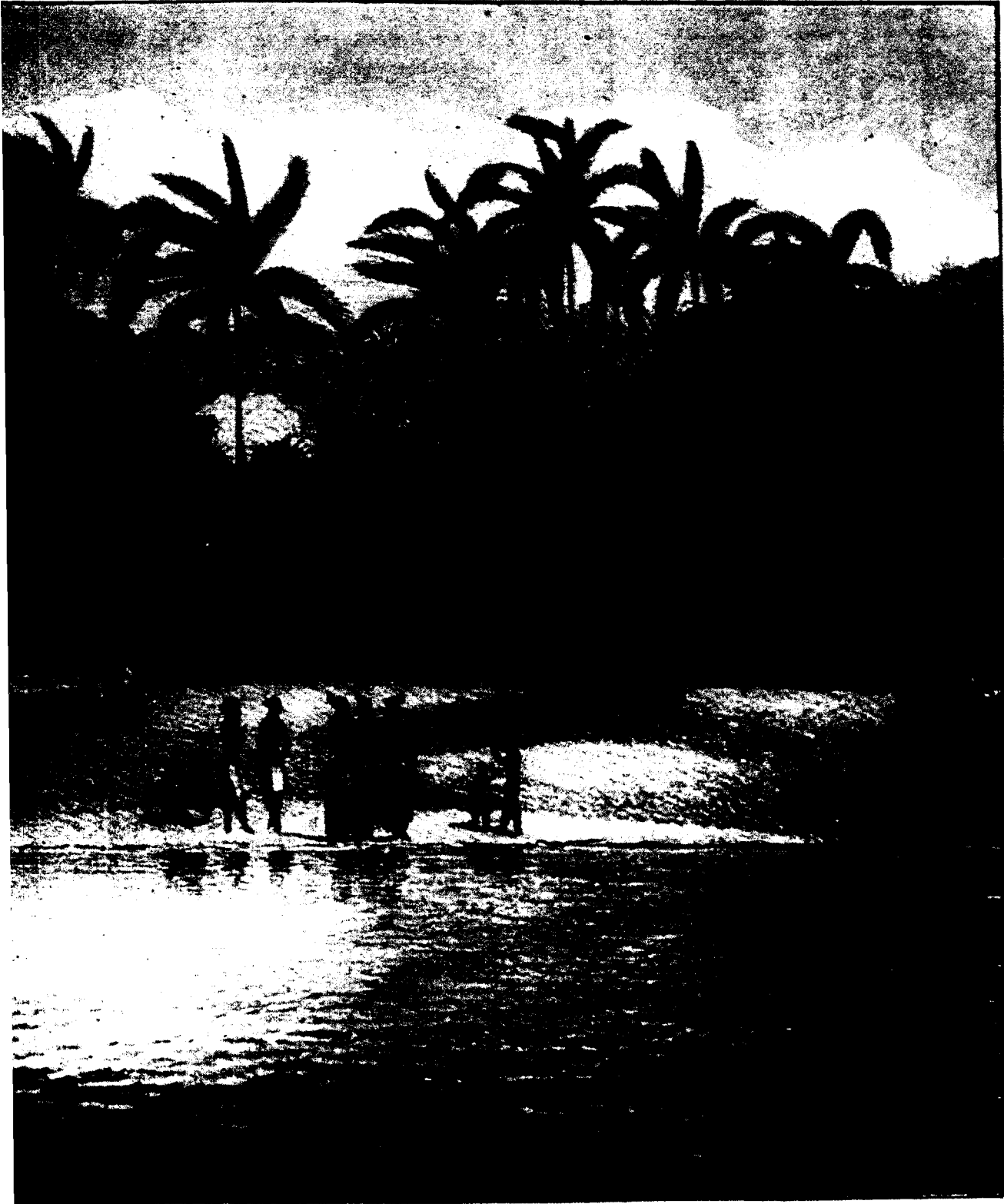
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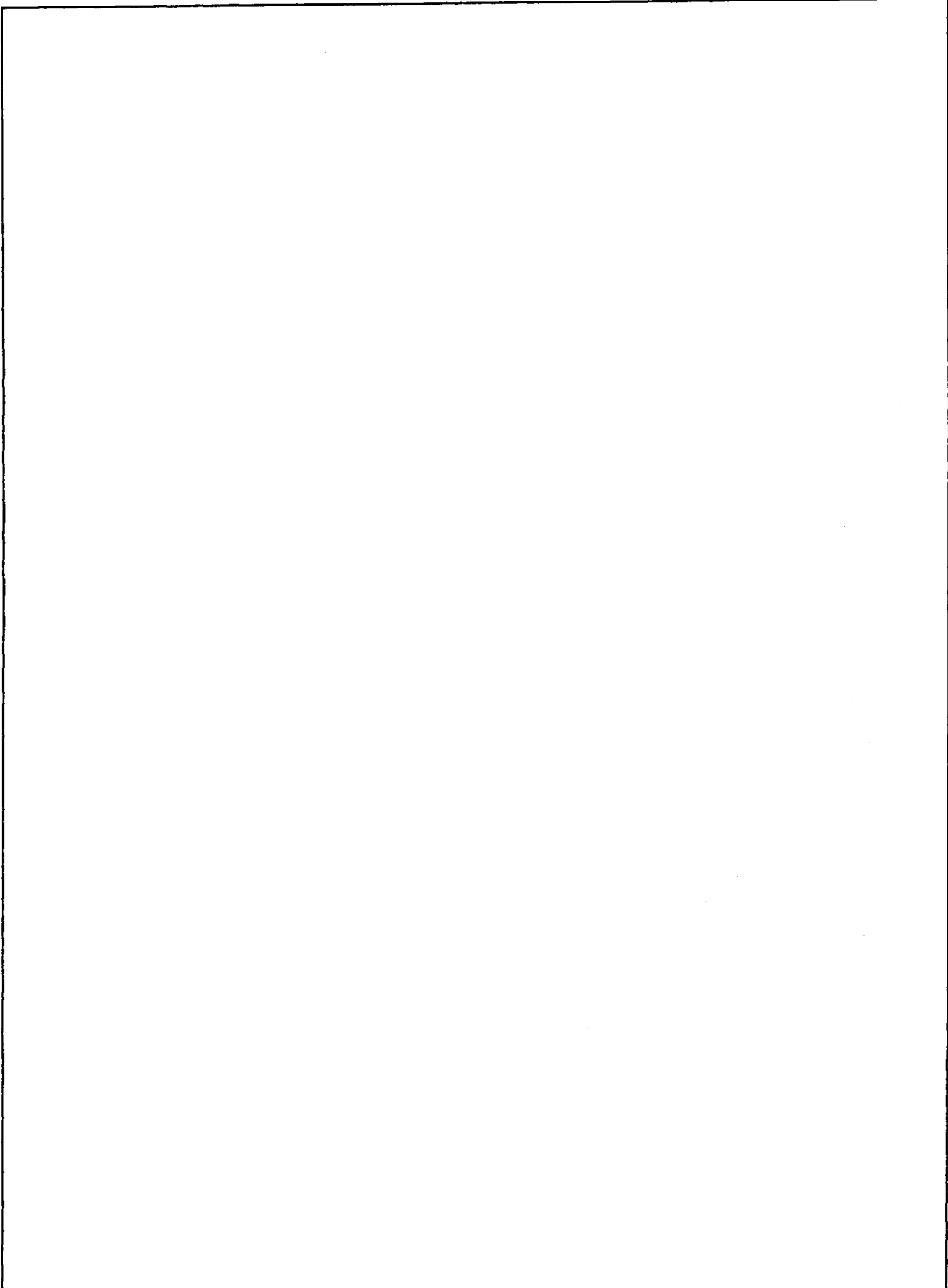
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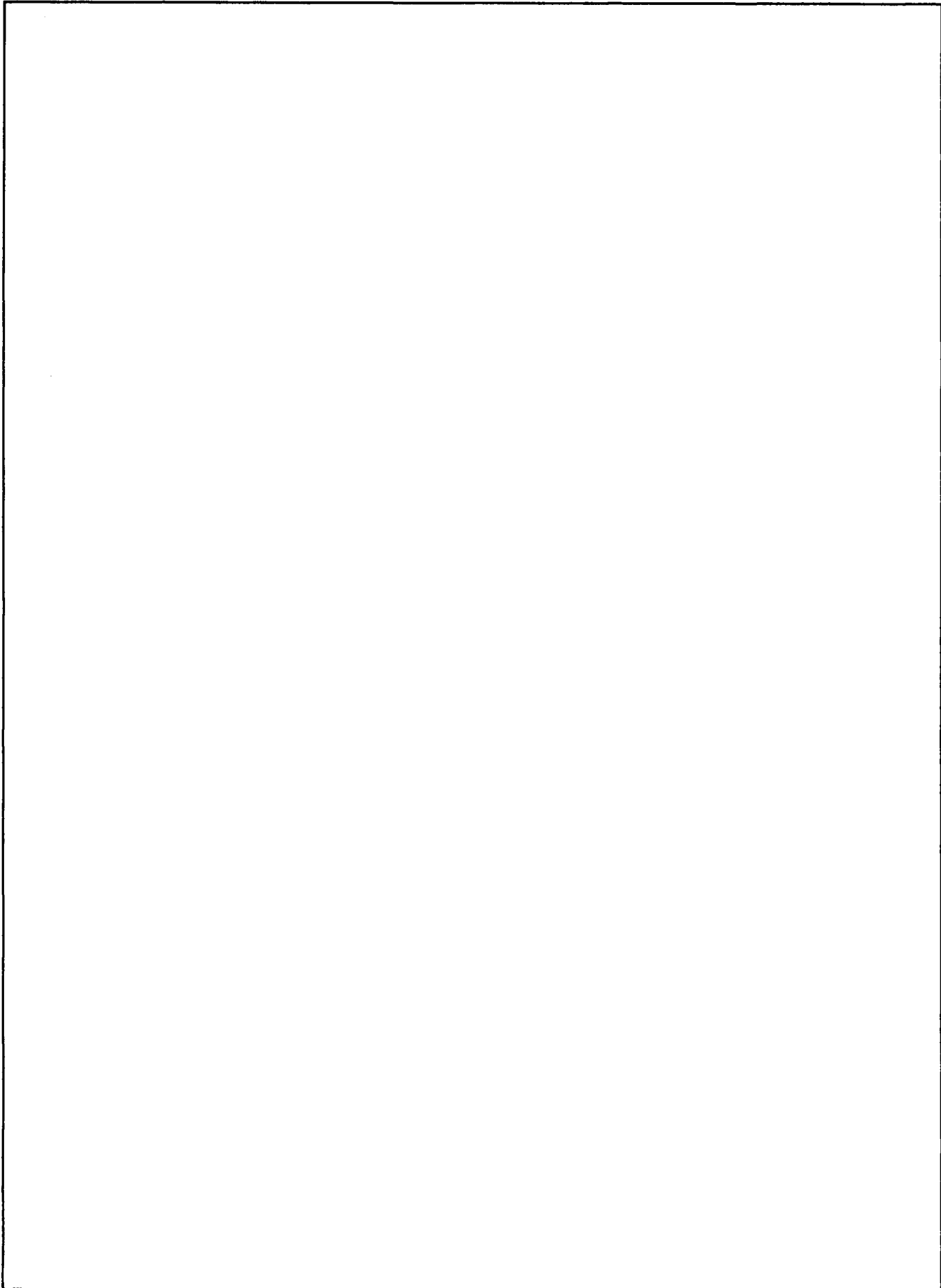
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Rear endpaper: View taken in the Ratak Islands, by Louis Choris (Voyage pittoresque, Plate XIX).

Abbreviations

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

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

Foreword

"The past is prologue."

William Shakespeare, in *The Tempest*.

"History repeats itself," is another way of saying what Shakespeare expressed in a more poetic manner. This wise saying applies specially to the last document in this volume, Dr. Mertens' paper on the Caroline Islands. Here is a valuable study of the local customs, before they were modified by contact with passing ships and regular visits to Guam.

This period witnessed the passage through Micronesia of the first scientific expeditions carried out by Russians. Firstly, there were the two voyages undertaken by Captain Kotzebue, in 1816-17 and in 1824; the first voyage was financed by Count Romanzov. Kotzebue was responsible for putting the Marshall Islands "on the map." Secondly, there was Captain Golovnin's visit to Guam in 1818. Another Russian, Captain Hagemeister did the same the following year, but his account will appear in the next volume. There was yet another important Russian expedition that re-discovered Pohnpei and made a thorough study of the Caroline Islands, in 1827 and 1828; Captain Lütke's visits will be covered in future volumes; however, one scientist aboard his vessel was Dr. Mertens, and his contribution is here included.

Russian expeditions were often led by German naval officers in the service of the Czar; true to their nation's best tendencies, they made reliable observations about everything they saw. Two naturalists with French-German connections, Louis Choris and Dr. Chamisso, have also left impressive accounts. Chamisso made a special friend in the Marshall Islands: his name was Kadu and he was actually a Carolinian drifter from Woleai atoll in the Central Carolines. Kadu was taken on board and visited the frozen north, and Hawaii; his story is a romantic one for romantic times.

This period saw numerous revolutions taking place in the Spanish-American colonies. Mexico became independent, and consequently the source of funds for subsidies to the Marianas and Philippines was cut off. The Manila galleons themselves were abolished by the Spanish Government, itself in a state of flux. The last true galleon to reach Mexico did so in 1816, and she returned to Manila in ballast in 1817. From then on, privately-owned vessels from many nations took care of the trans-Pacific trade.

In 1814, the Pope restored the Jesuit Order, but the Jesuit missionaries did not return to Micronesia until modern times. At least, they were vindicated.

In 1818, a Yankee ship named Osprey stopped at Tinian and noticed the presence of a new settlement there. A would-be archaeologist among the crew also noted that the latte ruins were being destroyed even then, to build pig-pens... The same man re-

turned in 1823 and saw no trace of an altar, clearly shown in the sketch published in this volume. This man recorded the destruction of archeological remains of the ancient Chamorro culture; it was done by the natives themselves. The past is prologue... The Osprey was a whaling ship, one of many such ships that were about to invade the area, and change the local culture forever.

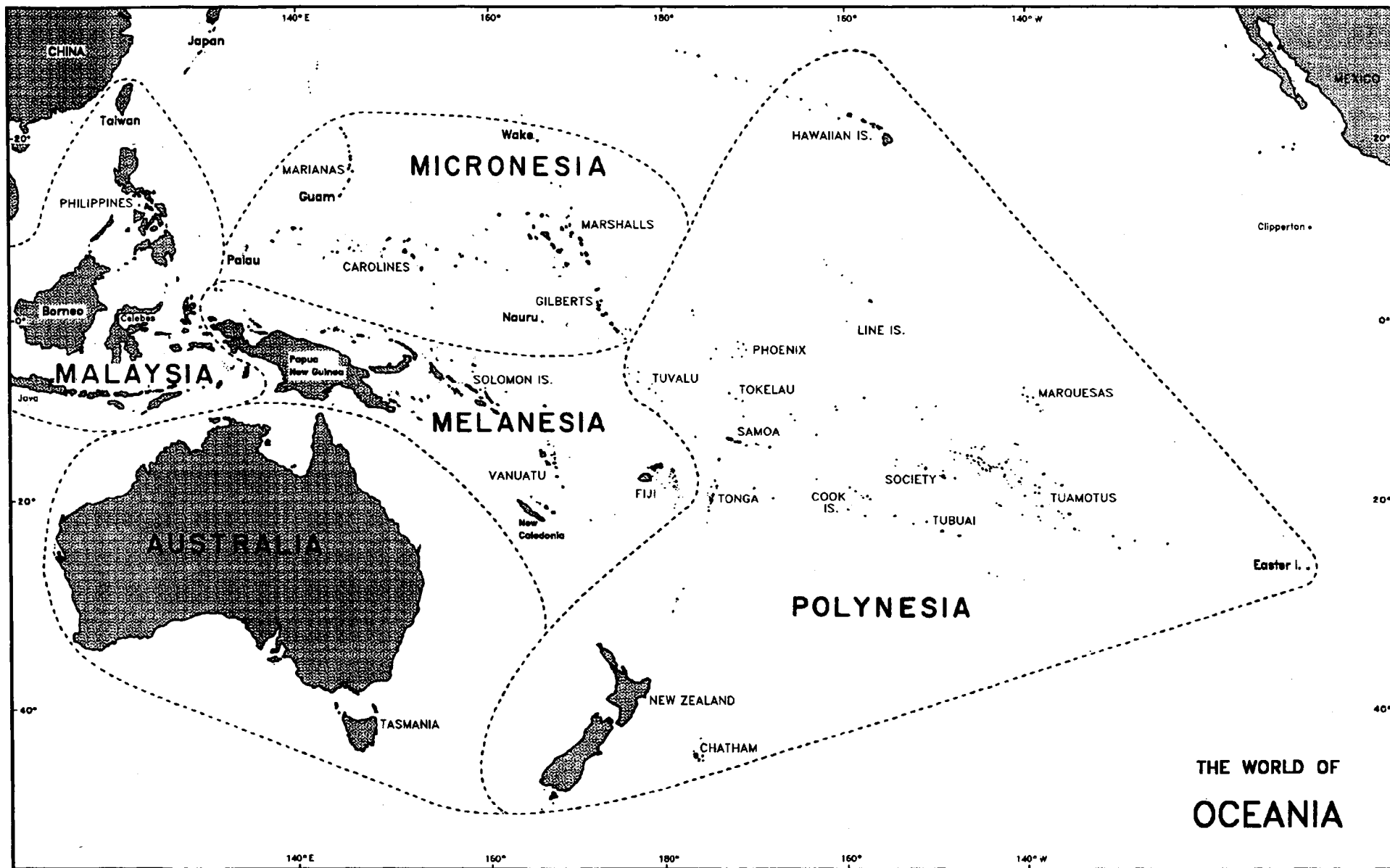
Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, November 2001

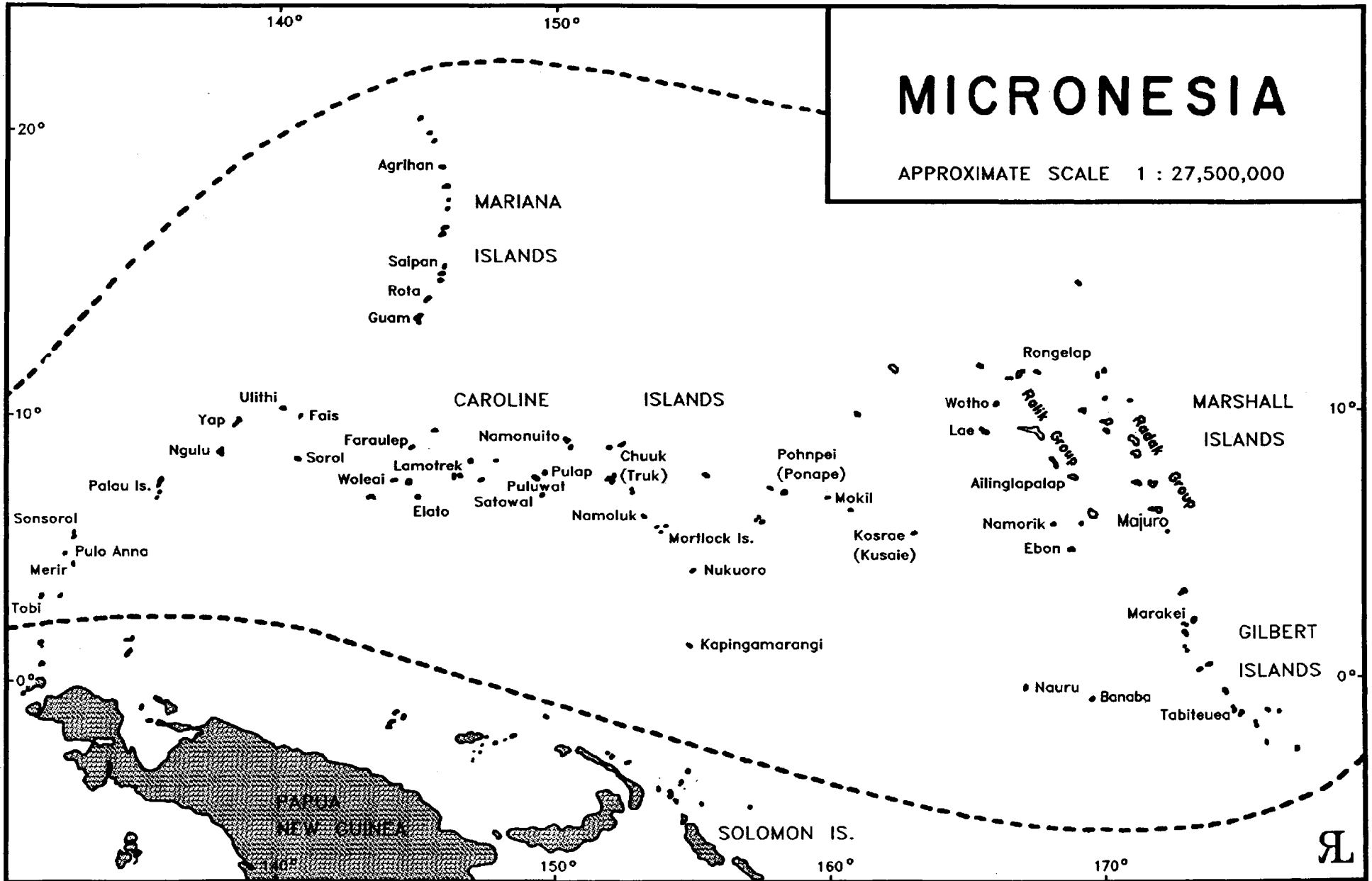
Acknowledgment

I wish to thank Henry Kratz for his kind permission to reproduce part of the translation, which he did for the University of Hawaii Press, of Adelbert von Chamisso's *Voyage Around the World with the Romanzov Exploring Expedition* (ISBN 0-8248-0983-1). It is reproduced herein as Doc. 1817C2.

Errors and corrections

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





Documents 1808A

The trading ship Jenny, Captain William Dorr, visited Guam

A1. The journal of First Officer William Lockerby

Source: Im Thurn, Everard & Leonard C. Wharton (eds.). The Journal of William Lockerby, Sandalwood Trader in the Fijian Islands During the Years 1808-1809 (London, Hakluyt Society, 1925).

Note: The Jenny was a 205-ton ship that left Boston on 2 June 1807 and arrived at Sydney on 2 November 1807. It went to Fiji and later went to Canton where it arrived in July 1809.

Indirect accounts.

...

There is a noteworthy passage in Otto von Kotzebue's journal of his voyage in the Russian ship "Rurik," in 1815-18... Kotzebue writes:

"Captain Dorr (with the Jenny from Boston) touched at Guahon in 1808, after having taken in a cargo of sandalwood in the Fiji islands. He praised to Don Luis de Torres the kind and hospitable reception he had met with from the natives. In 1812 he made the same voyage in another ship. On his return he told Don Luis how hostilely he had been received this time, and that he had lost a mate and four sailors. The natives told him that in the course of time they had become acquainted with the whites, and had resolved to show no mercy to them."¹

This second visit by Captain Dorr, formerly of the "Jenny," to Fiji was almost certainly on the "Sally," which was the only ship, American or other, to seek sandalwood in Fiji in 1812; and his account of the attitude of the natives at the time of this second visit is obviously true. His alleged "loss of a mate and four seamen" on this second visit must be due to a misunderstanding either by Don Luis—at this time Governor of Guam—or by Kotzebue.

Lockerby's subsequent statement that after his time two ships were sent to the Fiji islands for sandalwood may not improbably refer to the two American ships, the "Active" and the "Sally," both from Boston.

...

¹ Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea... in the Years 1815-1818 in the Ship Rurick (Eng. transl., 1821), Vol. III, pp. 257-8.

A2. The report of Captain Ebenezer H. Corey—summarized

Sources: 1) Primary record: Brown Papers in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, under V-E48; 2) Secondary record: Article by James B. Hedges & Jeannette D. Black. "Disaster in the South Seas: The Wreck of the Brigantine Eliza and the Subsequent Adventures of Captain Corey" In American Neptune 23:4 (Oct. 1963): 233-254.

Note: A previous letter from Corey to Brown & Ives, written at Guam and entrusted to Elderkin, the former supercargo of the Eliza, never arrived at Providence.

In early 1808, at Sydney, Captain Corey had met Captain William Dorr of the ship **Jenny** from Boston. Dorr was one of the numerous sons of Ebenezer Dorr. William Dorr had previously been to China as Captain of the **Hancock** (between 1799 and 1803).

Captain Corey left Port Jackson with the **Eliza** on or about 1 May 1808. His supercargo, Bela Elderkin, has smuggled convicts on board. The **Eliza** was wrecked at the Fiji Islands in July 1808. Five of the survivors, including the captain, obtained passage to Canton (via Tinian and Guam) aboard the ship **Jenny**.

According to the above-mentioned article, while at Tinian, Captain Dorr went ashore and told Lieutenant José Castro, who was there curing meat, that Captain Corey had piloted the British fleet up the River Plate to attack Buenos Aires in 1807, etc. When Castro went on board the **Jenny**, he found the 'prisoner' without clothing save for an "Old Camlet Cloak," a pair of pantaloons with half of the legs torn out, and part of a shirt. His appearance was quite as bad as Dorr had represented him. Dorr forbade the Spaniards to sell the 'prisoner' any clothing. But a sailor on board the ship had the decency to procure for him two cow hides which enabled the Captain to shelter himself from the "parching" sun, the rain and the cold.

Captain Corey thought the conduct of Dorr, Elderkin and their "accomplices" while at Tinian was the most scandalous he had ever witnessed. They were on shore night and day, most of the time as drunk as "Beasts." When they chanced to be on board ship they were also drunk, and so noisy that no-one could sleep. Never on board any ship had the Captain seen such complete lack of discipline; nor had he ever known "so grate a Rogue" as Dorr, whose character was "as Infamous as you will find in any man."

Following a 3-week stay at Tinian, the **Jenny** continued on to Guam, with Lieutenant Castro as a passenger on board. There the one objective of Captain Dorr was to prevail upon the governor to take Corey into custody. To this end he sent Bela Elderkin ashore to tell the governor that on board the ship was the American Captain who had piloted the British fleet to Buenos Aires the previous year, where he was alleged to have taken an active part in the battle against the Spanish forces. When this compound of truth and falsehood failed to achieve the desired result, Dorr resorted to unmitigated lies about the Captain. Thus he told the Spanish officer who supplied **Jenny** with breadfruit daily that Corey was a prisoner with whom he should neither trade nor converse. When Corey protested that he was on the verge of starvation the officer provided him with food from his own house. Dorr then informed the governor that Corey was an unquiet spirit and a disturber of the peace; and that he had insulted him and threatened

his life. These falsehoods availing nothing, Dorr began to shower the Spanish officers with costly presents, hoping that bribery might succeed where slander had failed. He gave the governor a pipe of fine spirits; he purchased betel nuts at double the market price; and he bought other articles at prices two to five times the figure at which they ordinarily sold—all with a view to inducing the governor to take Corey “out the ship.”

Although the governor showed every disposition to treat Captain Corey in a humane manner, after the lapse of two weeks he came aboard the **Jenny** for the purpose of taking “the Declarations” of Dorr, Elderkin and other enemies of Corey, as well as that of the Captain himself. In the course of his interrogation, he asked Corey a question which required that he consult his memorandum book. Going on deck for this purpose, he found one Charles Hancock, one of Dorr’s confederates, looking through his papers. Closer examination revealed the fact that his charts, diary, and letters had been stolen. When the governor threatened to take Hancock into custody for theft, Dorr falsely stated that he had sent Hancock to look for his [Dorr’s] nautical almanac, thus implying that Corey had stolen it. When Corey established to the governor’s satisfaction that the almanac was in Dorr’s own trunk, the latter then named another book for which he alleged Hancock to be looking. The governor, however, was undeceived by this transparent fabrication. Thus Captain Corey not only suffered insult, indignity, and inhumane treatment at Dorr’s hands, but also the plundering of his personal effects.

Not long after, the governor took Corey on shore “as a criminal contrary to the laws of all nations”—which words of the Captain were quite as unfair to the governor as they were careless of the facts. Also removed from the **Jenny** were 7,928 silver dollars, together with two bills of exchange for 778 pounds sterling (3,460 dollars), gold doubloons, watches, knee buckles, and miscellaneous items which brought the total to the equivalent of 13,389 Spanish dollars. Disembarked from the ship, also, were the two unidentified sailors who had sailed aboard the **Eliza** at the time of her loss, and who had boarded the **Jenny** in Fiji, at the same time as Captain Corey.

Finally, the governor felt obliged, because of the accusations against Captain Corey, to draw up a *proceso criminal* for transmission to the governor and captain general of the Philippines at Manila. In this document is to be found the testimony of at least six Spanish officers, civil and military, at Guam corroborating Captain Corey’s own description of the behavior of William Dorr. Refuting Dorr’s charge, Lieutenant Castro said he had seen no “dissonance notable or irregular or reprehensible” in Captain Corey, either on board the **Jenny** or at Guam. He was of the opinion that “some secret rancor” on the part of Dorr was the cause of that trouble between the two men. In exchange for provisions which Castro had placed at his disposal, Dorr gave a barrel of spirits, a kettle, and a keg of powder. The spirits were so well watered that they were worthless, while the powder was equally well adulterated. Castro further testified that at Guam he had seen Dorr drunk on various occasions, walking in the streets in a most shameful manner. While at dinner at the governor’s house Dorr became so inebriated that he mounted to the banquet table, where his dancing proved highly detrimental to the dishes and equally shocking to the company.

One Captain Martinez said he knew Dorr had possession of Captain Corey's diary and other papers, including a copy of a letter to the governor, thus supporting Corey's own account of the looting of his personal possessions. He was convinced that Dorr, Elderkin, and Jefferes, the troublesome English sailor whom Dorr had welcomed aboard the **Jenny**,¹ had entered into a "plan" against Corey for reasons not easy to determine. The "plan" amounted to a conspiracy to bring about the total ruin of the Captain. Of this plot, Dorr was the chief architect. Martinez further stated that Lewis Franker, had always spoken well of Corey. It was Franker who had told him that Corey's diary was in Dorr's hands.

Don Francisco, Mayor of the village of Agat, had also heard Franker speak favorably of Captain Corey. Don Antonio, Mayor of Umata,² had seen Hancock take from Corey's quarters his books, plans, and papers. Don Joaquín de Lima, commander of the troops, had sold Dorr a quantity of beef worth upwards of 40 pesos. Dorr then set sail from Guam without paying him, leaving him "disappointed and cheated." The officer knew various other persons whom Dorr had similarly defrauded.

Thus the testimony of the Spanish officers effectively controverted Dorr's charges of bad conduct by Captain Corey while on board the **Jenny**. On the other hand, their statements were, without exception, discreditable to Dorr and his accomplices. Only one count in the indictment of Corey remained undisputed by the Spaniards, namely, his part in the British attack upon Buenos Aires in 1807. But it is evident that this weighed not too heavily with the governor, for the reason that Captain Corey, before leaving the River Plate, had been sufficiently forehanded to ask the British commander for a letter to the Spanish general saying that he had participated in the British attack only under compulsion. In consequence of this letter, the general had given Corey a paper declaring him innocent of any "traitorous" act. Although it is doubtful that Corey actually had this paper in his possession at Guam, it is none the less apparent that the governor was disposed to give credence to the Captain's word.

Soon after the completion of the *proceso criminal* by the governor, the **Santa Gertrudis** and the **Santa Rosa**, two ships belonging to the Royal Philippine Company, called at Guam, en route from Lima to Manila.³

The **Santa Gertrudis**, with Captain Corey on board, became wrecked on a reef upon arriving at the Philippines (at Surigao) on 30 December 1808, but Captain Corey again survived this shipwreck. Not so fortunate were 99 of the 138 souls on board.⁴ With the seas running high, she went to pieces in 3 to 4 minutes. After 40 hours adrift on some

1 Ed. note: A convict smuggled on board at Sydney.

2 Ed. note: Francisco Herrera, or Guerrero (see Doc. 1807A).

3 Ed. note: The Santa Rosa was under the command of Captain Fernando Zualdea. Perhaps the Captain of the Santa Gertrudis was named Juan Vernaci; if so, see his bio-sketch in Virginia Gonzalez' book, pp. 470-1.

4 Ed. note: The story of this shipwreck is told by Captain Corey in a letter to Edward Carrington at Canton, dated Manila 22 September 1809 (same file).

piece of wood, Captain Corey landed on a small, desolate island. There he remained for 7 days, recovering from his wounds. He was eventually picked up by a native canoe and taken to a village, where he was rescued by the Mayor of Surigao some time later. Soon after, a ship took him to Cebu, and 2 months later, he found passage to Manila.

The case of Captain Corey was seen by the Governor of the Philippines five months later.¹ On 1 September 1809, the court decided that he was a free man, and innocent of the charges against him.

Being destitute, Captain Corey then sought employment with the Spanish at Manila. He accepted the command of the packet **Mosquito** for a voyage to Acapulco and back, for a sum of 4,000 pesos. In closing his letter to Brown & Ives, Captain Corey asked them to take care of his wife and family until his return to Providence.

Unfortunately, on the return voyage to Manila, Captain Corey took ill and was landed at Guam in very ill health on 8 October 1810.² Nine days later he died and was buried on the Island of Guam. Two U.S. ship captains are said to have been present at his burial.

The story of the **Eliza** and Captain Corey is a tale of woe. Surely there can have been few ship captains so consistently plagued by bad luck over so long a period of time.

Upon arrival at Canton, the **Jenny** was seized by the British, for having visited the Marianas to procure new masts. The ship was sent to Calcutta for trial and there condemned. William Dorr went back to Fiji for sandalwood aboard the **Sally** which is said to have re-visited Guam, in 1812.³

...

Note.

The Brown Papers contain a report by Captain Corey to Brown & Ives, dated Manila 22 September 1809, about 25 pages, plus attachments, in Spanish, by Guam officials. It concerns the wreck of the **Eliza** in Fiji.

-
- 1 Ed. note: The Santa Rosa had brought a duplicate file from Guam to Manila.
 - 2 Edward Carrington, Providence merchant and American Consul at Canton, to B. & I. 26 November 1810, P-C3, V-E48.
 - 3 Ed. note: A map of Fiji gives the track of the Sally there in November 1811.

Document 1808B

The return voyage of the galleon San Fernando, alias Magallanes, in 1808

Anonymous account of the return voyage of the Magallanes to Manila

Sources: MN 577, fol. 81-89; MN 96, fol. 213v-214v.

Notes: It is a very neatly copied logbook of observations which can be summarized as follows. The galleon Magallanes was commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Juan de Vernacci.

Summary of the voyage.

They left Acapulco on 22 April 1808 at 2 p.m. On the 28th, a fire occurred at 8 p.m. in the fore hold and they were able to extinguish it by 11 p.m. The cause of the fire was ascribed to nitric acid in one of the crates destined to the Government's laboratories. There were convicts on board, one of whom died on the 1st of May. They followed the 13° parallel for the whole month of May. They reached Mindanao in July.

Original text in Spanish.

Extracto de la derrota, y acaecimientos mas notables del viage de la Nao Magallanes desde el Puerto de Acapulco a la Bahía de Manila con caudales, y frutos del comercio de Philipinas en el año de 1808.

...

A las 2 de la tarde, habiendo aclarado algo el horizonte se avistó la tierra, y se marcó lo mas alto de ella al S 40° O. Pareció ser la isla de San Juan.

...

Dia 9 de Julio de 1808: A las 4 de la tarde se vieron desde el tope dos islas que supusimos ser de las Meangis y à las 5-1/2 se pudieron marcar al S 36° O à distancia de 7 à 8 leguas. Al medio dia siguiente demoraban al S 12° O como à 8 leguas. De que se infiere hallarse en Latitud N de 4°53'16" y 227°00'22" de Longitud O de Cadiz [sic]. La carta inglesa del año de [blank] pone el extremo N. del grupo en 5°6' de Latitud, y 226°54'12" de Longitud [O de Cadiz].

...

[12 julio] A las 6 de la tarde se marco el extremo de la isla chica de las Sarangas [sic] al N 11° O., y el extremo O de la grande al N 7° O.

...

Translation.

Extract of the route and the more noteworthy incidents of the voyage of the galleon Magallanes from the Port of Acapulco to the Bay of Manila with the subsidy, and the profits of the trade of the Philippines in the year 1808.

...

At 2 p.m., the western horizon having cleared a little, they sighted land and the highest peak seen bore S 40° W. It seemed to be the Island of San Juan.¹

...

[They kept decreasing their latitude until they reached 5°16'40" lat. N and 226°55'4" long. W at noon on 9 July, soon after which they sighted the Miangas Islands.]

...

At 4 p.m. two islands were seen from the topmasts, which they recognized as the Meangis and at 5:30 p.m. they bore S 36° W distant 7 to 8 leagues. At noon of the next day, they bore S 12° W distant about 8 leagues. From which can be inferred that their position is 4°53'16" lat. N and 227°00'22" long. W of Cadiz [sic]. The English chart of [blank] places the northernmost point of the group at 5°6' lat. and 226°54' long.²

...

[12 July] At 6 p.m. the point of the small island of the Sarangas [i.e. Sarangani] group bore N 11°W, and the W point of the big island bore N 7°W.

...

[The ships went south of Mindanao, via Basilan, etc. They reached Manila Bay on 2 August 1808.]

1 Ed. note: Not Guam, not Siargao, but lower on the East coast of Mindanao, as the position at noon was 7°31'56" lat. N and 226°9'53" long. W of Cadiz, i.e. 127°38'37" E of Greenwich.

2 Ed. note: The exact position of the Miangas Islands is 5°35' lat. N and 126°35' E of Greenwich.



Viceroy Pedro Garibay, from 1808 to 1809.

Note 1808E

Confused report by Chamisso about the packet Modesto

Source: Adelbert von Chamisso. A Voyage Around the World (transl. pub. by UHP, 1986), p. 273.

Confused report by Adelbert von Chamisso

We had heard Kadu [his Carolinian informant] sing a song about Feis that had reference to a ship with which the islanders had traded in sight of their island, without its having stopped there. It sang of the names José, María, and Salvador. We learned on Guaján that in the year 1808 or 1809 [sic] the **Modesto** from Manila, Capt. José María Fernández, a ship seeking the Pelew Islands to gather trepang, missed them and came in sight of Feis. When afterwards the **Modesto** reached the Pelew Islands, one of the natives from Feis, with whom they had traded, was already there to continue the trade, having hurried ahead of the ship. The governor of the Marianas, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda [sic] was on board the **Modesto**. In Manila we tried in vain to gather further news of this voyage.

The true story.

The above report is typical of any oral tradition. It contains some truths, more half-truths, and some erroneous facts.

The packet **San Luís, alias Modesto** came from Manila to Guam only in 1812 (see Doc. 1812C). The new Governor of the Marianas, José de Medinilla, was indeed on board that vessel, that had been chartered to bring him to his new post. It was the former Governor Parreño who boarded this packet to return to Manila. The vessel must have headed SSW. The first island sighted was Fais. We learn from Kadu that they traded there, before continuing to Palau, probably by way of Ulithi and Yap, thus giving enough time for a native canoe to overtake them.

Note 1809A

The ship *Elizabeth*, Captain Patterson, discovered Arorae and Jaluit in 1809

General sources: Mentioned by Purdy, Stevens, Horsburgh, Duperrey, Krusenstern, Sharp, Woodford (1884), and Nicholson's *Log of Logs*, v. 1.

Primary sources: The account of Captain Patterson was first published in the *Bombay Courier*, 12/8/1809; later reprinted verbatim in the *Naval Chronicle* 23 (1810): 415-416 and repeated in 24 (1810): 313-315.

Main secondary source: Maude's article: *Post-Spanish Discoveries*.

Summary of this voyage.

The historical background of the English ship *Elizabeth* has been reported by Maude (and his source, Greenwood), and in part by Nicholson. She had been a Spanish ship named **San Francisco y San Pablo** that was captured by Captain William Campbell of the tiny 180-ton brig/snow named **Harrington** at Coquimbo, Chile, at the end of 1804, in the mistaken belief that Spain was at war with England. Taken to NSW, it was sold there by the Government, with the intention of giving the money to the legal owner.¹

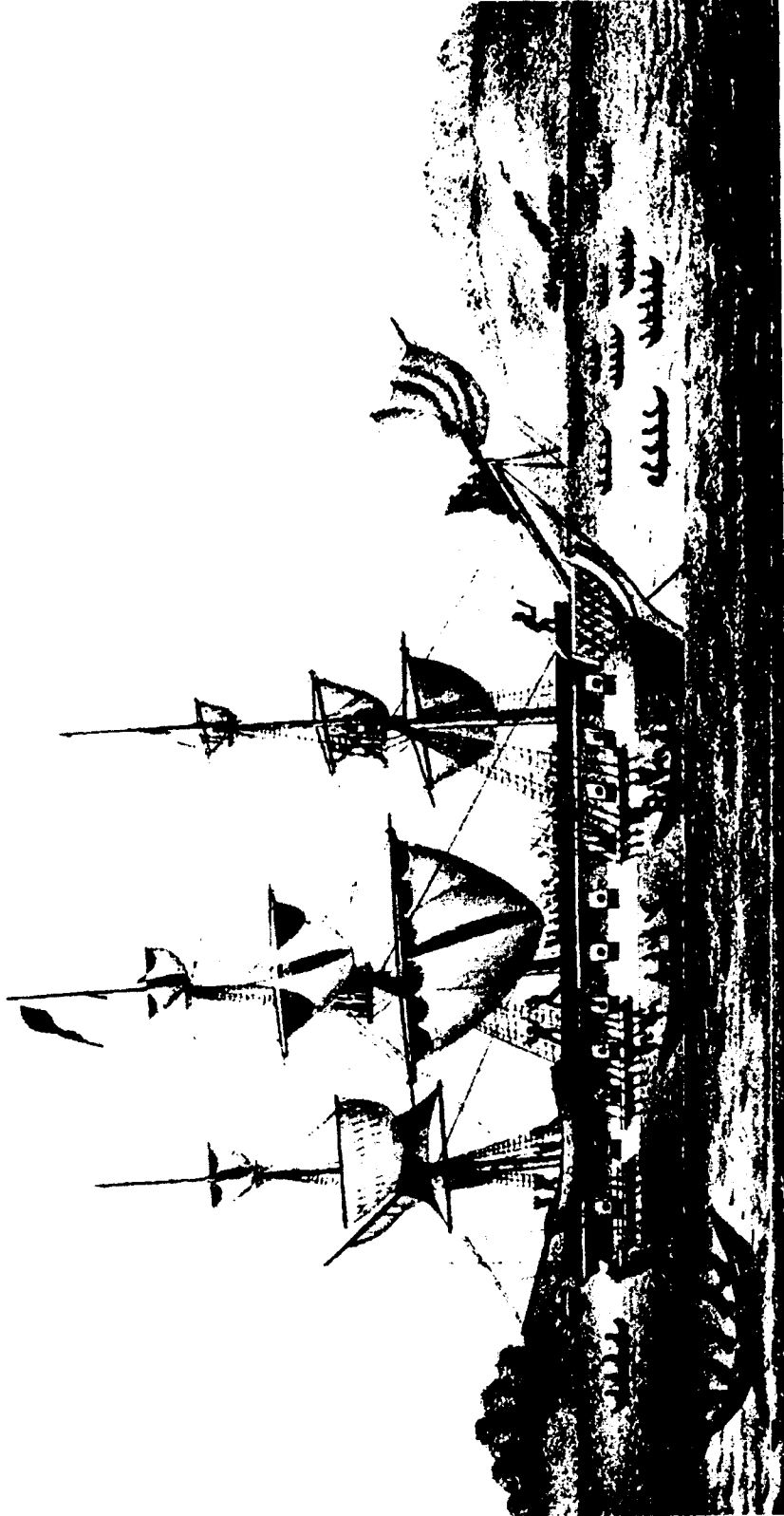
Bought by John Macarthur, who renamed her, she became a Fiji sandalwood trader, until 1808 when her new owner decided to sell her at Canton. Accordingly, she was being taken to Canton with a cargo of sandalwood when she came up through the Gilberts and the Marshalls in the early part of 1809, having left Sydney on 18 December 1808.

The *Elizabeth* was crossing the Gilberts when a small island was seen at 2°43' lat. S and 176°56'25" E, which the Captain named Hope Island. It corresponds to Arorae, never reported before. Other islands were sighted in the Gilberts, but they already had been discovered, except perhaps Maiana.

Coming into the west Marshalls, this ship sighted an island, which was named Bonham, at 5°48'18" lat. N and which was obviously Jaluit, a new discovery. Other islands seen later on had previously been seen by other Europeans.

¹ Ed. note: The acts of piracy at Coquimbo were recorded by an eyewitness, the Mate of the **Harrington**, and published in the *Historical Records of Australia*, vol. 5.

Upon arrival in China, the ship was sold to Portuguese at Macao, and later sold to the Chinese Government, who converted her into the Brig of War **Tigres**, the first European-type vessel in their Navy, with a crew of 60 Chinese and 40 American seamen.



Document 1809B

The ship *Tonquin*, Captain Bromley, re-discovered Kapingamarangi in 1809

Source: Captain Edmund Fanning. Voyages to the South Seas (New York, 2nd. ed. 1838).

Note: Kapingamarangi had been discovered by the Spanish in 1537 (see HMI: 551, 561).

Introduction.

Captain Bromley had already visited Micronesia with the *Hope* two years earlier.

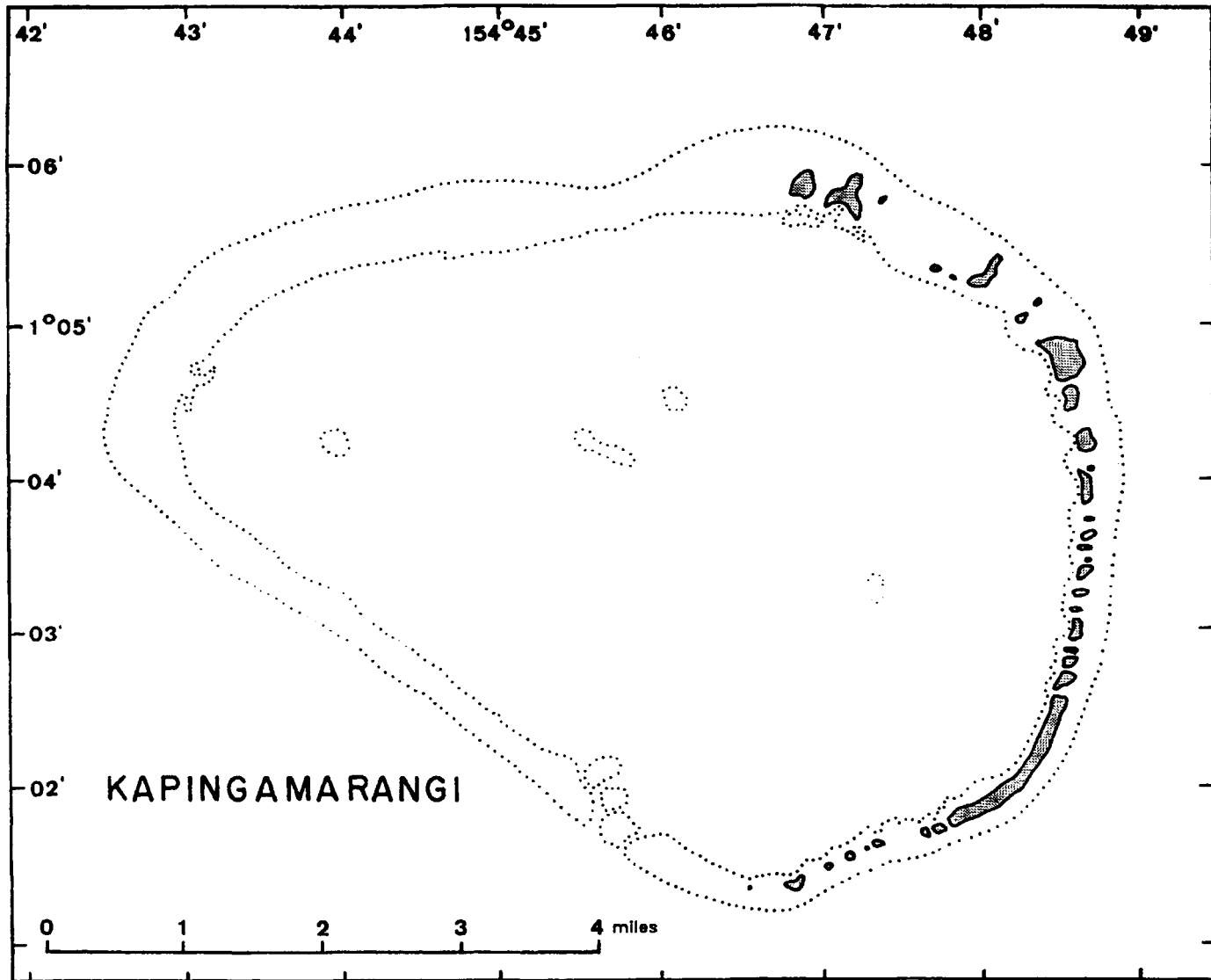
The *Tonquin* was a well-built ship, with a copper bottom, a double-flushed deck, and ports for 22 guns. She was a fast sailer, as good as any sloop-of-war. She had been built in New York by Adam and Noah Brown. The first voyage of this ship had been under Captain Fanning, who was now but a supercargo. The ship left New York on 15 June 1808 and headed for Fiji by way of the Indian Ocean and Australia. After bartering for sandalwood, she went to Canton to sell this cargo, then arrived back home at the end of 1809. In 1810, the ship was sold to John Jacob Astor and sent to the NW Coast, under the command of a Captain Thorn. There, she was attacked by natives off Vancouver Island and the crew all killed, except for one man, in 1811. The *Tonquin* was never seen again by white men.

Fanning's account of his second voyage

...
April 12th [1809].—In latitude 7°23' south, passed much drift wood, Mangrove nuts, &c., with patches of rock weed, as the ship sailed along on her course steering to the north- westward.

April 25th.—Just at the morning's broad day-light, we were treated again with the welcome sound of "Land, ho!" from the mast-head, bearing N.1/2E., distant 5 miles, which proved to be a number of small low islands, to appearance only eight or ten feet above the surface of the sea, but covered with tall cocoa-nut trees. They can be seen therefore in clear weather only, about as far as a grove of cocoa-nut trees could be seen on the surface of Neptune's element. Still, as we passed them, it was evident, that they

(Facing page:) **Attack and massacre of crew of Ship *Tonquin* by the savages of the NW Coast.** (*N. Currier's Lith., NY. Frontispiece of Fanning's book.*)



were inhabited, as many smokes were made which ascended aloft, and continued rising as we passed the whole length, or range of the cluster. It was only about the extent of three miles, tending east and west.

Considering them to be a new discovery, we named them Equator Isles; they are situated, in latitude $00^{\circ}57'$ north, longitude $155^{\circ}19'$ east.¹

[Meeting with the Mortlocks]

Sunday, 30th April, 1809.—Not dreaming of being near to any coast, our surprise was very great, when the loud voice at the look-out at the top-mast head, at half-past 4 p.m., shouted, "Land, ho!" bearing right-ahead direct in our course, and off each bow. When the next half hour thereafter had passed, it was extensively seen bearing and extending from N.E. around by the north, and westward to the W.S.W. I now immediately caused the ship to be brought to the wind,² with her head to the southward, which owing to a strong gale now blowing from the south-eastward, and nearly direct on the land, with hard squalls, brought her instantly under close-reefed topsails. The land now appeared to consist of a number, or chain of islands, and the southernmost seen by us in the evening at dusk, was but a very short distance from the ship. After the night had closed upon us, making our view around very limited indeed, we could, notwithstanding, distinctly see the land between the heavy squalls, which with the tremendous sea rolling on, caused our very excellent ship, a truly first-rate seaboat, under her heavy press of canvass, to labour hard, as she struggled with it, to keep off this strange shore; we were forced to keep on her this absolutely necessary press of canvass to enable her to keep clear of this strange land, whose coast was now, so close a neighbour to us. In our dangerous situation it could not possibly be dispensed with; to add to our trying situation, and to save the masts from being torn from their steps overboard, we were obliged by 9 p.m., by the increased gale, and added violence of the squalls, in order to save our masts and spars, notwithstanding our increased danger, and the constant weight of the most painful anxiety on the mind, to furl our topsails, At about 10 p.m., just as we had began to think ourselves clear of danger from the coast, and its shore,—on a sudden, between the squalls, the land appeared again bearing about west from us. Though at great risk of losing our masts and canvass I was brought under the severe trial, and absolute necessity of ordering the close-reefed topsails to be set again upon our now over-pressed, and most superior behaved boat. As she plunged, and ploughed through the raging and foaming element, she trembled with her load of pressure like an aspen-leaf in the breeze; but our really dangerous situation, the giant sea, the weather, and the violent gale were such, that there was no alternative,—it was life or death. It pleased, however, the Almighty, and blessed Saviour of man, to permit our ship to clear this newly-discovered promontory and coast, on which hung our destiny. As soon as this was effected, we relieved our well-behaved boat, by again furling the

1 Ed. note: This can indeed only be Kapingamarangi whose position is about 1° N & 155° E.

2 Ed. note: Fanning put words in Captain Bromley's mouth, so to speak.

fore and mizen topsails,—and were employed manœuvering our ship to traverse over as small a space of ground during the remainder of the night as possible. At half past 5 a.m., the land was again seen close under our lee; we immediately set again the close-reefed fore and mizen-topsails to endeavour to clear it, and as the day lighted up, more and extensive land came within our view, in its present appearance like a thick cluster of islands, tending about E. by N., and W. by S. After the sun was risen, upwards of twenty islands were counted within the range of our view from the mast-head, at the same time breakers were also seen between all the nearest ones, which were now distant about three miles from the ship. These are a dangerous and extensive group of low islands, chained in appearance together by coral reefs, and rocks above water. Their extent from east to west (as far as came within our view) is about fifteen leagues. The south-side of the range, on which our ship was, in form appeared somewhat like a crescent. Thus having passed through one of the most trying and anxious nights that can happen to a commander, or to man, we now bore up to the westward, and proceeded along and around the west-end of the westernmost island, as we judged it to be, for as we passed it there was no land to be seen in the western board from aloft. Concluding them a new discovery, we called them the American Group. Their centre I judge to be, and place in latitude of 5°3' north, longitude 152°25' east of London.¹

The very unpleasant weather and want of time, did not give us an opportunity, to examine the islands of the American Group by a landing, which I much regretted, as I was very desirous of obtaining more particulars; but I did not feel that the loss of time to obtain them, by effecting a landing, would justify it with my duty. We saw no signs of these islands being inhabited.

After this discovery nothing unusual occurred to us during the remainder of this voyage; and the author thinking that the daily sea account of remarks, would not be sufficiently amusing and entertaining to the reader, for insertion, omits it, and respectfully closes the narrative, by merely stating, that after arriving at Canton, and exchanging their cargo for China goods, the **Tonquin** proceeded and arrived safe, all well, at the port of New-York with her full cargo of teas, and other China goods. From this cargo, an amount of some thousands of dollars was paid into the national treasury.

...

1 Ed. note: This corresponds to the Mortlocks, 3 groups together, whose center indeed lies at about 5°30' N and 153°35' E. They had been seen previously by Captain Mortlock aboard the **Young William** in 1795.

Document 1809D

Map of Agaña and vicinity in 1809**Report of Governor Parreño on the creation of the a new cemetery for Agaña****Original text in Spanish.***Año de 1809.*

Expediente formado de Consulta del Governador de Marianas, acompañando el Plano en que demuestra los Sitios señalados por la Fabrica del Campo Santo mandado establecer.

Explicacion del adjunto Mapa en que se demuestra la Ciudad de Agaña con tres Sitios señalados para que el Señor Capitan General Interino de estas Islas determine en cual de ellos se hà de favricar el Campo Santo que esta mandado poner en todos los Pueblos para veneficio de la Salud Publica.

N. 1. La Iglesia Parroquial.

2. Simenterio.

3. El Camino que và al Barrio de San Nicolas.

4,4,4,4. Barrio de San Nicolas.

5. El Puente para hir à Tuto.

6. El Camino que và al Sitio propuesto para el Campo Santo.¹

7. El Campo Santo propuesto que dista del Pueblo 176 Varas.

8. El Colegio.

9. El Comvento.

10. El otro parage propuesto para Campo Santo que esta en un Sitio pantanoso, y senegoso cuya cienaga mantiene todo el año con bastantes aguas el Rio que pasa entre la Ciudad y la Mar; y dista de la Iglesia 256 varas, y 15 varas del Cerco de Palacio.

11. El Cerco de Palacio.

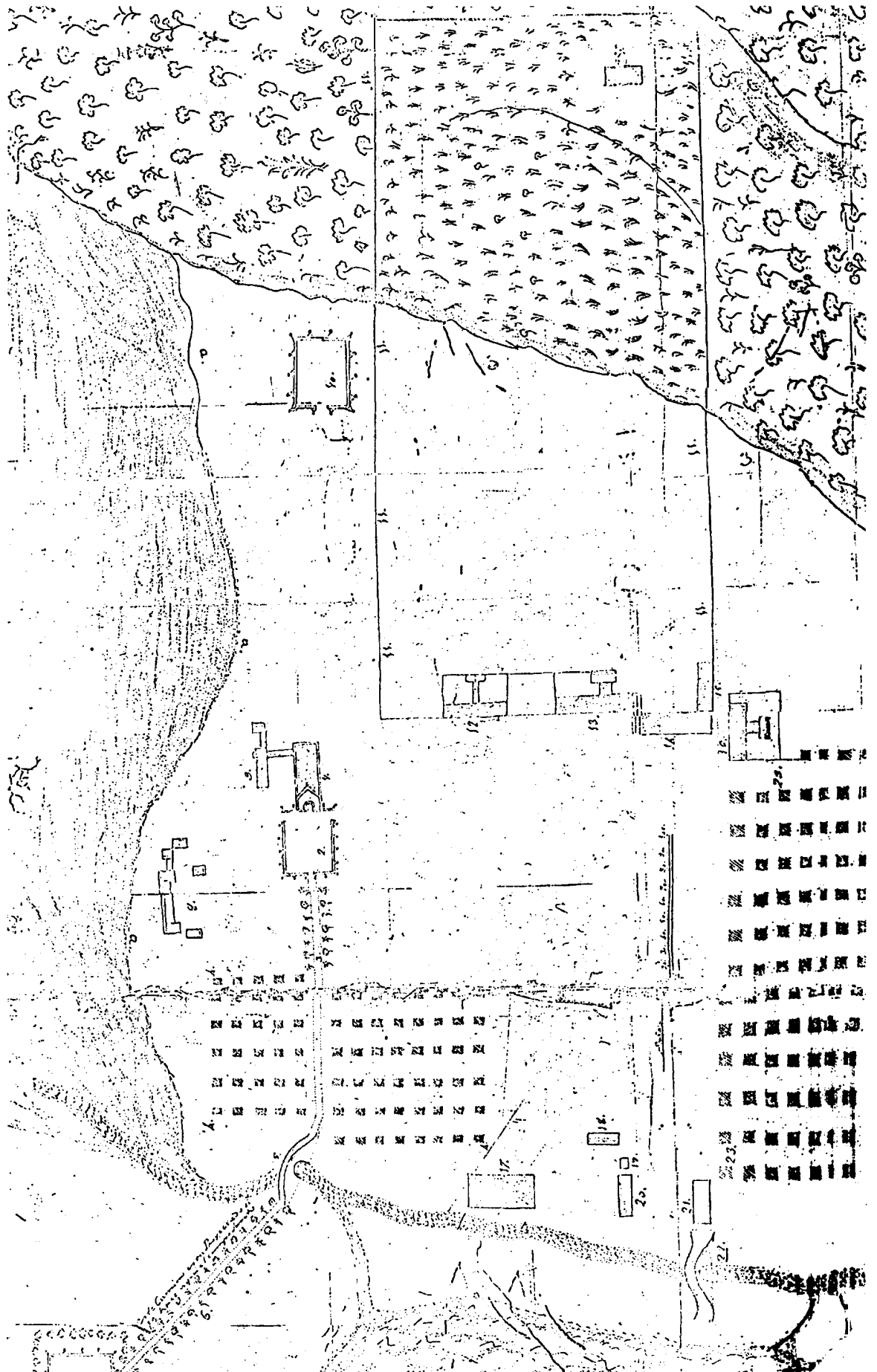
12. Los Reales Almacenes.

13. La Casa Real de Palacio.

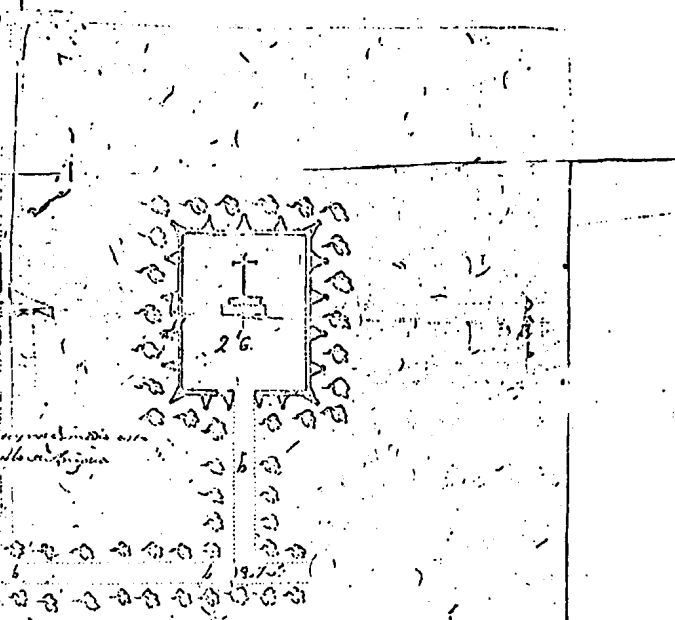
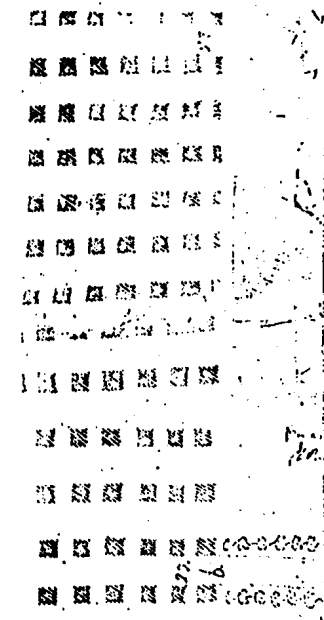
14. El Quartel.

¹ Ed. note: Note appearing on sketch along that road says: "Este Camino es en Proyecto si se hace aqui el Campo Santo."

Map of Agaña and vicinity in 1809.



- ...en las de uno de los que fabricar el campo santo que esta manzaco poner en todos los Pueblos para veneracion de la Salud Publica.
1. La Iglesia Parroquial.
 2. El Simaneria.
 3. El Camino que va al Barrio de San Nicolas.
 4. La A. A. Barrio de San Nicolas.
 5. El Puente para ir a Tuto.
 6. El Camino que va al Sitio propuesto para el Campo Santo.
 7. El Campo Santo propuesto que dista del Pueblo 376. Varas.
 8. El Colegio.
 9. El Convento.
 10. Otro paraje propuesto para Campo Santo que esta en un Sitio pantanoso, y se negosa cuya ciénega mantiene todo el año con bastantes aguas el Rio que pasa entre la Ciudad y la Mar, y dista de la Iglesia 256 varas, y 33. del Cerco de Salacia.
 11. El Cerco de Salacia.
 12. Los Acos de Almacenes.
 13. La Casa Real de Salacia.
 14. El Cuartel.
 15. El Hospital de la Tropa.
 16. La Casa que sirve de Archivo de los Señores Governadores.
 17. El Castillo San Nifael.
 18. La Fragua.
 19. La Casa donde se deposita el Armamento de las Tropas de Voluntarios.
 20. El Camino donde se depositan los peltrechos de Marina.
 21. El Camarin de Obras.
 22. El Puente San Antonio.
 - 23, 23, 23, 23. Ciudad de Agaña.
 24. El Castillo Santa Agueda.
 25. La Casamata.
 26. Si nega.
 26. Otro paraje bueno para Campo Santo que esta al Oeste de la Ciudad, y dista desde la b. asta el dicho paraje 3807 varas.
 - C. C. C. El Cerro alto que esta à espaldas de la Ciudad.



1700 del 309.

*Exposición de la Comisión de la Iglesia
... de la Iglesia, unguando el Plan
... de la Iglesia, unguando el Plan*

15. *El Hospital de la Tropa.*
16. *La Casa que sirve de Retiro de los Señores Gobernadores.*
17. *El Castillo San Rafael.*
18. *La Fragua.*
19. *La Casa donde se deposita el Armamento de las Tropas de Voluntarios.*
20. *El Camino [sic] donde se depositan los peltrechos de Marina.*
21. *El Camarin de Obras.*
22. ***El Puente San Antonio.***
- 23,23,23,23. *Ciudad de Agaña.*
24. ***El Castillo Santa Agueda.***
25. *La Casamata.*
- à,à,à. *Sienega.*
26. *Otro paraje bueno para Campo Santo que esta al Oeste de la Ciudad, y dista desde la b. asta el dicho paraje 1807. varas.¹*
C,C,C. El Cerro alto que esta à espaldas de la Ciudad.

Translation.

Important note: South is at the top of this map.

Year of 1809.

File opened by the Governor of the Marianas, to accompany the Map that shows the proposed sites to build the Cemetery that was ordered established.

Legend to explain the attached Map in which appear the City of Agaña with three proposed sites, so that His Lordship the Interim Governor of these [Philippine] Islands may decide which one is to be chosen to build the cemetery that has been ordered built in all of the towns for the benefit of Public Health.

- Nº 1. The parish Church.
2. [Present] cemetery.
3. The road leading to the suburb of San Nicolas.
- 4,4,4,4. Suburb of San Nicolas.
5. The bridge to go to Toto.²
6. The road that leads to the proposed site for the cemetery.³
7. The proposed cemetery which is located at 176 yards from the Town.
8. The College [of San Juan de Letrán].
9. The Convent [of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers].

1 Ed. note: The note appearing nearby says:] En este yntermedio esta el Pueblo de Anigua.
 2 Ed. note: This road still exists; it leads to Mongmong, Toto, Mapas, former Chuchugu, Cañada, and the modern Barrigada.
 3 Ed. note: The note appearing on the sketch along the road in question reads: "This is a planned road, in case the cemetery is built here."

10. The other proposed area for a cemetery which is swampy and muddy and whose swampy ground provides enough water all year for the river that passes between the City and the sea; it is 256 yards from the Church, and 15 yards from the fence of the Palace [grounds].

11. The fence of the Palace [grounds].

12. The Royal Warehouses.

13. The Royal House, or Palace.

14. The barracks.

15. The military hospital.

16. The house that serves as a retreat for the Governors.

17. Fort San Rafael.

18. The Forge.

19. The house where the arms for the volunteer troops are kept.

20. The road [rather house] where the marine equipment are kept.

21. The workshops.

22. The Bridge of San Antonio.

23,23,23,23. City of Agaña [boundaries].

24. Fort Santa Agueda.

25. The powder magazine.

à,à,à. Swamp.

26. Another good area for the cemetery, which is west of the City, and distant 1,807 yards from the b. as far as said area.¹

C,C,C. The tall hill overlooking the City.

¹ Ed. note: The note written nearby reads: "In this intervening space is the Town of Anigua." This site must have been chosen by the Governor of the Philippines, because the Piga Cemetery is still located there.

Document 1809C

Report on tradesmen in the Marianas, 1804-1809

Source: PNA.

Report comparing the number of tradesmen active in the Marianas, between the beginning of 1804 and the end of 1809, by Governor Parreño

Phlebotomists: Old men in the garrison: 2.
Now available to the public: 8.¹

Silversmiths: There were: 3.
Now there are: 4 more.

Carpenters: There were: 10.
Now there are: 6 more.

Masons: There were: 9.
Now available to the public: 17 more.

Blacksmiths: The garrison had: 2.
Now available to the public: 5 more.

Shoemakers: There was: 1.
Now available to the public: 7 more.

Drummers: There were in the 3 Companies: 3.
There are now for the new Batallion: 8 more.

[Signed by Governor:] Parreño.

1 Ed. note: In lieu of physicians, who were not available in those days.



(Overleaf) **Gate of the Royal Warehouses at Agaña.** *World War II bombs were responsible for the destruction of these warehouses which had been built circa 1802. What is left of the Spanish royal coat-of-arms and the inscription on top of the renovated gate read as follows:*

PLUS [ULTRA]

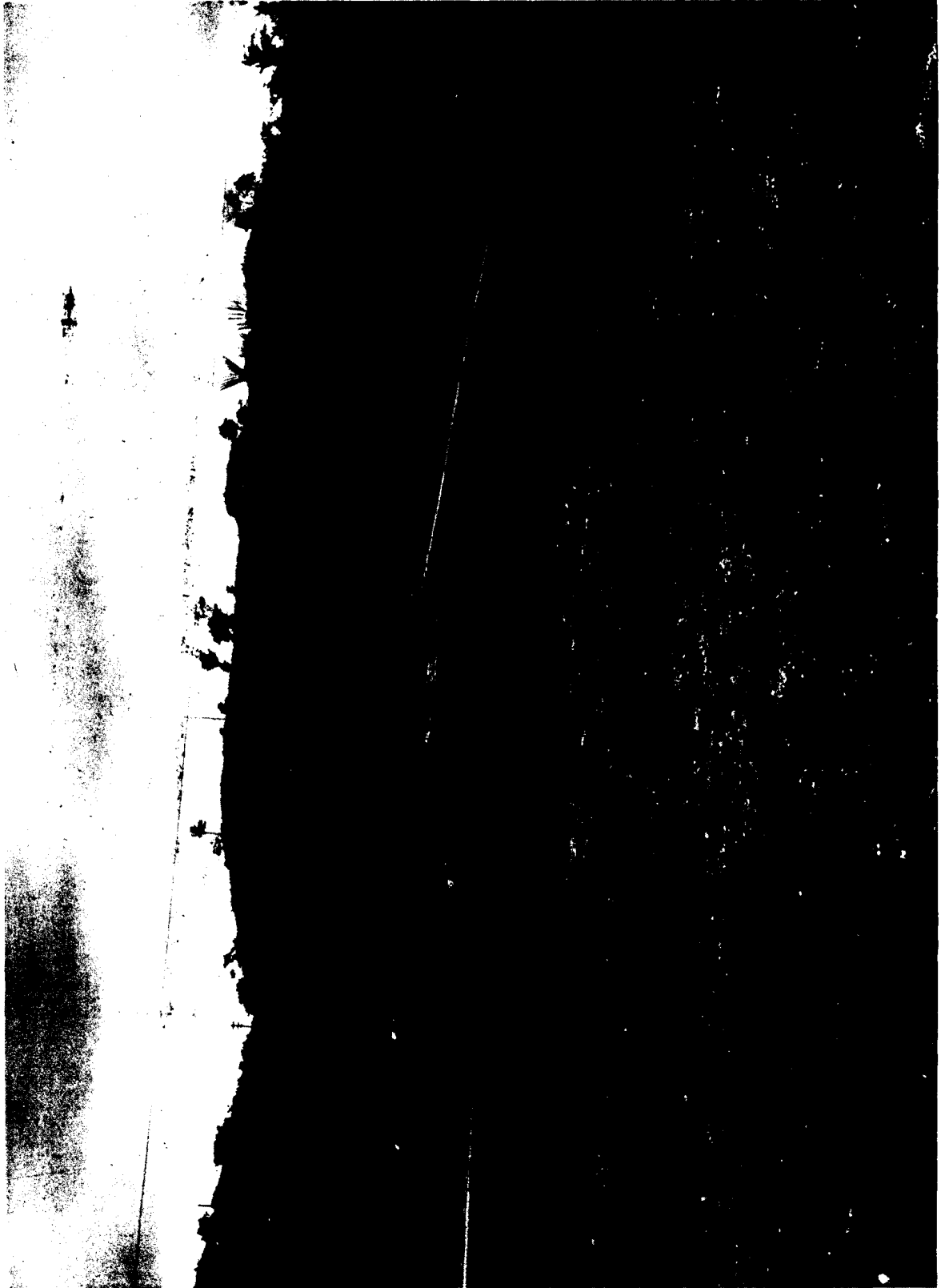
REYNANDO EN LAS ESPAÑAS LA CATOLYCA MAGESTAD DE NUESTRO AVGVSTO MONARCA DON CARLOS CVARTO POR LA GRACYA DE DYOS, SE FABRYCARON ESTOS [REALES] ALMACENES BAJO [LA SUPERVYSYON] DEL CAPITAN [DON JUAN FRAN]CISCO ...

Translation: “Plus Ultra,” the motto of Spain, which refers to “Beyond” the columns of Hercules, i.e. the Strait of Gibraltar.

“His Catholic Majesty Charles IV, our august monarch by the Grace of God, being on the throne of Spain, these [Royal] Warehouses were built under the [supervision] of Captain [Juan Fran]cisco ...” (Photo taken in 1959 by the Burris Studio of Agaña, courtesy of Domingo Abella).

Note: The only Captain whose first name was Francisco at the time was Captain Jusn Francisco Rexis de Torres, who was then Commander of the local garrison (see HM 17:403).

(Facing page) **San Antonio Bridge and Fort Santa Agueda at Agaña.** *This bridge and the fort on top of the hill were both built in 1800 during the administration of Governor Manuel Muro. When Agaña was rebuilt after WWII, the bridge was left high and dry when the Agaña River, formerly parallel to the beach, was rerouted to flow directly to the sea at Maite. (Photo taken in 1959 by Burris Studio of Agaña, courtesy of Domingo Abella).*



Documents 1809E

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1809

Source: AGN Fil. 52, fol. 307-326. Note: See Doc. 1808D.

E1. Letter from Governor Parreño to his agent in Mexico, dated Agaña 6 December 1807.

Original text in Spanish.

Señores Don Gabriel Iturbe: Por su falta Don Antonio Teran.

Muy Señor mio:

Incluyo a Vmd. el Documento adjunto que acredita la existencia de la Infanteria que Guarnece à este Real Presidio, à fin de que le sirva en los Tribunales de esa Capital, para la cobranza de los Situados que le pertenezcan en los años venideros.

Igualmente acompaña la Constancia que acredita mi Superbivencia en este Govierno, afin de que obre à los efectos que puedan combenir en los mismos Tribunales.

Nuestro Señor guarde a Vmd. muchos años.

San Ignacio de Agaña Capital de las Islas Marianas à 6 de Diciembre de 1807.

B.L.M. de V.md. su mas atento y seguro servidor

Alexandro Parreño

Translation.

[To] Messrs. Gabriel Iturbe, or in his stead, Antonio Terán.

My dear Sir:

Please find enclosed the attached document that proves the existence of the Infantry soldiers who make up this Royal garrison, so that you may use it in the Tribunals of that Capital, for collecting the Subsidies that belong to future years.

In addition, I add the Statement that proves my existence at the head of this government, so that you may use it for whatever purpose in the same Tribunals.

May our Lord save Your Grace for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 6 December 1807.

The most obliging and devoted servant of Your Grace who kisses your hand,

Alexandro Parreño

E2. List of soldiers living in the Marianas in 1807

Year of 1807.

Documents to prove the existence of the garrison of the Mariana Islands, for them to collect their subsidy for 1808.

Duplicate copy n° 2.

I, Alexandro Parreño, Captain and Adjutant Major of the Regiment of Granada, Military and Political Governor of the Mariana Islands and their Chief Judge:

Do certify that the Officers, Sergeants, Drummers, Corporals, Soldiers whose names follow are the same men who were part of this garrison of the Mariana Islands, between 13 November 1806 and this date, and continue in said posts.

Headquarters Staff.

Sergeant-Major Joaquin de Lima	1
Adjutant-Major Ignacio Espinosa	1
Adjutant-Minor Juan Crisostomo Flores	1
Adjutant-Minor Manuel Tiburcio Garrido	1

	4

First Company of Spanish Infantry.

Captain in charge Joseph Fernandez de Cardenas ...	1
Captain Felipe de la Cruz, Superintendent of Royal Works and of the Garrison Plantations	1
Captain Leopardo Arceo, Mayor of Santa Rosa	1
Artillery Captain Ignacio Martinez	1
Substantive Captain Luis de Torres , temporarily in charge of the economic government of this City and 6 neighboring villages	1
Substantive Lieut. Joseph de Leon Guerrero, Mayor of Pago & Tachuña	1
Substantive Lieut. Antonio Guerrero, Mayor of the Town of Umata & Merizo	1
Lieut. of this Company Francisco de la Cruz and Mayor of the District of Agat	1
Substantive Second-Lieutenant Antonio Palomo	1
Sergeant Antonio Fernandez de Cardenas	1
Sergeant José Ulloa	1
Sergeant Enrique de Borja	1
Drummer José de Acosta	1
Squad Corporal Remigio Franquez	1
Squad Corporal Vicente Mendiola	1
Squad Corporal Nicolas de Borja	1
Squad Corporal Ignacio Taytano	1
Squad Corporal Juan Taytano	1

Soldiers.

Juan de Espinosa	1
Alberto de Torres	1
Pedro Pangilinan	1
Manuel Ojeda	1
Juan de Salas	1
Ignacio Vargas	1
Vicente de la Cruz	1
Mariano Taisagui, Barber	1
Faustino Quintanilla	1
Rafael de la Cruz	1
Antonio de la Vega	1
Nicolas Lizama	1
Angel de la Trinidad	1
Ignacio Dimapan	1
José Lizama	1
Agustin Tenorio	1
Juan de Rivera	1
Damaso de San Nicolas	1
Nasario Flores	1
Manuel Arceo	1
Juan Diaz	1
	--
Total active positions:	39

Invalids.

Francisco Balajadia	1
Nicolas de la Cruz	1
José Guerrero	1
Luis Marcelo	1
José Cepeda	1
Fernando Salazar	1
	--
Total invalids:	6
	--

Second Company of Spanish Infantry.

Captain in charge Domingo Manuel Garrido	1
Substantive Lieutenant and Company Lieutenant Juan Rexis Pablo	1
Substantive Lieutenant Francisco Arceo, Mayor of Island of Rota	1
Second-Lieutenant José Garrido	1
Sergeant Rufino Luxán	1

Substantive Sgt. & Master Blacksmith Ignacio Xavier de Castro ..	1
Sergeant Juan de la Cruz	1
Sergeant Desiderio Arceo	1
Drummer José Siguenza	1
Squad Corporal Pedro Cotino	1
Squad Corporal Patricio de Acosta	1
Squad Corporal Angel de Castro	1
Squad Corporal Luis de León	1

Soldiers.

Andres Cruz de Leyva	1
Joseph Bermejo, Barber	1
Mariano de la Concepcion	1
Juan Manibusan, Surgeon of this garrison	1
Miguel Diego	1
Manuel Ortiz	1
José Negro	1
Antonio Agüero	1
Remigio del Rosario	1
Thomas Mendiola	1
Paulino Mendiola	1
Francisco Anungui	1
Juan Diego de la Cruz	1
Pedro Diaz	1
Rufino Franquez	1
Joaquin Peredo	1
Felipe Guzman	1
Mariano Luxan	1
Joseph Maternge	1
Joseph Manajane	1
Joaquin Ulloa	1
Claudio de la Cruz	1

Total active positions:	36

Invalids.

Domingo Romano Montufar	1
Jorge Taitiguan	1
José Baletto	1
Diego Crisostomo	1
Ignacio Juan de León Guerrero	1
Nicolas Quintanilla	1

Antonio de la Cruz	1
Juan de Aguilar	1
Miguel Lizama	1
Joseph de Aguilar	1
Mariano de los Santos	1

Total invalids:	11

Pampango Company of Infantry.

Captain in charge Justo de la Cruz, Government Secretary	1
Retired Captain Agustin Roque Sablan	1
Substantive Capt. Gaspar Pangilinan, Mayor of Inarajan & Dandan	1
Substantive Lieutenant and Company Lieutenant Manuel de la Cruz	1
Sergeant Justo Espinosa	1
Sergeant Francisco Camacho	1
Substantive Sergeant Victoriano Baza, Master Carpenter	1
Drummer Mauricio de Salas	1
Squad Corporal Juan de los Reyes	1
Squad Corporal Mariano Dueñas	1
Squad Corporal Justo de Leon Guerrero	1

Soldiers.

Mariano Aguon	1
Victoriano de la Cruz	1
Joseph Garcia	1
Diego de los Santos	1
Angel Aguon	1
Salvador Muña	1
Papios de San Nicolas	1
Angel de Leon	1
Pedro Flores	1
Joseph Pangilinan y Vega	1
Ramon de Villagomez	1
Manuel Farfan	1
Vicente Chaco	1
Maximo de la Cruz	1
Joseph Pangilinan y Guerrero	1
Pedro Espinosa	1
Antonio Ojeda	1
Ignacio Sablan	1
Jacinto de Borja	1
Joseph Aguon	1
Luis Arceo	1

Nicolas de Leon Guerrero	1
Manuel de la Cruz	1
Cenen de la Cruz, Barber	1
Domingo Camacho	1
Joseph de la Cruz y Benavente	1
Juan Maternge	1
Pedro del Rosario	1
Eleuterio Mata	1
Vicente Muña	1
Salvador de los Santos	1
Joseph Aguero	1
Juan Joseph Tello	1
Juan Guerrero	1
José Cortes	1
Thomas Rodriguez	1
Pedro de la Cruz	1
Candido de los Santos	1
Silvestre Cepeda	1
Rafael Lizama	1
Fermin Tanoña	1

Total active positions:	52

Invalids.

Casimiro Cepeda	1
	--
Total invalid:	1
	--

Summary.

Company	Active positions	Invalids
HQ staff	4	0
1st Coy. of Spanish Infantry	39	6
2nd Coy. of Spanish Infantry	36	11
Pampango Company	52	1
	---	---
Totals:	131	18
	---	---

E3. Certifications for 1807.

Notes: The exact same documents, and certifications, were presented for the year 1808, under a covering letter dated 16 March 1808. There follows the list of soldiers for 1808, in the said file, fol. 319-321v. The names are the same as those on the list of the previous year, reproduced above. The commanders are the same persons, and the overall numbers also.

Original text in Spanish.

Todos los quales constan estar existente en actual exercicio como parece en la forma expresada de las quatro foxas con la que sigue en que concluye este Documento sacada à la Letra de los Libros que paran en el Archivo de este Gobierno (a que me remito) y à la Revista pasada en este dia, y son ciento treinta y una Plazas Vivas, y diez y ocho de Inbalidos, que juntas componen ciento quarenta y nueve Plazas en las quales y en lo demas anexò concerniente a la defenza y manutencion de estas Yslas; se distribuye el Situado. Y para que conste donde combenga doy la presente Cerificasion, especialmente para que mi Apoderado general, y el de estos Presidarios en la Ciudad de Mexico que lo ès en primer lugar Don Gabriel Iturbel,] en segundo Don Antonio Teran Vecino en la misma Ciudad, se presenten con ella ante el Exmo. Señor Virrey Governador y Capitan governador del Reyno de N.E. sin mas Poder que el que se les confiere en esta y el de estos Presidarios, para que su Eccelencia se sirva mandar se libre el Situado correspondiente à el año benidero de mil ochocientos y ocho. Y en caso que por la contingencia de no tocar en estas Yslas la Nao de Filipinas de buelta de Acapulco, ú otros impedimentos que puedan acaecer, no se berificase anualmente la remicion de Listas de estos Presidarios puedan por la presente, y por el Poder general por mi otorgado, por el Sargento mayor de este Presidio, y por los referidos en veinte de Octubre de mil ochocientos y seis; hacer la misma cobranza de Situado ò Situidos anuales que correspondieren à este citado Presidio, dando para ello la Fianza que se requiere, con obligacion de manifestar las Listas correspondientes à cada año quando allà se recivan.

Dado en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, Selada con el de mis Armas; y refrendada por el Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

Agaña seis de Abril de mil ochocientos y siete.

Alexandro Parreño.

Por mandado de su Señoria

Justo de la Cruz

Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

[Certificates]

Fray Cristoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial; Juez Eclesiastico Vicario Foraneo Comisario del Santo Oficio y Cura de la Yglesia Parroquial del Dulce Nombre de Maria de esta Ciudad de Agaña, y Rector del Real Colegio de Niños de San Juan de Letran de la misma.

Certifico que el Capitan D. Justo de la Cruz de quien bà autorizado el Ynstrumento de las quatro foxas con esta ès Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas, usa y exerce dicho Oficio, y como à tal à todos los Autos, Escrituras, y demas Ynstrumentos de esta igualdad, que por su Testimonio han pasado, y pasan, se les hà dado y dà entera feè y credito judicial y extrajudicialmente como Secretario fiel, legal, y de toda confianza que ès, y la firma[,] letra y firma es propia suya, y de la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos, en cuyo Testimonio doy la presente firmada de mi mano y nombre en seis de Abril de mil ochocientos y siete.

Fr. Christoval Ybañez de San Onofre.

Vicario Provincial y Rector

El Sargento mayor D. Joaquin de Lima, y los Capitanes D. Joseph Fernandez de Cardenas, y D. Domingo Manuel Garrido de la Primera y Segunda Comp^a de Ynfanteria Española que Guarnecen à este Real Presidio de las Yslas Marianas.

Certificamos que el Capitan D. Justo de la Cruz de quien vâ firmado y autorizado el Documento que antecede ès Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas citadas Yslas, fiel, legal, y de toda confianza, y como à tal à todos sus despachos y Autos que por su feè han pasado y pasan, seles ha dado y da entera feè y credito en juicio y fuera de èl, y la firma, letra, y nombre ès propia suya, y la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos Como assi mismo la firma y letra del M.R.P. Fr. Cristoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial, Juez Eclesiastico Vicario Foraneo Comisario del Santo Oficio y Cura de la Yglesia Parroquial del Dulce Nombre de Maria de esta Ciudad de Agaña y Rector del Real Colegio de Niños de S. Juan de Letran de la misma ès propia suya. En cuyo Testimonio por inopia de otros Secretarios y Escrivanos publicos y Reales que comprueven ser assi, damos la presente firmada de nuestras manos, en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña de seis de Abril de mil ochocientos y siete.

Joachin de Lima Joseph Fernandez de Cardenas Domingo Manuel Garrido

Año de 1807.

Feè de vida del Señor Capitan y Ayudante maior del Regimiento de Ynfanteria de Granada D. Alejandro Parreño Gobernador Militar y Politico por S.M. y Justicia Mayor de estas Yslas Marianas.

Yo el Capitan D. Justo de la Cruz Secretario de Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas Marianas. Doy feè y berdadero Testimonio á los Señores que el presente bieren como oy de la fecha el Señor Capitan y Ayudante mayor del Regimiento de Infanteria de Granada D. Alejandro Parreño Gobernador Militar y Politico por S.M. y Justicia mayor de ellas está vivo, le he ablado, y me ha respondido en diferentes materias, y que se halla en actual exercicio de otros Empleos, y como á tal le reconocen, ovedecen, guardan, cumplen, y executan sus ordenes assi todos los militares como politicos, y demas gente de este Real Presidio. Y para que conste de Orden de dicho Señor Gobernador doy la

presente feé de vida en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña á seis de Abril de mil ochocientos y siete.

Justo de la Cruz Secretario de Governacion y Guerra

Fray Cristoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial, Juez Eclesiastico Vicario Foraneo Comisario del Santo Oficio y Cura de la Yglesia Parroquial del Dulce nombre de Maria de esta Ciudad de Agaña, y Rector del Colegio de Niños de San Juan de Letran de la misma.

Certifico que el Capitan Don Justo de la Cruz de quien he autorizado el Testimonio que antecede es Secretario de Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas, usa y exerce dicho Oficio y como a tal a todos los Autos, Escrituras, y demas Instrumentos de esta igualdad que para su testimonio han pasado y pasan, se las ha dado y da entera feé y credito judicial, y extrajudicialmente como secretario fiel, leal, y de toda confianza que es, y la firma, letra y nombre es propia suya y la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos: En cuyo testimonio doy la presente firma de mi mano y nombre en esta ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña á seis de Abril de mil ocho cientos siete.

Fr. Cristobal Ibañz de San Onofre Vicario Provincial y Rector

El Sargento mayor D. Joaquin de Lima, y los Capitanes D. José Fernandez de Cardenas, y D. Domingo Manuel Garrido de la Primera y Segunda Compañia de Infanteria Española que guarnecen este Real Presidio de las Ysla Marianas.

Certificamos que el Capitan D. Justo de la Cruz de quien ba firmado y autorizado el Testimonio de la buelta es Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas Marianas fiel, leal, y de toda confianza, y como a tal todos sus despachos y autos que por su feé han pasado y pasan, se les ha dado y da entera feé y credito en juicio y fuera de él; y la firma letra, y nombre es propia suya, y la firma, y la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos, como asi mismo la firma y letra del M.R.P. Fr. Cristoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial, Juez Eclesiastico Vicario Foraneo del Santo Oficio y Cura de la Yglesia Parroquial del Dulce Nombre de Maria de esta ciudad de Agaña, Rector del Real Colegio de Niños de San Juan de Letran de la misma es propia suya. En cuyo testimonio por inopia de otros Secretarios y Escrivanos publicos y Reales que comproveven ser assi, damos la presente firmada de nuestras manos en esta ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a seis de Abril de mil ochocientos y siete.

Joaquin de Lima Joseph Fernandez de Cardenas Don Manuel Garrido

Translation.

All of the above persons are alive and in active possession of their posts, as shown in the four preceding folio sheets of this Document, and was copied literally from the books that are kept in the Archive of this Government (to which I refer) and as per the Muster of this date. All in all, there are 131 in active service, and 18 invalids, for a total of 149 positions, among which are distributed the Subsidy, along with other expenses for the defence and subsistence of these Islands. And for whom it may concern, I give

the present Certification, specially to enable my general Agent, and that of these garrison soldiers in the City of Mexico who is, in the first place, Don Gabriel Iturbe, and in his stead, Don Antonio Terán, resident of said City, to approach His Excellency the Viceroy Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Spain, without greater power than that conferred in this and other from these garrison soldiers, so that His Excellency may be pleased to order the release of the Subsidy corresponding to next year, 1808. And, in the eventuality that the Philippine galleon does not stop at these Islands upon returning from Acapulco, or in any other obstacles that may prevent the yearly remittal of the Roll calls of this Garrison, they may by the present, and by the general power-of-attorney delivered by me, by the Sergeant-Major of this Garrison, and by the above on 20 October 1806, carry out the same collection of the subsidy or subsidies that belong to said Garrison, by providing the required Pledge, stating that the corresponding Rolls shall be presented upon receipt of same.

Given at this City of San Ignacio de Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, sealed with my official seal, and countersigned by the Secretary for Administration and War.

Agaña, 6 April 1807.

Alexandro Parreño.

By order of His Lordship,

Justo de la Cruz,

Secretary for Administration and War.

[Certificates]

I, Fray Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, Vicar Provincial, Ecclesiastical Judge, Vicar Forane, Commissioner of the Holy Office and Curate of the Parish Church of the Sweet Name of Mary of this City of Agaña, and Rector of the Royal College for Boys of St. John of Letran in said City:

Do certify that Captain Justo de la Cruz, who has authorized the Instrument appearing on the four preceding sheets, is indeed Secretary for Administration and War of these Islands. He exercises said Office, and in such capacity, to all the Writs, and other instruments of equal nature, that by his testimony have been created, and continue to be created, there has been given complete credence and force, in and out of legal courts, as the faithful, loyal and trustworthy Secretary that he is, and the signature that he uses is his own, and the same as he uses in all of his despatches, in faith whereof I give the present, signed by my hand and name, on 6 April 1807.

Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre

Vicar-Provincial and Rector.

We, Sergeant-Major Joaquín de Lima, Captain José Fernandez de Cárdenas, and Captain Domingo Manuel Garrido, of the First and Second Company of Spanish Infantry respectively, which act as the Royal Garrison of the Mariana Islands:

Do certify that Captain Justo de la Cruz, who has signed and authorized the preceding Document is Secretary for Administration and War of these said Islands, is faith-

ful, loyal and trustworthy, and as such, to all his despatches and legal documents by him created we have given and continue to give complete faith and credit, in and out of courts, and the signature that he uses is his own, and the same as he uses in all his despatches. The same applies to the signature of the Most Rev. Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, Vicar-Provincial, Ecclesiastical Judge, Vicar Forane, Commissioner of the Holy Office and Curate of the Parish Church of the Sweet Name of Mary of this City of Agaña and Rector of the Royal College for Boys of St. John of Letran of same city. In faith whereof, for lack of any other secretaries or notaries, public or royal, to verify the above, we have given the present, and signed it by our hands, in this City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on 6 April 1807.

Joaquín de Lima José Fernandez de Cárdenas Domingo Manuel Garrido

[Etc. a certificate proving that Governor Parreño is alive, signed by the Secretary, and verified by Fr. Ibañez and the same three officers. This is followed by another set of similar documents, for the year 1808, to get their pay for 1809.]

E4. Reaction of the officials of Mexico City

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. è Yll^o Sor.

Josè Mariano Cobarruvias por el Sor. Governador y demas de la Compañia que residen en el Presidio de Yslas Marianas en virtud del Poder que tengo presentado ante V.E. Y. como mejor proceda Digo: Que habiendo llegado al Puerto de Acapulco la Nao de Manila, y por esto proporcionarse el poderse remitir los Situados de dichas Yslas ocurro à la justificacion de V.E. Y. para que se sirva mandar se me entreguen los sueldos del presente año de ochocientos nueve y lo perteneciente al de ochocientos diez para que se pueda poner en conducta en la presente ocasion.

Asi mismo presento las Feès devida que protestè presentar en mis anteriores pertenecientes à los años de ochocientos siete y de ochocientos ocho, y no lo hago de la del presente año por no haber tocado la referida Nao en dicho Presidio en el presente viage protestando hacerlo luego que se me remita.

A V.E. suplico se sirva mandar se libre la orden de estilo à los Señores Ministros de Real Hacienda para que se me entregue lo perteneciente à los dos años referidos que es justicia, juro lo necesario.

Joseph Mariano Cobarrubias

[A] *Exmo. e Ylmo. Señor*

Mexico 6 de diciembre de 1809

Ynformen los Ministros de la Tesoreria general.

El Arzobispo

Manuel Velasquez de Leon.

El Situado de las Yslas Marianas consiste en la cantidad fixa de 20.137 pesos 4 reales y no hallamos inconveniente para que V.E. Y. se sirva mandar se entregue al Apoderado del Gobernador Sargento Mayor Oficiales y Tropa de dichas Yslas el que corresponde al presente año, y al siguiente de 1810, si fuere de su superior agrado.

*Tesoreria General de Exercicio y Real Hazienda de Mexico 15 de Diciembre de 1809.
De conformidad: Lasso Vildosola*

Mexico 20 de Diciembre de 1809

Como informan los Ministros de la Tesoreria general devolviendoles este Expediente para su cumplimiento con prevencion de que evaquado lo devuelvan à mi Secretario de Camara con la correspondiente constancia para la toma de razon en el Real Tribunal de Cuentas.

El Arzobispo

Queda cumplido el Superior decreto que precede por la Tesoreria General de Exercicio y Real Hazienda.

Mexico 29 de Diciembre de 1809.

Lasso Vildosola

Real Tribunal y Audiencia de la Contaduria de Cuentas.

5 de Enero de 1810.

Tomase razon por la Mesa de Memorias y 2º de Marina.

Ygnacio Valles.

Queda tomada razon en el Libro de Mandamientos nº 44 à foha 6.

Mesa de Memorias y Alcances de la Contaduria del Real Tribunal y Audiencia de Cuentas.

5 de Enero de 1810.

Beltran.

Queda enterada la mesa 2º de Marina.

Translation.

[Petition]

Your Excellency.

I, José Mariano Cobarrubias, on behalf of the Governor and other officers of the Company manning the Garrison of the Mariana Islands, by virtue of the Power that I have presented before Y.E., in the best manner possible:

Do declare that, the Manila galleon having arrived at the port of Acapulco, and it being now possible to remit the Subsidies of said Islands, I appeal to the justice of Y.E. to please order the release of the salaries for the present year 1809, and for the next year 1810, to enable me to place them on board by the present occasion.

In addition, I hereby present the Certifications that I pledged in my previous applications corresponding to 1807 and 1808. I do not do so for the present year, as said galleon did not stop at said Garrison in the present voyage [eastward], but I pledge that I have to do so when it will be remitted to me.

I beg Y.E. to please authorize the issuance of the usual order to the Gentlemen Ministers of the Royal Treasury so that they may deliver to me the subsidy corresponding to the two said years, which is simply justice, etc. I do swear, as necessary.

José Mariano Cobarrubias

[To] His Excellency.

[Decree]

Mexico, 6 December 1809.

I need a report from the Ministers of the Royal Treasury.

[For] The Archbishop [Viceroy]

Manuel Velasquez de León.

[Report]

The Subsidy of the Mariana Islands consists in the sum of 20,137 pesos and 4 reals and we do not find any inconvenience for Y.E. to be pleased to order the delivery to the Agent for the Governor, the Sergeant-Major, and the officers and soldiers of said Islands of what corresponds to the present year, and the next one 1810, if it be of your superior pleasure.

General Treasury of the Army and Royal Finance of Mexico, 15 December 1809.

In agreement: Lasso Vildosola

[Decree]

Mexico, 20 December 1809.

Let it be as the Ministers of the General Treasury say. Send back this file for its execution, not forgetting to return it to my personal Secretary afterwards, so that the corresponding statement can be taken into account by the Royal Tribunal of Accounts.

The Archbishop

[Notes]

The above superior decree has been obeyed by the Treasury General of the Army and Royal Finance.

Mexico, 29 December 1809.

Lasso Vildosola

Royal Tribunal and Audiencia of Accounts. 5 January 1810.

The desk for Nominal Rolls and Navy Desk N° 2 Desk are to take the above into account.

Ignacio Valles.

So noted in the Book of Orders n° 44, page 6.
Desk for Nominal Rolls and Advances of the Accounting Office of the Royal Tribunal and Audiencia of Accounts.
5 January 1810.
Beltrán

Carried out by Navy Desk N°2.



Archbishop Francisco Xavier de Lizana y Beaumont.
*Viceroy from 1809 to 1810. (From Rivera's *Los gobernantes de México*).*

Document 1809F

Sailing directions for the Pacific, by Alonso de la Riva

Source: BL Add. mss. 17,630, fol. 53-63v.

Note: According to a note on the last page of this manuscript book, the first part of the text below was written by the late Commander Fernando Quintano, but the part about Guam by Riva himself.

Original text in Spanish.

Derrota 57. de Lima à Manila

El mejor tiempo de la salida de Lima para navegar à Manila, comprendo que es à fines de Noviembre, porque recalarà à Marianas à fines de Enero, ò principio de Febrero, desde donde hasta Manila ya la primera fuerza de los Nortes que reinan en Diciembre i Enero han desahogado, i Nordestean mas los Vientos, son mas apacibles, i se esta mas en disposicion de determinar, si se quiere pasar por el N. de la Isla de Luzon, ò seguir derecho al Estrecho de S. Bernardino... ..

...

Si acaso espontaneamente, ò por necesidad hubiere de arribar à Marianas, serà en la isla de Guajan en el Puerto de Humata, para la cual daremos las Direcciones siguientes.

Cuando se recale en esta isla conviene venir por el paralelo de 13°20', i hallandose à la vista de ella, se podrá costear à una regular distancia, para pasar al S. de la isleta de Cocos, à la distancia de 1-1/2 milla, orzando luego al NE1/4N, à cuyo rumbo se descubrirà el Castillo i fondeadero del dicho Puerto, i juntamente la iglesia que demorando a E. se puede dar fondo en 18. 20. 25. 30 brazas. Yo estuve fondeado demorando lo mas S. de la isleta de Cocos al Sur, i lo mas SE de la isla de Guajan al S27°E.

En este Puerto de Humata se encuentran todos los refrescos necesarios, menos el Pan i Vino, pero Gallinas, Puercos, Arroz, Maiz, Abichuelas, Naranjas, Limones, Plantanos, Rimas i Cocos, todos à unos precios sumamente baratos. En él tiene la Aguja de Variacion 5°30', i sigue disminuyendo hasta el Cabo de Espiritu Santo que es cero.

...

[And so on as far as Cavite in Manila Bay.]

...

Ferrol 24 de Marzo de 1809.—Alonso de la Riva.

Translation.

Sailing directions #57. From Lima to Manila.

I understand that the best time for you to sail from Lima to go to Manila is at the end of November, because you will get to the Marianas at the end of January, or the beginning of February, at a time when the northerlies that prevail during December and January between these Islands and Manila will have lost their initial strength, and they begin to blow from the NE, are milder, and you will be in a better position to decide whether to go by the north side of Luzon Island, or directly to the Strait of San Bernardino.

...

Should it become necessary for you to stop at the Marianas, either on purpose, or out of necessity, you must choose the Island of Guajan and the port of Umatac. The directions for said port are as follows:

When you make a stopover at this island, you should follow the parallel of 13°20' and when you find yourself in sight of it, you will be able to sail along its south shore at a regular distance, then south around the islet of Cocos at a distance of 1-1/2 miles, then tack to NE1/4N along which heading you will discover the fort and anchorage of said port, and next to it the church that bears E. It is possible to drop anchor in 18, 20, 25, or 30 fathoms. At the place where I anchored, the islet of Cocos bore S, and the southeasternmost point of the Island of Guajan bore S27°E.

At this port of Umatac all the necessary refreshments can be found, except bread and wine, but chickens, pigs, rice, corn, kidney beans, oranges, lemons, bananas, bread-fruits and coconuts are available, all at extremely cheap prices. Here the magnetic variation is 5°30' and it keeps on decreasing until Cape Espiritu Santo where it is zero.

...

[As so on as far as Cavite in Manila Bay.]

...

Ferrol, 24 March 1890.

Alonso de la Riva.

Note 1809G

The track of the Cuffnells, Captain Welland

Source: Log 178E, India Office.

Note: This ship passed through Micronesia without seeing any island, on purpose, it seems, passing between Palau and Yap.

Extract from the log kept by Captain Robert Welland

Cuffnells towards China.

Date	Lat. N.	Long. E.	
8 Dec	1°37'	133°5'	
9 Dec	1°52'	133°32'	
10 Dec	2°11'	133°21'	
11 Dec	2°11'	133°4'	
12 Dec	2°25'	133°31'	
13 Dec	2°25'	134°5'	
14 Dec	2°36'	133°58'	
15 Dec	2°48'	133°37'	
16 Dec	3°39'	133°19'	
17 Dec	3°33'	133°47'	
18 Dec	4°37'	135°35'	
19 Dec	5°47'	135°30'	
20 Dec	7°10'	136°22'	[2° E. of Palau]
21 Dec	7°50'	136°7'	
22 Dec	9°32'	136°0'	[2° W. of Yap]
23 Dec	11°17'	132°52'	

Documents 1809H

The estate of former Governor Cerain

Source: AGN Fil. 60, fol. 230-236v.

H1. Writ presented to the Governor of the Philippines

Original text in Spanish.

Secretaria del Virreynato.—1809. Filipinas n° 301, etc.

Sobre remision á Manila de los fondos que hay en este Reyno pertenecientes á la testamentaria del Sor. Coronel Don Felipe Cerain.

Al Oficio del Sor. Virrey Num° 7. Año de 1809.

*Testimonio de la representacion del Sor. D. Francisco Diaz Durana Dean de esta Santa Yglesia Cathedral Metropolitana, y Albacea Testamentaria del difunto Sor. Coronel D. Phelipe Cerain, pide se oficiara al Sor. Virrey de N. Esp^a para que tenga a bien permitir embarcar de la Nao **Magallanes** los fondos que hay en aquel Reyno pertenecientes a la Testamentaria á dicho difunto.*

Escrito.

Muy Yllustre Señor.

*Don Francisco Dias Durana, Dean de esta Santa Metropolitana Yglesia Testamentario del Difunto Señor Coronel Don Felipe de Cerain ante VSía, como mas haya lugar en derecho paresco, y digo: Que el consignatario del referido Señor Cerain de Mexico, y encargado de los intereses de esta testamentaria Don Santiago de Ayala á VSía que sobre los Pagamentos que ha hecho en aquel Reyno á los sobrinos del testador, y hermanos con arreglo á lo dispuesto por VSía libramientos que se han executado en la misma conformidad, y remesas que hizo en la Fragata de Guerra Francesa la **Cañonera** y en el Nao **Magallanes** que regreso á esta Bahía en Agosto ultimo quedan en su poder ciento veinte, y siete mil, trescientos setenta, y nueve pesos, seis reales, y tres octavos correspondientes á esta testamentaria, y que para poder embarcarlos en primera ocasion en Acapulco para conducirlos á esta Ciudad sera indispensable el que VSía como Gefe principal de estas Yslas oficie con aquel Señor Virrey para que providencie su embarque, por que de otro modo, no será posible conseguirlo en atencion a las esquetitas diligencias que hà practicado en aquel Ministerio ofreciendo satisfaser los correspondientes derechos, y que solicitando àun el Buque que sele tenia consedido al difunto*

*con antelacion sele dinegó por aquel Señor Virey en todos instancias que hizo: Y como los caudales referidos exeptuando los que corresponden à los hermanos y sobrinos, cuios poderes se hallan en aquel Reyno, deben venir à esta Ciudad para dar cumplimiento a la voluntad del testador, y hallandose el Bergantin **Activo** de su Magestad havilitado de para regresar al Puerto de San Blas suplico à VSía se sirva oficiar à aquel Señor Virrey permita el embarque de lo que restare despues de haver satisfecho lo que en prorrata corresponda a los enunciados hermanos, y sobrinos del testador como se practico con el principal legado a favor de ellos teniendo presente la demanda que tiene puesta el Venerable Dean, y Cavildo de esta Santa Yglecia Catedral contra esta Testamentaria de quaqrenta y cinco mil pesos, que la difunta esposa del testador Doña Maria Dolores de Zamudio asigno a su favor para diferentes obras pias de Misas, Aniversarios, Festividades solemnes de la Madre de Dios, y otros direntes, que àun se hallan sin determinarse, y que de la Providencia que VSía tuviere abien de dar en esta instancia seme franquee testimonio por triplicado con incercion de mi pedimento para enterar al encargado de dichos Caudales que le sirva de pauta en el modo con que devera conducirse para que asi no le resulte cargo, ni responsabilidad en su procedimiento. En cuios terminos.*

A VSía pido, y suplico asi lo provea, que ès justicia que imploro Juro no ser de malicia, y lo nesesario &^a

Francisco Dias Durana

Translation.

Secretariat of the Vice-Kingdom.—1809. Philippines n° 301, etc.

Regarding the remittal to Manila of the funds existing in this Kingdom belonging to the executor of the estate of Colonel Felipe Ceraín.

Attached to the Letter from His Lordship the Viceroy N° 7. Year of 1809.

Testimony of the representation of His Lordship Don Francisco Díaz Durana, Dean of this Holy Church and Metropolitan Cathedral, and the testamentary executor of the late Colonel Felipe Ceraín. He requests His Lordship the Viceroy of New Spain to permit the embarkation aboard the galleon **Magallanes** of the funds that exist in this Kingdom belonging to the estate of said deceased.

Writ.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I, Francisco Díaz Durana, Dean of this Holy Metropolitan Church and executor of the estate of the late Colonel Felipe de Ceraín, in the best manner under the law, appear before Your Lordship and declare: That the co-signatory of the above-named Ceraín in Mexico and the representative of the interests of this estate, Don Santiago de Ayala, wrote to Y.E. about the payments that he made in that Kingdom to the nephews and brothers of the testator, in accordance with what Y.E. had decided, and payments that he remitted aboard the French warship **Canonnière** and aboard the galleon **Magallanes** which returned to this Bay last August; that there remain in his power 127,379

pesos, 6 reals and 3 octavos belonging to this executor, and that, in order to embark them at the first occasion in Acapulco to be brought to this City, it would be indispensable that Y.E., as principal Official of these Islands, write to His Lordship the Viceroy asking him to permit the embarkation, because otherwise, it will not be possible to achieve it, given that he has [already] made intricate efforts in that Ministry, [even] offering to pay all the corresponding taxes, and that he even solicited [the exemption from] the ship charges that the deceased had obtained in advance, everything was denied him by the Viceroy, in all the instances that he made. And, given that the funds in question, except those belonging to the brothers and nephews, whose agents live in that Kingdom, must come to this City to give compliance to the will of the testator, and since His Majesty's brig **Activo** is ready to return to the port of San Blas, I beg Your Lordship to please write to the Viceroy asking him to permit the embarkation of what will remain, after having satisfied what might belong, on a prorata basis, to the above-named brothers and nephews of the testator, as was done in their favor with the main legacy, in view of the present claim by the Venerable Dean, and Council of this Holy Cathedral Church, against this estate, for 45,000 pesos, that the late wife of the testator, Mrs. María Dolores de Zamudio, assigned to them for various pious works, such as masses, anniversaries, solemn feasts of the Mother of God, and various others, that have not yet been celebrated; that Your Lordship may be good enough to let me have a testimony in triplicate of the measures that you may take as a result of this petition, including my petition itself, to enable me to inform the person in charge of said funds, for him to use as a guide in the matter with which he will have to act, to prevent any charge or responsibility against him for his proceeding. In such terms,

I beg and beseech Your Lordship to provide what is simply just. I swear not to feel malice, and only what is necessary, etc.

Francisco Díaz Durana¹

H2. Letter of Governor Folgueras to the Viceroy, dated Manila 25 April 1809

Original text in Spanish.

N. 7.

Exmo. Sor.

Por el adjunto testimonio se impondrá V.E. que la testamentaria del Coronel de Exército Don Felipe de Cerain, individuo que fué de este Comercio, tiene en ese Reyno la suma de ciento veinte y siete mil, trescientos setenta y nueve pesos, seis reales, y tres octavos en poder de Don Santiago Ayala. Este há solicitado del Señor antecesor de V.E., permiso para embiar en la Nao, y demas Buques, que sele hán presentado, la parte que debía, despues de satisfacer ciertas cantidades á algunos acrehedores en ese Reyno;

¹ Ed. note: Governor Folgueras issued a decree on 10 April 1809, for a letter to be written to the Viceroy and have the petitioner advised of same.

para no habiendo podido conseguir el tal permiso, en ningun tiempo, se halla por esta razon incumplida la voluntad del testador, y los destinos Pios á que aplicó algunas sumas el pinado, carecen de ellas, al paso que la misma testamentaria, se halla pendiente, y los Alvaceas con la responsabilidad.

*En consecuencia, espero merecer de V.E. tenga á bien permitir al expresado Ayala, embarque en la Nao **Magallanes**, ú otro qualesquiera Buque, que se proporcione, con destino á estas Yslas, los fondos pertenecientes á la referida testamentaria, y que haya de remitir el arreglo á lo que le esté prevenido por este Juscado de Audiencia de Guerra.*

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Manila 25 de Abril de 1809.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. D. Pedro Garibay

Translation.

Nº 7.

Your Excellency.

From the enclosed testimony, Y.E. will be apprised of the estate of Army Colonel Felipe de Ceraín, an individual who was a trader here, and had in that Kingdom the sum of 127,379 pesos 6 reals and 3 octavos in the hands of Don Santiago Ayala. Said gentleman had solicited from the predecessor of Y.E. permission to send aboard the galleon, and other ships that might appear, the part that he owed, after satisfying certain sums owed to creditors in that Kingdom, but he was unable to obtain said permission, repeatedly, so that the will of the testator has been frustrated, and the pious purposes to which the claimant was to have applied some funds lack same, and the execution of the estate itself is pending, and the executors unable to fulfil their obligations.

Consequently, I expect that Y.E. will favor me by letting the above-named Ayala to embark aboard the galleon **Magallanes**, or any other ship bound to these Islands, the funds belonging to the above-said estate, and that he has to remit in accordance with the decision taken here by the Military Court.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 25 April 1809.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras

[To] His Excellency Pedro Garibay.

Document 1810A

The return voyage of the Magallanes in charge of Lieutenant Roldán

Source: AGN Fil. 59, fol. 228-229.

Note: Lieutenant Roldán replaced Commander Bernaci who died during the eastward passage.

Letter from Lieutenant Roldán, dated Acapulco 16 January 1810

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*El Navio el **Magallanes** a mi mando se halla listo por mi parte, pues acabadas sus obras, y completo de su aguada podiera dar la Vela, à mediados de Febrero, o antes, si las viveres, y Carga llegasen à este Puerto; al presente careso de la noticia de esta, y como en las instrucciones se me previene de que la salida sea à principios de Marzo, (epoca absolutamente precisa, y necesaria) hago presente à V.E. que retardandose mas tiempo, seran funestes las consecuencias que se siguen à mi recalada en el Golfo de Marianas, en el qual hallandose ya la Monson cambiada, me veré expuesto à sufrir los recios vientos y uracanes que generalmente se experimentan in dichos mares, y que en el caso de salir bien de ellos, ò mas la navegacion, para mi recalada à Manila para un archipelago tan peligroso por sus bajos, como expuesto [a ura-]canes; y de no tendré que imbernerme [en] el Puerto de Palapa, para esperar el cambio de la otra Monson, lo que acarrearà grande perjuicio al serv[icio del] Rey, y Comercio de aquellas Yslas [---] erario no se halla en el caso de [---] exponerlo à tan males tiempos, por lo viejo, y quebrantado que se halla tal vez llegaria el caso de que con [---] todos fuésemos victimas de aquellas mares. Los Agentes del Comercio, piden por lo regular, con bastante [vir-]tut en sus negocios, y miran con alguna indiferencia, el peligro que alcanzan; los intereses que man[---] son agenos, y no sè si algunos [ga-]narian mas en la perdida del [---] por tanto cumpliendo con mi obligacion en el caso de elevar à mano de V.E. esta representacion, del [---] hecho cargo V.E. y de las justas [ra-]zones en que se fundan, extienda V.E. las ordenes correspondientes, afin de que se facilite la salida de la Nao, lo [---] mas pronto que se pueda, à la epoca prefijada en 1º de Marzo, y espero que V.E.*

tendrá a bien el Celo, que le manifiesto, sin que por esto lo gradice de importuno, quedando de todos modos resignado à las ordenes de V.E.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

*Navio **Magallanes**, al ancla en el Puerto de Acapulco à 16 de Enero de 1810.*

Exmo. Sor.

Gregorio Roldan

[A] Exmo. Sor. Virrei de N.E.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

The galleon **Magallanes** under my command is now ready as far as I am concerned; indeed, her repairs are done, and water is on board. She could sail in the middle of February, or before, if the food supplies and the cargo get to this port beforehand. At present I am without news of the cargo, and as my instructions oblige me to leave by the beginning of March (a time of absolute necessity) I represent to Y.E. that any delay would bring fatal consequences once I get past the Marianas. Indeed, if I find myself there after the monsoon has changed, I will be exposed to suffer the stiff winds and hurricanes that prevail in those seas, and, if I am lucky to get through those, there is, before I get to Manila, an archipelago full of dangerous shoals that one cannot dare cross during hurricanes, so that I would have to spend the winter at the port of Palapag, to await there the change to the other monsoon, something that would bring great prejudice to the service of the King, and the trade of those Islands, [in addition to harm done] to the treasury, as the result of exposing such an old, broken, ship to bad weather and, God forbid, exposing all of us to becoming the victims of those seas. The agents of the traders, on the other hand, generally do not take into account the maritime question when carrying out their business affairs, and they look with some indifference the danger that is real, since their interests are foreign to it, and I don't know whether they would even make more money if everything be lost. That is why, to comply with my duty, I must bring this matter to the attention of Y.E., and [hope that] Y.E. will take charge, once you have been appraised of the reasons for my doing so, and issue the corresponding orders to expedite the departure of the galleon as soon as possible, at the prefixed date of March 1st, and I hope that Y.E. will accept the zeal that I show in good faith and not consider it inopportune, and I remain in any case resigned to the orders of Y.E.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the **Magallanes** at anchor in the port of Acapulco, 16 January 1810.

Your Excellency.

Gregorio Roldán

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain.



**Viceroy Francisco de Venégas, from 1810 to
1813.**

Document 1810B

Subsidy for the Mariana Mission, for 1810

Source: AGN Fil. 46, fol. 184-192.

Original text in Spanish.

1810. Filipinas n° 325, etc.

El R.P. Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas sobre que por estas Caxas se satisfagan los sinodos y limosnas de los Religiosos que administran en Yslas Marianas.

Excmo. e Illmo. Sor.

*Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña, Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas de esta Capital, de Religiosos Agustinos descalzos de la Provincia de Filipinas, ante la Superioridad de V.E.I. como mejor proceda digo: que por Reales Cédulas están señalados y se pagan en estas Reales Cajas Sinodos à los Misioneros de mi Provincia que administran en las Yslas Marianas; cuya existencia acreditan las dos certificaciones que presento, comprobadas en forma bastante, y asimismo la de las Lamparas que están en corriente en aquellas Misiones. Tambien se satisfacen las limosnas que S.M. tiene asignadas a los Religiosos de mi Orden del Convento de Manila. Y habiendo ahora ocasion de que se remitan las cantidades correspondientes en la Nao **Magallanes** que ha de regresar à aquellas Yslas.*

A V.E.I. suplico que por los Ministros de Real Hacienda se sirva mandar se satisfagan dichas cantidades, liquidadas por el ultimo pago que se hizo a mi antecesor; pasandoles al efecto este escrito y documentos, por ser asi de justicia que pido &c^a

Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña.

[Certification for 1806]

Fr. Christoval Ybañez de San Onofre Predicador Religioso de la Orden de los Recoletos Descalzos de N.P.S. Agustin de la Provincia de San Nicolas de las Yslas Philipinas Vicario Provincial Juez Ecclesiastico, y Vicario Foraneo de estas Yslas: Certifico, y Juro in verbo Sacerdotis en la mas bastante forma que puedo, y me sea concedido, como en estas Yslas Marianas, y sus Misiones, han estado, y están empleados en la predicacion del Santo Evangelio adelantamiento de esta nueva Christiandad y Santa Fee, en servicio de la Divina Magestad, y del Rey N.S. (que Dios guarde) los siguientes Sacerdotes.

*Fr. Christoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial
Fr. Josef Maria de la Virgen del Carmen Ministro*

En la misma forma Certifico, y Juro que ha avido, y hay siete Yglesias en las quales hay siete Lamparas ardiendo continuamente, y quedan del mismo modo ardiendo. Y para que todo conste assi al Exceletentissimo Señor Virrey de la nueva España como à los Reales Tribunales de Cuentas, Señores, Oficiales Reales de las Reales Caxas de Mexico, y de mas que convenga, doy la presente fecha en esta Ysla de San Juan, y Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de estas Yslas Marianas, en veinte, y quatro de Octubre del año de mil ochocientos, y seis.

Fr. Christoval Ybañez de San Onofre, Vicario Provincial

Fr. Josef Maria de la Virgen del Carmen de la Orden de los Agustinos Dezcalzos de N.P.S. Agustin Notario de este Oficio: Certifico y Juro in verbo Sacerdotis; como todo lo arriva expresado por nuestro actual Superior, y Vicario Provincial de estas Yslas Marianas, ser verdad el numero de Yglesias, Missioneros, y Sagrarios que expresa, y para que conste donde convenga doi el presente testimonio firmado de mi mano en veinte y quatro de Octubre de mil ochocientos y seis.

Fr. Josef Maria de la Virgen del Carmen.

Don Alexandro Parreño Capitan de Granada, y Governador de estas Yslas Marianas, Certifico en la forma que puedo y devo, que los R.R. P.P. contenidos en la foha anterior, son los mismos que al presente existen, y administran Doctrinas, Sacramentos en estas dichas Yslas; igualmente las Lamparas que menciona otra Certificacion à su continuacion que va firmado por el M.R.P. Fr. Cristoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial de ellas, y la firma, letra, y rubrica es propia suia, y de la que acostumbra en todos sus negocios judiciales, extrajudiciales: como assimismo el R.P. Fr. Josef Maria de la Virgen del Carmen por su Notario, y como tal va autorizado todos los despachos de su Juzgado, y la firma, es la misma que ha usado, y usa en ellos: en cuió testimonio y conprovacion doi la presente, y firmé en veinte, y quatro de Octubre de mil ochocientos, y seis.

Alexandro Parreño

Don Juachin de Lima Sargento Maior de este Real Presidio de estas Yslas Marianas, y los Capitanes Don Josef Fernandez de Cardenas, y Don Domingo Manuel Garrido de la Guarnicion de este Real Presidio: Certificamos que las firmas que usan, y acostumbran usar el M.R.P. Fr. Christoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial de esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña, y el P. Fr. Josef Maria de la Virgen del Carmen Notario de este Juzgado Ecclesiastico son las mismas de que usan siempre, y para que conste lo firmamos en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña en veinte, y quatro de Octubre de mil ochocientos, y seis.

Joachin de Lima Joseph Fernandez de Cardenas Domingo Manuel Garrido

...

Translation.

1810. Philippines n° 325, etc.

The Rev. Fr. President of the Hospice of San Nicolas requesting this Treasury to pay the church subsidies and alms for the Religious who are ministering in the Mariana Islands.

Your Excellency.

I, Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña, President of the Hospice of San Nicolas of this Capital, of the Discalced Augustinians of the Province of the Philippines, appear before Y.E. and in the best manner declare: that it is stipulated by Royal decrees that this Royal treasury should pay church subsidies to the Missionaries of my Province who are ministering in the Mariana Islands. The two enclosed certificates are sufficient proofs of the existence of said missionaries, and also proof of the lamps that are currently being used in those missions. I also request that the alms that H.M. has assigned to the Religious of my Order in the Convent of Manila be paid. And, since there is now an occasion of remitting the corresponding sums of money aboard the galleon **Magallanes** which must return to those Islands:

I beg Y.E. to be pleased to order the Ministers of the Royal treasury to pay said sums, as of the last payments made to my predecessor, by forwarding this writ and the other documents to them, since what I ask is just, etc.

Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña

[Certification for 1806]

I, Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, Religious Preacher of the Order of Discalced Recollects of St. Augustine of the Province of San Nicolas of the Philippine Islands, Vicar-Provincial of these Islands: Do certify, and swear as a priest, in the best manner possible, that in these Mariana Islands, and their Missions, there have been, and are, employed in preaching the Holy Gospel, in advancing this new Christian community and the Holy Faith, in the service of the Divine Majesty, and of the King our Lord (may God save him) the following priests:

- Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, Vicar-Provincial;
- Fr. José María de la Virgen del Carmen, Minister.

In like manner, I certify, and swear, that there have been, and are, seven churches in which there are seven lamps burning continuously, and remain burning. And for whom it may concern, not only for His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain but also for the Royal Tribunals of Accounts, the Royal Officials in charge of the Royal treasury of Mexico, and others concerned, I give the present, made at this Island of San Juan, and City of San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of these Mariana Islands, on the 24th of October 1806.

Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, Vicar-Provincial.

I, Fr. José María de la Virgen del Carmen of the Order of Discalced Augustinians of St. Augustine, Notary of this Office: do certify, and swear as a priest, that everything mentioned above by our present Superior and Vicar-Provincial of these Mariana Islands, is the truth, as to the number of churches, missionaries, and sanctuaries, and for whom it may concern I give the present testimony signed by my hand on the 24th of October 1806.

Fr. José María de la Virgen del Carmen

I, Don Alexandro Parreño, Captain of Grenadiers, and Governor of these Mariana Islands, do certify, in the best manner possible, that the Rev. Fathers mentioned on the previous page, are the same ones who live here presently and administer the catechism and the sacraments in these said Islands; in addition, the lamps mentioned in the certification that follows the first one, and is signed by Rev. Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, Vicar-Provincial of them, and the signature shown therein, is his very own, the one that he uses in all his affairs, in and out of courts; similarly, Rev. Fr. José María de la Virgen del Carmen, is his Notary, and in said capacity has authorized all the despatches of his court, and his signature is the same one that he used on them all. In faith whereof I give the present and signed it on the 24th of October 1806.

Alexandro Parreño

We, Joaquín de Lima, Sergeant-Major of this Royal Garrison of these Mariana Islands, Captain José Fernandez de Cárdenas, and Captain Domingo Manuel Garrido, of the Garrison of this Royal Place: do certify that the signatures used by the Most Rev. Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, and Fr. José María de la Virgen del Carmen, Notary of this Ecclesiastical Court, are the same that they always use, and for whom it may concern, we sign our names in this City of San Ignacio of Agaña on the 24th of October 1806.

Joaquín de Lima José Fernandez de Cárdenas Domingo Manuel Garrido

...

Editor's notes.

There follows another certification of signatures, by Captain Justo de la Cruz, Government Secretary. In addition, another similar set of certificates follow in the file, dated 1 January 1808. The two missionaries were granted 1-1/2 arrobas of wine each, per year, to celebrate mass, and a total of 6 arrobas of olive oil per year for each lamp burning in a church, but only two such churches were counted, given that there were only two priests. This dictum was signed by the Archbishop who was then Viceroy in 1810.

However, the despatch literally "missed the boat" that year (see Doc. 1814C).

Document 1810C

The ship Amethyst, Captain Seth Smith, visited Palau in 1810

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; PMB 780.

Note: The Amethyst left Boston in September 1806, visited Sydney in 1807 (according to Dunbabin) and was dismantled at Whampoa in July 1810, but Howay says otherwise (seen notes at the end). As for the log-keeper, he returned to New York in April 1811 aboard the ship Chinese Bram.

Extract from the logbook kept by Lewis Coolidge

Journal of a voyage perform'd on the Ship Amethyst, Seth Smith Commander. From Boston to the Coast of California. &c.

September 17, 1806.

We departed from the Castle, at 5 p.m. Came to anchor in Nantasket Rhodes [i.e. Roads] with two other ships waiting a wind. Discharg'd the pilot. At half past five o'clock A.M. weigh'd anchor, and came to sail with the two ships above mention'd with a S.W. wind and pleasant weather at Eight o'clock took my departure from Boston light house bearing W. by N. four leagues distance. No occurrence worth noting for a number of day's Employ'd preparing the ship for voy[age].

This ship was two hundred and Seventy tons burden. Arm'd with ten six pounders and other arms necessary with forty five Mariners. The Ships Company amounting to fifty two persons and provision'd for three years.

...

[This ship may have crossed Micronesia in 1808, but this part of the logbook was not transcribed by the repository.]

...

[While in Manila]

November 15 [1809] The **Barracuta** Brig arrived from Macao.¹ She brought news of peace between England and America, and that there were twenty two American vessels lying at Whampoa.

On the 16 the ship **Romancrita(?) late Belle Savage**,² Capt. Fernando Zuldia [=Zueldea?] sailed for Acapulco So. [sic] America. By this conveyance I wrote home.

Nov. 25 the Spanish gallion **Santisima Trinidad** sailed for Acapulco.³ The next day the English fleet sailed under convoy of the **Barracuta** Brig for Pulo Pinang. Saluted which was returned from the batteries.

On the 28 the **Amethyst** hauled from the pier, and anchored off the City, employed taking things on board and preparing for sea.

The next day the Philippine Company's schooner (late belonging to the French) sailed for Acapulco with despatches. Commanded by Eben H. Corey of Providence, R.I.⁴

December 4 Took an affectionate leave of Blanco at the Prison, who insisted on my taking 500 cigars & two dozen arracks. At 3 p.m. weighed the best bower anchor.

From Manila to the Pelew Islands

December 6 at 1/2 past 11 A.M. weigh'd Anchor and Came to sail with the wind E.S.E. at 7 p.m. pass'd the Castle of Maravilles [i.e. Mariveles]. Was boarded by an officer.

On the 8 enter'd the Straight of San Bernardino. with westerly winds and squally weather, shall have to come to an anchor for more ballast. The Ship being "flying light" on the 16 at 8 p.m. Came to an anchor in eleven fathoms water, on the South Side the [blank].

On the 17th in the morning, the Captain went on Shore to the Padre's who said that this place had not been settled more than ten year's. At present there is about five hundred inhabitants. It has a Church and one Convent, which together with the Town makes a very pretty appearance from the Sea. The interior country with wood's with such a variety of Peaks and promontories, as to appear the Work of enchantment. We could distinguish the Volcano of Monte Del inferno, about six leagues distance, but could not at this distance observe the smoke, which continually ascends from its summit, in the Night, we could just perceive a faint illumination in that quarter.

1 Ed. note: HMS Barracouta, her logs for 1798-1811 copied by AJCP reels 1762-3, according to Nicholson's Log of Logs, vol. 1, p. 50.

2 Ed. note: According to Dunbabin, this Boston ship had visited Sydney in 1799; According to Latourette, it left for China by way of the NW Coast in 1800, but Howay is not in agreement with this statement; it may have gone to the South Seas instead, where it was reported in 1802. Her new Spanish name was Ramoncita, but she was soon to be renamed Santa Rosa de Lima.

3 Ed. note: The large ship that sailed for Acapulco that year was the galleon Magallanes.

4 Ed. note: This schooner was named Mosquito. Captain Corey died in Guam soon after.

The Padre sent a couple of Goats and some fowls for which the Captain return'd some Powder, and shott. Five men very sick. On the 19 we were employ'd in setting up preventer Shrouds on the Fore mast, it being found to be Sprung.

On the 20 December we weigh'd Anchor and Sail'd with a fair wind. At 4 o'clock A.M. Monte Del inferno bore W. by N. 16 leagues Distance. We Continued in these Straights untill the 29 when the Wind and tide being in our favour, we were driven thro it with prodigious swiftnes.

These Straights are universally known to be very dangerous, being in many places very narrow, and having a great number of Reefs and breakers, which stretch many miles from the Land. There is also a prodigious tide or Current which generally runs at the rate of six or seven Knots, making it most impossible for a Ship to make any progress thro the Water. During this tedeous navagation, we had very tempestuous weather. the Wind blowing in Violent squalls, accompanied with incessant rain, lightning, and labourious Seas.

From the 16 When we anchor'd in Bulona [=Bulusan?] untill the 20th eve hard Gales. On this day we attempted to weather the Small Island Call'd "Madre de Dios" but was necessitated to put back in consequence of the Violence of the weather and velocity of the Currents.

We Still however, continued persevering in our indeavours of obtaining an offing, which we could have effected with little trouble, with ten Hours free wind, but all our attempts were fruitless, and we were oblig'd to return, and anchor in the most Conve-niant parts of the Coast, expos'd at all times to the land breezes, which often blew with the greatest violence during the night. Here we lost one Anchor, and were in great danger of loosing our large and only one which we drag'd in seventeen fathoms Water.

We were carried out with greatest rapidity, the Wind & Current setting us at the rate of eleven Knots. At Sundown the S.E. point of Luconia, bore W.N.W. Distance ten leagues.

January 11, 1810

Came on a heavey Gale of wind and Rain from the N.E. which oblig'd us to lie too for forty two hour's, making a drift of 1-1/2 miles per log. from S.W. to S.S.W. latitude 14.56. Sent all top gallant yards and masts below. During this Tempest the Ship leak'd eight inches per the hour.

On the 14 Calm winds, and variable. Daniel Grey and Hants Neilson at "Death's door" two others very Sick.

On the 20 at about 10 A.M. Saw Land bearing from E. to S. seven leagues distance. The Pelew Isles at 3 p.m. Sail'd between two Islands, endeavouring to make the Island of Corora, where the King liv'd, a number of Canoes came off to us, we took on board a Chief and eight others to direct us the way to the harbour.

22 January Strong gales and rain, a great number of Canoes surround'd us. they sail with the greatest velocity, going at the rate of eight miles per hour, directly in the wind's eye.

On the 23 we still continued to make but little progress to Windward, at 4 p.m. wore Ship and Stood N. Daniel Grey in his last moments, two others were dangerously Sick, and several unfit for duty. The poor Indian very much discourag'd and anxious to get on Shore. At night Stood to Sea.

On the 25 we were Still endeavouring to come in with the land, by making too long tacks off last night, we found ourselves thirty miles to Leeward. at 9 A.M. Daniel Grey died. All hands were in the greatest dispondancy, and nearly jaded and tired out. At 4 p.m. Came in with the Russ [=rush?]. A great number Canoes around us. A White man came off and inform'd us that Curora laid sixteen leagues to Windward. Concluded to put in at the first anchoring place if possible.

On the 26 Standing off and on the land, the Wind and Seas striving against us two Canoes boarded us with fish, yams &c. At 10 A.M. Consign'd Daniel Grey to the Deep. For this purpose he was sew'd in a piece of Canvas and plac'd on a board, over the Waist rails, the Main Sail was then hove to the Mast, to protract the Ships progress thro the Water, and he was launch'd off.

At 5 p.m. a Chief came on board who inform'd, that the King would come on board tomorrow, provided a man was sent on Shore as hostage. Accordingly George Leachit was sent on Shore, Sold at Auction, this afternoon. At 8 o'clock p.m. while Standing in we discover'd Breakers directly under the Lee bow. Wore Ship immediately and Stood N.N.E. at 12 p.m. Tack'd and Stood in untill 1/2 past 1, then Wore and stood off.

The next day we run the reef along at S.S.W. untill 3 p.m. when we discov'd the passage, and the King with a great number of Canoes without mast coming thro it. At 1/2 past three, the King came along side in a War Canoe, beautifully decorated with Shells and paddled by thirty one men. Mr. John Lawson, was with him, he was left here to collect Beach a'la mar by the Spanish Schooner which left Manila the last August.¹ He inform'd that the passage was sufficiently deep to admit us thro it.

We accordingly tack'd and stood off about half a mile then wore and put the Ship in the best trim possible we pass'd the two points being not pistol Shot from each other. On getting thro this great danger, we were alarm'd by another squall as bad. The passage stretching away Suddenly to the larboard Side made it impossible to hold our Wind longer, and we had just time to stay the Ship, and stand out again, the surf running as high as the heading blocks in the rigging.

It is remarkable that there Should be such an unsurmountable barrier encircling these Islands. This prodigious reef lies about five miles from the Shore, and the above mention'd passage is the only one thro the whole Coast, and thro which a Ship must be oblig'd to pass to obtain a harbour inside. We this Night Stood So far from the land, as to be unable to discover it untill seven o'clock in the Morning of the next day. At 11 o'clock arriv'd off the entrance of the passage. The wind being abeam, and the tide in our favour, we pass'd thro it and after many "hair breadth escapes" from the breakers,

1 Ed. note: Was this the Modesto?

being most intirely surrounded by them, got thro, Abathule [i.e. Ibedul], the King, being Pilot and came to Anchor at 1/2 past one opposite a Small Village, about six miles from Corora, in eight fathoms water, the Village Call'd Aragupia [rather Arakabesan] bearing E. by N. 1/2 mile distance, and the two points S. and N.E. Here we moor'd Ship and in the twilight, the King took his departure, with his Chiefs, Lawson &c. with one Musket, two axes, one Tokee(?) &c. presented him by the Captain.

In the Evening a number Girls came on board, with no other dress than what Nature gave them. They are much more dark then the Phillipine Indians; but more regularly featur'd. They Tatoon or mark themselves, similar to the natives of the South Seas. They also paint the forehead red and use (like the Sandwich Islanders) Cocoa nut oil to perfume their persons. They are fond of ornaments to excess, on their wrists, arms and anckles, they wear bracetts of Turtle Shell. For a Rom, or girdle, they have a String of Stones similar to carnelian, this they appear to value in the highest degree, as it is generally given them by a Favourite Youth. Arround their necks, they have a necklace of Pearl Shell, and what has a more pretty effect than the whole, they ornament their hair, which has a most glossy blackness, with flowers, as also their ears which are perforated with a large hole on purpose.

Their teeth are very regular but as black as ebony, caus'd by their being burnt, in their infancy, by the Parents --this they esteem as the greatest beauty, they possess. The Girls marry at about fourteen but in general are too fond of Variety, to be faithful.

What is very remarkable, they have large buildings, some upwards of sixty feet in length, crowded with women, who are maintain'd by different individuals, of the other Sex, upon the same principals as the Cyprian palaces of Europe. Over the door is a huge figure of a Woman, carv'd in Wood, in the most obscene, and wanton attitude.

On going into one of these places, one day, I found upwards of thirty young men lying indiscriminaty, in the arms of their Dulcine's envelop'd in a Matt. On my entrance not One rose, but seem'd to "cling tighter" to their companion --The Roof was ornamented with lemon bough's evergreen &c. and in the recesses were baskets of fresh fruit, tarro, and honey in abundance.

No wonder that this effeminate manner of indulging their pleasures, should enervate them to such a degree, as to make both sexes alike, as respect's Courage and prowess. Their battles usually terminate, when ONE is slain. --however, this may be for the best, it is very seldom they are engag'd in War, for Here no person, prow'd of his titles or his wealth, tramples under foot his humble countryman, no cringing Vail'd flatters the vices of his Master. Man is equal to Man.

Their enjoyment consist in the pure pleasure, that Nature offer's to her Children and their happiness is founded on the durable basis of undiversity, and equality.

The Country is most beautifully diversified with Mountains, hills and Vallies, what is rather remarkable, they Cultivate nothing but the Coco nut tree, which grows here in great perfection. The tarro root also is super-intended [rather attended] by the Women. All fruits peculiar to Warm Climates, grow here in great perfection.

On the 29 January, I went to Corora, with the Captain, with one musket and a few more axes for the King. Was received with great ceremony. The King, Queen, and the Chiefs, being painted informally, and arm'd with Spears. His majesty, Sat upon a Stump of a tree (aparently Cut for the purpose) which was cover'd with a Mat, the Chiefs, about forty in number sat arround, Cross'd legg'd on the ground.

We were treated with fruit, Cocomilk, and honey, which was presented by Girls of about six or seven years of age. The Girls entertain'd us with Singing, and dancing, which consists in putting themselves in the most obscene attitudes. She that excelles in this, is sure to meet with the most applause.

I presented the Queen with a String of beads, for which I was honour'd in securing "the fraternal imbrace" from her Copper Colour'd Majesty.

February 4 The Armourer was imply'd in fixing his forge to alter the Chissels --the Indians disliking their taste --there appear'd but little Prospect of getting Beach a'la Mar, at this place and we employ'd ourselves in overhauling the hold and preparing the Ship, to go further to Windward, to other Islands, or else to Canton, the Ship being Considered incapable of going to the Feegee Islands.

On the 6 February, George Leachit, Samuel Baker, and Daniel Godsell, elop'd from the Ship while on their Watch the Night, in one of the canoes alongside, with their Clothing &c. This reduc'd our company to eight men, who are able to work, the remainder being Sick, lame &c.

8 February A great number of the natives on board, the Carpenter, Sam Leaman and Hants Nielson very Sick. At 7 p.m. two War Canoes went on Shore from Corora with a number of Chiefs &c. "squally appearances."

On the 9 February at 5 o'clock A.M. Hants Nielson died. Samuel Leaman, the Carpenter very bad. All hands very much discourag'd, it being very obvious, that we shall not be able to do any thing at these Isles and there being great danger of our being taken by the Indians, as there had been several meetings at Corora, between the King, and the Chiefs of the different Islands. At 8 A.M. the Captain went to Corora, with some presents, the rest Wooding and watering the Ship. At 6 p.m. the boat return'd with a bullock.

The next day, William Robinson ran away from the Ship. At 10 A.M. Abathule, the King Came on board, escorted by four War Canoes, of about forty men each. He remain'd on board about three hour's, and previous to his departure, desir'd the Captain to prepare a Feast, to morrow, on board, for him and twelve of his Chiefs.

At one o'clock above forty Canoes came along side with wood, as this was done without any intimation or desire from the Captain, it was evidently done to entrap us, and therefore all that could hold an axe were order'd on Deck, and no more than one Canoe allow'd to come alongside at a time. This had the effect we expected, for the Indians, seeing our preparations, some of them went on Shore without discharging, which convinc'd us our fears were not without foundation.

On the next day, the King Came on board with his rupaks, or Chiefs, with above two hundred Canoes, never while I live Shall I forget the appearance they made in approaching the Ship. They were all in one exact line, and their paddles Keeping a Regular Stroke with each other, at every five or six minutes, they Would all with great uniformity, flourish their paddles, and give a loud Shout, as in triumph. These forms were evidently done to intimidate us, and I believe that most of us was sensible of a feeling unknown before. The Captain would not permit one of the Indians on board arm'd, and no more than what Came with the King. We had the top man'd watching burning, and every man arm'd with a sword and brace of pistols. The Swivels on the taff-rail were level'd forward and loaded with thirty bullets each and a man station'd at each with a lighted match with orders to fire directly among them on the least appearance of treachery. Abathule, the King appear'd Surpris'd at this preparation, and told the Captain (by James the interpreter) that he no thought of taking the Ship. During the feast, which was on the quarter deck, every one was at his quarters, while the Canoes laid a little distance from the Ship.

At about three o'clock, the King Order'd the Canoes, on Shore to the Neighbouring Village, about 1/2 mile distance. This was artfully intended to relieve us from the apprehension of danger which their presence might Create. At the Conclusion of the feast at which a great quantity of Rum and Molasses were drank, we fired off the guns on both sides, which made the Indians look rather blue, they being Charg'd to the Muzzle with grape and Canister Shott. Soon after they left us, and went on Shore at the Village intending to Sleep there for the Night. During the Night, all hands were on deck, with the Same order as before.

The next day the King departed for Corora, without coming on board. --the Captain was now determin'd to be off as soon as possible.

On the 14 February arm'd the boat to go in Sirch of the men that absconded. At 10 P.M. return'd with only William Robinson, who was immediately put in irons and confin'd below.

On the 14 February weigh'd Anchor, and remov'd about three miles, fronting the Seaward, more secure from the natives.

The next day imploy'd in sounding round the Island and finding a passage. At 11 A.M. found a passage, but so very narrow, as will make impossible to go thro it, without a fair wind. the depth of water, seven, nine and fourteen fathoms. This day [I] was confin'd below unwell. The Weather very rainy, and tempestuous.

On the 16 the King came on board with two War Canoes, He propos'd to the Captain, "that if he would go to Artingal, one of the neighbouring Islands, and fight the King, who is his enemy, and burn his Village, He would procure a Cargo of Beach a'la mar for the Ship."

The Captain then propos'd it to the people, who consented, on Condition of receiving two hundred dollars extra in Canton, to be divided among 'em, which was assented to by the Captain. In the afternoon the King departed with his Chiefs. In the Evening Seven Canoes came alongside with Goats, yams, Cocoa Nuts, &c. the King intending

to go with twelve Selected Chiefs, with us. At Sundown five War Canoes arriv'd from Arakakah.

Feb'y 18 at 9 A.M. the King came on board, with George Leachit and two others, that ran away on the 6 instant and twelve Chiefs, they brought with them, their Spears, hatchets, and other weapons with four Canoes of yams and other articles.

At 11 weigh'd Anchor and having a leading Wind, got thro the Passage with safety. Some parts of it was so very narrow, as to perceive the Small Crabs, and Cockles, crawling on the reef.

At 6 p.m. Corora bore West by North, eight leagues distance. Stood off the land for the Night. on the 19 at 12 midnight, tack'd Ship and stood for the Land. under easy Sail, --at 5 A.M. Saw Land bearing N. and N.E. by E. At 11 the Indians being very Sick, and it being very gloomy tempestuous Weather. The King told the Captain, that he had better put away again for Corora, it being a bad season of the year for an expedition against Artingal, but promising a Cargo of beach ala Mar for the Ship, against the Season should arrive, that would be more favourable to carry his plans into execution. The Captain promising on His part to fulfil his promise of fighting Artingal, which probably, we suppos'd would be about April or May.

At 1/2 past 1 Came this [rather through] the passage, with the most eminent danger of getting on the reefs, at 2 Anchor'd in nineteen fathoms Water[,] Eru [rather Urukthapel] bearing E.S.E. Malahe [rather Malakal] W. by N. and Corora N. by E.

February 22 We this day rec'd information, that the Above preparation was purposely done to entrap us. The Ship on her arrival at Artingal was to prepare the long boat for attacking the place. After the Guns were all discharg'd, the Chiefs were to demand their arms, which were, on their coming on board deposited in the Arm Chest, and while the Captain was opening the Chest to deliver them, the King intended to dispatch him with his hatchet, which was to be a Signal for the Massacre of the Ships Company, there was to be there, besides upward of two hundred Canoes ready to receive us. It was thought that the Sickness caus'd by the Sea, discourag'd the King, and made him give up the Attempt.

This information was communicated by one of the Girls, who has been living on board the Ship, and who was at Corora, when the affair was first Contemplated. Most of the Girls appear'd very anxious for the Men to go on Shore, and leave the Ship, a few days previous to our Sailing.

March 4 imply'd in preparing boarding nettings, fore and Aft, as high as the leading blocks in the rigging, and making barricad's athwart the quarter deck. We this day made twenty two hundred musket balls, and prepar'd seven hundred musket Cartridges, "two Centinels are plac'd on the quarter deck, two on the forecastle, and one at the Gangway in the Waist." The Same Watch is to be on Deck, during the Night as at Sea, and no Indian is allow'd to be on Deck (except the King) to come on board the Ship arm'd. No honey, Shrub, or fruit (except Cocoa nuts, Marions [rather Lemons?], filberts Almonds.) are allowd to be brought on board the Ship, except by the three FEMALES, "AWANGA, UNGI AND ADRUA" blessings Sent from Heaven.

Small quantities of Beach alamar are brought in by the natives, and purchas'd by the Captain, with beads, and other small articles. We hear nothing of the King relative to the promis'd Cargo.

March the 9 The King of Arabukah¹ came on board in the twilight. He is a private enemy to Abathule, the King of Corora, but dare not declare it, for the Want of fire Arms, the Corora King having Six to one. He promis'd us great incouragment, telling us he would procure us a Cargo of beach a'la Mar in four Months, if we would go to Arabukah. Previous to his departure, the Captain presented him with a Musket which he was very much pleas'd with, and in return --offer'd him his Wife. --He desir'd us to say nothing of his Visit, and at About Twelve o'clock took his departure. His Canoe was pull'd by forty six paddles. He had about eight young Women with him, drest in their best ornaments, their hair decorated with the freshest, and most beautiful flowers. Three of the Girls, were really very handsome. The King Said, that the Women were all the Same at his Island, and could dance and Sing much better than the Corora Girls.

It was very obvious that these females, were Selected by the King, that his invitation "might have the better grace." As we had but little prospect of doing any thing at Corora, the Captain was determin'd to be off in a few days either for Arabukah or the Caroline Islands, about five degrees to the Windward. The Ship was in a bad Situation, both for want of rigging, and repairs in the hull. On the 24 Abathule, the King came on board, with seven War Canoes, all hands were order'd under Arms. He appear'd very much disconcerted and did not tarry long. He brought with him about Seven picol Beach ala Mar, a Bullock and Some other Articles.

At two o'clock the Beach ala Mar huts on Shore, burnt up with about three hundred pieces in them, suppos'd to be done by the Natives.

On the 25 in the Afternoon, the king of Arabukah, Came on board, and at four o'clock Lawson (the Manila Man) who has been taking B.L.M. [i.e. Beche la mar] at Pelelus [i.e. Peliliu], arriv'd. He said that he had been wholly imploy'd in Collecting it, since leaving us, but very little confidence can be placed in what he says.

The Arabukah King appeared quite friendly, but we had reason to believe him connected with Abathule. We heard for a Certainty that on the Ships arrival at Arabukah, they intended joining their forces together, and attempt to take us. The two White men, who have been on these Islands Some years and who intend going home with us, were advis'd by their Wife's to come on Shore to Night, as the Indians intended Killing every one of board, on taking us.

The Captain Sent the three girls, Awanga, Ungi, and Adrua, to Corora, to try to obtain Some information. What makes our Situation the more dangerous is the refractory disposition that Some of our Men begin to show. The Girls use every mean in their power to induce the Men to leave the Ship and go on Shore, and live with them.

¹ Ed. note: From what follows, this town probably corresponded to Ngabuked, in the Galalud district of Babelthuap.

On the 31st March Jeckle, the Kings brother of Corora, came on board with two War Canoes. He said that his brother wanted us to stay, and fight Artingal, for which, we should have a Cargo of Beach a'la Mar.

At about 1 hour after, the King of Arabukah (Amaki) arriv'd, it appear'd very obvious, they were Connected together. Previous to the Prince of Corora's departure, the Captain desir'd him to inform his Majesty Abathule, that as he was unfaithful to his promise in not getting Beach a'la Mar at this place, he should put to Sea directly.

The King of Arabukah Went away the Same time, leaving us a pilot, to take us to Arabukah. On their departure, we fir'd a Gun, and set the Colour's, and at half past two, hove up the Anchor, but finding we had drifted on a Shoal, let go again, and Brought up in five fathoms. In the Mean time, we examin'd the outer Reef, and buoy'd the Channel. We found Sufficient Water on the Reef to float the Ship at flood, except in two places where the Rocks, were just above the Water.

In the Evening, Saw a great Fire, at the Beach ala Mar hut on Shore, and sent the boat to find out what was going on, and found, to our great Surprise, fourteen large War Canoes, lying in a line, full of Men. On going up to the hut, found there about twelve Chiefs, lying by the fire. On discovering our people they Were greatly Surpris'd, and Said, they were going after Beach a'la Mar, and were waiting for the tide.

On hearing this the Boat return'd to the Ship. When we lighted Matches, and hung a lanthorn in the main top. All hands on Deck during the Night. It appear'd evident their design was to us, should we be so unfortunate as to have got on the Reefs, which they Knew, we were fearful of.

April 1. At Daylight all the Canoes put off from the Shore, standing for the passage, which we was to [go] thro.

At five A.M. weigh'd Anchor & Sail'd, on coming in with the Reef, Saw these infernal Deamon's waiting for us, their Canoes being fastned alongside each other, in a line, but out of Reach of our Guns. At 12 p.m. got thro the passage, and Stood to Sea, and here as if misfortune should still follow us, we were detain'd nearly three hours in endeavouring to recover three Men who were upset in the boat, in going after a Canoe, which got adrift, happily we took them on board in just sufficient time, to Weather a Shoal, which was about two miles distance, on our lee bow. We however lost the Canoe, but got our boat in with some damage. At 4 p.m. Stow'd Anchors and Cables, and Settled the Nettings on the Rails, two Men continued very Sick, and four others confin'd to their berths.

On the fourth of April we discover'd the Sun to be in eclipse. From the beginning, to the time of its greatest obscuration, the Colour and appearance of the Sky, was gradually Changing from an azure blue, to a more dark and dusky Colour, untill it bore the Aspect, and gloom of Night.

The darkness appear'd to come on regularly, and gradually, but the moment, the greatest obscurity was past, the light broke out, and increas'd with great lustre, and Splendour.

The Wind N.E. by E. a gentle breeze, the land bearing from us, W. by N. and tending W.N.W. six leagues distance, latitude 7-9 N. 135 E. longitude. At half past 1 had a little rain, at 7 p.m. came in with the land, but being unable to Weather it tacked ship, and stood S.E. by E.

On the 11 of April Came too off Arabukah, this place like Corora, abounds with Reefs and Shoals, so that it was with great danger we anchor'd in Safety. We anchor'd about two miles from the Shore, it being impossible to go in further on account of the Reefs which lie in every direction.

At about three p.m. the King's father (Tupia) came on board, and promised us every encouragment, but must not depend upon promises, at all events cannot take the Ship, if every one Acts with Conduct and fidelity. On Anchoring, hoisted the boarding Netting and placed Centinels, as at Corora.

On the thirteenth employ'd in putting the Ship in the best posture of defence. Being surrounded with reefs, a retreat would be impossible, if the Wind should fail us, should an attack be intended. At present the Natives appear'd quite friendly.

One Man very dangerously Sick, and two others unable to help themselves. This day John Baldwin was detected in attempting to Elope with his "Wocosky." He had a Canoe, drawn under the bows of the Ship. While the people were at dinner on Deck, and was just handing his, *summum bonum*, thro the lumber Port, which by the bye, was rather too small for her hams, when they were unfortunately taken:----

On the 15 April Barzilla Simonds died, he belong'd to Charlestown, N.H. in the East. Saw a great fire upon the Mountains, Suppos'd to be Signals. Charles Bowen the Carpenter very low. This day got about two hundred pieces Beach a'la Mar. Some of our people employ'd building a Hut on Shore for to cure B.L.M.

On the 29 Charles Bowen died. Was oblig'd to pay the Chiefs, five Chisels, to bury him on Shore. At Sundown, a number of Canoes, came along Side, with about 150 pieces B.L.M. in cask. Some prospect offer'd this day of our obtaining a Cargo. The Natives having exerted themselves considerable.

On the 30 the King came on board, gave him One Musket, as part payment, he promis'd to load the Ship in Seven Months. Collected about 1500 pieces last night. Intend removing in further, [at] the first Wind as we could not possibly be so far offshore, being very much exposed to Wind and our Cables, not being Sufficiently Strong to stand much strain for any Space of time.

May 2 the Captain went to Arabukah with presents. Presented the Queen, with some strings of beads, and cocoa nut scrapers.

May 3 we heard that Abathule, the King of Corora, sent for Amaki the King of Arabukah to hold a Council.

At 4 p.m. he returnd when we learnt that the object of this conference was to have the advice of Amaki, respecting an attack on Artingal in a few days. As also another village in the neighbourhood, but we strongly suspected that this was but a mask intended to hide some treacherous scheme preparing for us, as we have heard from good authority, that Abathule had been here a few days since, on pretence of business, in

seven War Canoes, but that his real object was to prevail on Amaki to cut us off. Amaki appeared quite friendly, and said he would advise us when Abathule would arrive, however we was prepared to give them a warm reception, should they have dared to molest us. At present we deferred going in further, until affairs appear more promising.

Two nights after we were alarmed at about 12 o'clock, by Amaki and Dorr's coming on board, and informing that 170 canoes had landed from Corora, with Abathule, to fight Artingal tomorrow. Cast loose the Guns and had all hands on deck during the night. Amaki came on board to borrow a few muskets, from the Captain but immediately left the ship, on seeing this preparation.

At 3 a.m. two others of our men came on board. At daylight the King sent to inform us, there was no danger and desired the Captain to send Mr. Dorr with the men to continue curing Beach a'la Mar. At 9 they went on shore.

On the 10 heard that Abathule had gone to Corora without fighting Artingal.

On the 12 May, weighed anchor at daylight to move further in shore. At 7 o'clock Amaki, and Mr. Dorr came on board. A number canoes assisted in towing the ship in thro the Reefs. At about 4 o'clock came to an anchor in 16 fathoms water. Arabukah bearing E by S 1-1/2 leagues. Should the S.W. monsoon wind blow with any violence we apprehend great danger, being surrounded with reefs, within a stone's throw of the ship and our ground tackling being very bad. These winds, I believe begin to blow in the last of June and continue until December, accompanied with typhoons, of sudden squalls of wind, of about one quarter of an hour's duration, which lays every thing before them.

On the 13 unbent the sails. The natives took 4500 pieces Beach ala Mar the last night. We this day, heard that Abathule had offered large presents to Amaki to cut us off. The next day sent the fore and mizzen topsail yards on deck, five hands on shore curing B.L.M. At 3 p.m. Josse, the [Chinese] Cook left the ship, but was sent on board the ship at sunset.

The next day he again attempted to abscond, and struck the centinel, at the gangway, for which he was lashed to a gun, and received two dozen with the cat.

On the 17 at night had a very severe gale of wind, with great lightning. Sent all the yards and topmasts below. This storm created such a swell on the reefs as to prevent the natives from collecting any Beach ala Mar for a number of days.

Friday May 19 heard that a battle had been fought between Abathule and Artingal, in which a number was killed. The King of Arabukah's son, a chief of Corora, was killed, in consequence of which no Beach ala Mar was taken for a number of days. The King, with his Chiefs &c. having gone to Corora to be present at the funeral ceremony, which will last some time.

On the 24 the Captain went on shore determining on knowing whether he was to have any B.L.M. or not, as they have not taken any of consequence since the 12. The King told the Captain, that, the canoes should go out as soon as the feasting was over at Corora. At sunset saw a number war canoes, go on shore from Corora, and a number also came this day, from other little towns friendly to this King.

The next morning, Mr. Dorr, and all hands, except a boy, came off to the ship, with a canoe with some of the Chiefs, who informed that a battle was to be fought today (Wednesday) between them and Ayalle [sic = Ogiwal?], a village joining on Artingal. Mr. Dorr said that on Monday night about twenty canoes, full of men, arrived from Corora, and its neighborhood, to assist in this battle. At sundown a canoe came alongside, and informed that Arabukah had been defeated with the loss of one man killed and several wounded. Employed in watering ship &c.

On the 26 Amaki arrived from Corora, he advised the Captain to sail for Macao, as it was impossible to procure B. ala Mar as soon as was expected, and leave one man here to superintend getting it. The ship to return in four months. It is very evident they dislike our trade (having but a few Muskets) and take this means to evade fulfilling their promises.

Sunday about 21 canoes put off this morning to get B. la M. on the reefs belonging to Artingal. At 5 o'clock returned, blowing their horns and alarming the people on shore, who assembled in considerable numbers armed with spears, hatchets &c. The Artingal Indians attacked these, while on the reefs, when a battle ensued, in which Arabukah came off conquerors, having killed one man and wounded three, they brought 2200 pieces B. la M.

May 27 heard that Artingal intended to attack us, which made us suspect another invasion from Abathule, it being impossible for Artingal to think of it.--The Captain made another proposition to Amaki to get 1000 sacks of B. la M. He assented as usual, but little dependence was placed in what he said. This day swayed up out top masts, and began rigging the ship, found our main topsail yard rotten, and condemned it.

Thursday the Carpenter found a place under the larboard counter so rotten, was obliged to cut a piece out of about a foot in length and eight inches breadth.

The next day the Captain called all hands aft, to know their minds respecting going to the Feegee Islands. The hands objected, and demanded a survey of the ship. Accordingly a survey was taken, by the following persons, by Appointment, Mr. Moses Carr, Chief Officer, Eben Dorr, Second, John G. Olin, William Robinson, L. Coolidge, and James Barrett, after which the following Memorial, of Protest, was drawn up, and signed by the ship's company, the Captain excepted.

*We the officers, and seamen, belonging to the ship **Amethyst**, Seth Smith, Jun. Master, now lying at anchor at the Pelew Islands acknowledge to have shipped on board said ship at Manila, to perform a voyage to the Pelew and Feegee Islands, but since our arrival, at these Islands (Pelew) having found the ship defective in various parts, her rigging most entirely gone, but one anchor, and an insufficiency of boats, rendering her incapable of proceeding to the Feegee Islands, aforesaid, have thought it our duty, for the safety, and benefit of ourselves, to demand a survey of said ship, and have accordingly, with the consent of the Captain, appointed proper persons, for that purpose, who have faithfully, and impartially examined into the affair, and depose on oath's follows.*

That the planks under the counters are most entirely rotten.

That between the fore and main channels, on the larboard side, nearly six feet rotten, this being where the sheathing is off, cannot tell how it is, where it is on, the sheathing being entire on the starboard side. Did not examine it particularly.

That the main beam is very defective, it working nearly 2-1/2 feet.

That all the staunchions, are very much decayed and partly rotten.

That the main swifter [i.e. shrouds] is gone, no rigging for new one, and all the rigging not seaworthy.

That we have no boats, but one anchor, and but a small complement of men, having lost six since our arrival at these Islands.

Under these circumstances, we think we can and DO refuse to comply with our engagement of going to the Feegee Islands and think it adviseable to bear away for the first Port.

Signed by the Ship's company.

Pelew Isles. June 1, 1810.

The Captain after expressing his desire of proceeding to the Feegee Islands, and regretting the failure of the voyage, concluded to prepare the Ship for Macao.

The next day brought the Beach a'la Mar off to the ship, that had sacks, about fifteen picol. In the afternoon the King with all his chiefs, came on board, to settle for it. The Captain offered him one musket, about seven pounds of powder and 150 bullets. The old King refused taking them and said he would make the B. la M. a present to the Captain, who to avoid any difficulty gave him another Musket which did not wholly content them. Amaki wanted Mr. Dorr to go to a feast at Arabukah, on purpose it was supposed, to get an opportunity of stealing the things on shore. At sundown brought off the two cauldrons from the huts.

The next day found that the natives had taken one cauldron, and one iron pot, that was left on shore last night.

Thursday George Leachit left the ship. At 10 hauled out the inside reefs. At 3 p.m. came to an anchor fronting the sea board, in eleven fathoms water. Arabukah bearing W. by S. 2 leagues distance.

June 3. John Baldwin, eloped with his Helen, a young girl, who has been staying with him since our first arrival at these islands. This day we had every reason to believe the natives intended to attempt taking us, as every canoe was armed with an unusual number of spears. We took notice also of their having a number of muskets with them, and some cartridge boxes, which the Captain presented the King a few days since.

At 3 p.m. came to sail with the wind S.E. At 5 got thro the reefs, and shaped the ships course for Macao. That being the most convenient port. At sunset, the land bore E by S distance four leagues, the ships course N.W.

Saturday June 9 at 11 a.m. saw land bearing from W. to W.N.W. ten leagues distance. The Island Luzon or Luconia, the East side. Hauled N. Latitude 16°15' 135° E. Longitude.

June 13 got thro the Straights of Luzon, (which we entered on the 10th) taking our last departure from the land. At sunset the point of Cape Boxeador bore E. by S. distance five leagues, our course W.S.W. latitude $18^{\circ}45$ N. $119^{\circ}25$ E Longitude.

Sunday June 16 at 2 a.m. sounded in 87 fathoms, black and speckled sand, with shells, the coast of China. At 7 saw Pedro Branco [= Piedra Blanca?], bearing E. by N. six leagues distance. This rock the Captain supposed to be the Grand Ladrone, and in consequence kept the ship away before the wind. At about 11 saw the land, which proved to be the mountains surrounding Brandons Bay, nearly ONE HUNDRED miles to leeward of Macao. This very unfortunate mistake obliged us to haul upon the wind, and stand to sea, to the great sorrow, and discouragement of all hands. The weather very squally, with great rain.

Wednesday 18 June. This day we had three typhoons, or hurricanes, in one of which we split our main and mizzen topsails, entirely to shreds, sprung our foremast and carried away the fore topmast. At one time the ship careened so much, that her main yard was in the water. At that moment, which was about eight o'clock in the evening we expected to carry away every mast, by the board. -- both pumps were kept going, during the night, and so exhausted were the people, that immediately, on being relieved by each other, they would throw themselves on deck, and fall directly into a sound sleep. We being surrounded by the land, and the rock, Pedro Branco, being not far distant, our situation was peculiarly dangerous. These typhoons last about ten minutes, blowing with inconceivable violence.

...

Editor's notes.

The ship went on to Macao. On 7 July 1810, the ship **Trumbull** arrived from the States; according to Latourette; this ship, commanded by Captain Benjamin Page, arrived back at Providence in 1811. On 15 July, Samuel Leeman died in the hospital at Macao. On 17 July the ship left Macao for Whampoa, where it was sold to a Mr. Peter Dobell for \$6,000, and six days later, all the men were discharged and paid off. After studying the Chinese people at Canton, specially the women, the author says: "The women that I chanced to see, excited in me no attention but a curiosity, I beheld them with the eyes of a stoic. I would not have given my Pelew Indian girl for all the women in the Chinese empire."— The author finally found a ship that would take him back to the U.S., the **Chinese Bram**, bound to New York, on condition of his paying \$10 and having to work before the mast during the voyage. He left Whampoa on 28 November 1810 and reached New York on 3 April 1811. The author's voyage had lasted 4 years 6 months and 17 days.

What happened to the **Amethyst** after that? Howay has reported her sale to the Russians which took place at Sitka, over one year later. Her crew became passengers aboard the **New Hazard** in 1812.

Note 1810D

The ship **Martha** lost on Helen Reef

Sources: Newspaper article, in the Independent Chronicle, Boston, 15 April 1811; quoted in Gerard Ward's Central Activities, under Helen Reef 1.

Commercial and shipping intelligencer.

...
Navigators are desired to take notice, that the ship **Martha** was lost in July, 1810, upon a Shoal, before undiscovered [sic], lying northward and eastward of the Island of Gillolo [i.e. Halmahera], in latitude 3° north and longitude 131°45 East. The Shoal is of considerable extent in the fair way of vessels making the Gillolo Passage to China.
...

Editor's notes.

The **Martha** is not listed by Latourette, nor by Howay, in their lists of trading ships.

This ship cannot be the same as the **Martha** of New Bedford, as she was then in port after visiting the whaling ground off Brazil, although she is presumed to have been a U.S. ship, because of the news item in the New England press, and from Boston, because the Independent Chronicle is the only published source for this note. There must be other, unpublished, accounts somewhere, perhaps in the logbook of a ship that may have rescued the survivors.

As for Helen Reef, it had already been discovered by Carteret in 1767 (HM14:434).

Document 1811A

The ship Providence re-discovered Ujelang and named it Providence Island

The logbook of the EIC ship Providence, kept by Captain Andrew Barclay, between Port Jackson and China

Sources: Log 176B, India Office, London; AJCP M1626; ML C224.

Ship Providence from New South Wales towards China.

...
[The ship crossed the Equator at 167° [E.], then saw no islands until she reached Ujelang.]

...
[A comet]

Remarks Sunday 3rd November 1811

... At 7 p.m., observed a comet in the NW...

Lat. obs. 10°24' [S], Long. in. 171°43' [E]

...

Remarks Thursday November 7th 1811

... The comet still in sight to the NW...

Lat. obs. 3°23' [S], Long. in. 169°11' [E].

...

Remarks Tuesday November 12th 1811

... The comet still in sight in the NW in the evening...

Lat. obs. 1°03' [S], Long. in. 167°44' [E].

...

Remarks Tuesday November 19th 1811

... The comet still in sight in the evening but more to the westward...

Lat. obs. 3°56' [N], Long. in. 167°15' [E.], by Chron. 162°40.

...

Courses NNW, etc. Winds Calm, NNE, etc.

Remarks Monday Nov. 25th 1811

First and middle parts light airs, latter a strong breeze with cloudy weather throughout.

Carpenter as previous days past. Lascars variously employed. Seacunnies¹ repairing the split sails.

At past past 3, saw the land from the mast head bearing SW1/2S 8 or 9 leagues. at Noon the Islands of Arrecifes S. Distance 10 or 12 leagues.

Lat. obs. 10°9' [N], Long. in. 165°50' [E], by lunar 161°00' [E].²

Courses NW by W, etc. Winds NE by E, etc.

Remarks Tuesday Nov. 26th 1811

A fresh trade throughout with pleasant weather.

Carpenter [employed] on the cutter. Seacunnies repairing the old fore topsail. People variously employed.

Lat. obs. 12°01' [N], Long. in. 163°32' [E]

...

Courses W1/2 N, etc. Winds NE, etc.

Remarks Saturday Nov. 30th 1811

A fresh trade throughout with fine pleasant weather.

At 7 a.m., saw Bird Island from the mast head bearing WNW. At half past saw it from the deck WNW1/2W dist. 5 or 6 leagues.

At half past 9 the Island North distant 8 or 9 miles.

At 10 saw the Island Anatajan NW1/2N dist. 11 or 12 leagues.

At noon Anatajan N1/2W dist. about 10 or 12 leagues, Bird Island out of sight.

Lat. obs. 15°56' [N], Long. in. 152°2' [E]

Courses W1/2N, etc. Winds NE, etc.

Remarks Sunday Dec. 1st 1811

A moderate trade throughout with fine weather.

At 3 p.m. Anatajan [bore] NE1/2E dist. 12 or 13 leagues.

Mustered the ships company.

Lat. obs. 16°23' [N], Long. in. 149°2' [E]

...

-
- 1 Ed. note: Seacunny was a category of the crew and so listed at the beginning of the logbook; they appeared to have Filipino names, except for one Mr. Campbell.
 - 2 Ed. note: The position of the ship at noon identifies the island positively as Ujelang.

Document 1812A

The General Graham, Captain Watson

Sources: Log 254A, India Office, London; AJCP 1627; ML ms. 1593.

Logbook of the EIC ship General Graham, Captain William Watson and, after his death, William Bendall, the former Chief Mate, between Port Jackson and Whampoa, during voyage June 1811- May 1815

...

Ship General Graham from Port Jackson towards Canton, William Watson Commander.

Note: There are no records of longitudes.

...

Courses NW by W, etc. Winds variable & North.

Remarks Wednesday 6th of May 1812

Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. People employed with sundry jobs. Carpenter fixing a new binnacle before the round house. Gunner making a new jib sail.

8 p.m. shortened sail for the night.

6 a.m. made the South Islands of the Carolinas—bearing W by S distant about 6 or 7 leagues. 11 tacked to the eastward.

Meridian[,] the extremity of the Islands bore W15S and NW13W dist. from the middle island 3 leagues. Several proas or boats approaching towards the ship.

Lat. Obs. 7°31' North.¹

Courses E by N, etc. Winds N by E & calm.

Remarks Thursday 7th May 1812

This day commences with light winds and pleasant weather[,] all drawing sail set. People employed as yesterday.

¹ Ed. note: Since no longitude is given, it is difficult to identify this island. It could be the Lamotrek Group.

Merd. [rather midnight] light airs and cloudy weather.

6 a.m. set fore topmast & topgallant steering sails.

Merd. light winds and pleasant weather. All drawing sail set.

Lat. Obs. 7°59' N.

...

Courses West, etc. Winds ENE & E.

Remarks Tuesday May 19th 1812

Gentle breezes and cloudy[,] all drawing sail set. 8 p.m. dark cloudy weather[,] in all small sails and double reefed topsails.

2 a.m. up courses and lay the ship too till daylight. 5 a.m. bore up and made sail.

8 a.m. made some of the Ladrone Islands. Tinian & Saypan bearing W1/2N dist. about 6 leagues.

Merd. the Northern extremity of the Island of Saypan NE by E centre north & western extremity NW by W. the extremity of Tinian WNW to SSW.

Lat. Obs. 15°02' [N].

Courses W by N. Wind East.

Remarks Wednesday 20th May 1812

These 24 hours commences with fresh breezes and clear weather[,] running through between the Islands of Saypan and Tinian[.] 2 p.m. got through[,] saw 2 proas[,] lay too for them to come alongside[,] they had in their boats some turtle[,] we got 2 turtles and some cocoa nuts from them [,] gave in return some knives[.] 3 bore up and run down along the island.

7 p.m. north point of Tinian Bay bore N by W South point ESE. Center of the island NE distance from the shore 5 miles. Bore up and made sail.

Merd. gentle breezes and fine weather.

Lat. 15°14' [N].

...

Document 1812B

The voyage of the *New Hazard*, Captain Nye

Sources: Ms. logbook kept by Stephen Reynolds, now located at the Peabody Museum, Salem; Stephen Reynolds. The Voyage of the New Hazard to the Northwest Coast, Hawaii and China, 1810-1813, by Stephen Reynolds, a member of the crew, edited by Judge F. W. Howay (Salem, 1938); PMB 220.

Introductory notes.

The *New Hazard* was a brig of 281 tons, built at Newbury in 1809. Her dimensions are given as 95 feet 2 inches in length, 25 feet 11 inches in breadth, 12 feet 11-1/2 inches in depth. She had two decks, a square stern, no galleries but a figurehead. The voyage to the Pacific under Captain David Nye, Jr. was her second. In 1812, the first mate was named Samuel Gate. Like Captain Nye, he was reported as a petty tyrant by the author, who was himself put in irons and flogged.

Having left Honolulu on 14 November 1812, the brig cast anchor in Macao Roads on 19 December next. After visiting Canton, she returned to Boston by way of Hawaii and Tahiti.

The account of the visit to Agrigan Island

...
Friday, 13 November. Wind fair. At two got under weigh... Morning, unbent cables, housed guns. Moved the two forward guns aft to trim ship.

Saturday, 14 November. Wind very light, little better than calm. One of main-top backstays parted, knotted it, and fleted dead-eye; spliced main-topgallant-stay. At five killed two hogs. At six gentle breeze. At nine jibed ship. Showery. Fine breeze in morning. Lost sight of land yesterday afternoon. Forenoon watch below I was called to saw with carpenter; cut junk off small-bower. At two Wm. H. Bruce came on board from *Lydia*. Sebre Pratt and John Hathaway went on board *Lydia*. This should have been written in Friday's work.¹

¹ Ed. note: Therefore, the *Lydia* was then in company. She may have crossed the Marianas as well in 1812.

[From Honolulu Harbour the **New Hazard** now steered for China; and again the journal contains the dry record of the varied employments of the ship's crew: killing and salting hogs; overhauling the peltry; altering the sails from day to day; repairing the rigging; and doing the thousand and one tasks that were necessary on a sailing ship that had been nearly three years from home and out of touch with civilization. So day after day with, usually, pleasant weather, the brig made her way steadily towards the Oldest East. On the morning of 3 December the island of Agrigan, one of the Ladrões, was sighted. The entry of the next [sic]¹ day reads:]

4 December. Breaking out the forehold to get the seal skins aft and casks forward so the people shall not steal furs!!!!!! Amen—

[At two o'clock in the afternoon the brig was abreast the island. But from this point it will be well to quote the words of the journal:]

At three, two canoes came off, in which were a Mr. Rogers, Mr. Young [Jones?], and John Pearson, who came on board naked except he had a *marre* (a strip of country stuff six or eight inches wide, three yards in length).² Captain Nye gave them clothes, axes, saws, hammers, etc., with which they were much pleased. There was a large number of settlers upon the south side of the island, brought down the last season by Captain Porter. These men were brought here by Porter and Sturgis five years since;³ for the first three no vessel ever touched at the island.

History. This island was discovered by the Spaniards who gave it the name of Agregann [sic]. It is small—to appearance about fifty miles in circumference. It has several small streams of good water. There is tolerable anchorage upon the south side where the land is flat. The island, generally speaking, is no more than a mountain in the sea. It may be approached on the northern side within half a mile of the land with safety. There are plenty of hogs which have run wild, which they hunt with their muskets. These are the only flesh on the island. It produces yams and potatoes, coconuts; the plantains and bananas grow wild in abundance, but are full of small black seeds which render them unfit for use.

...

[At sunset the brig continued her course westward...]

1 Ed. note: Ship day ran from noon to noon.

2 Ed. note: Rather "maro" which is a Polynesian word.

3 Ed. note: The ship commanded by Captain Lemuel Porter in 1813 was the **Tamaahmaah** (ref. Howay, p. 85). The ship he commanded earlier may have been another one. As for Captain William Sturgis, he was certainly in command of the **Atahualpa** of Boston which left the NW Coast on 10 September 1807, and the Hawaiian Islands on 10 October, to be seen in China from December until February 1808 (ref. Howay, p. 56).

Document 1812C

List of ships that visited Guam, 1812-1821, by Governor Medinilla

Source: PNA.

Detailed list of the ships that have arrived at this island between July 1812 and now

stating the date of arrival, the date of departure, the ports they came from, the seas of their destination, as well as those that have been seen without having been recognized.

Year of 1812

On 15 July, from Manila, anchored in the basin near Fort Los Dolores¹ the Packet named **San Luis, alias Modesto**, bringing the present Governor, and on 22 September, she returned [to Manila] with his predecessor.

On 25 December, in the sea off the port of the Town of Umata, there appeared a three-masted ship, and she could not be recognized.

Year of 1813

In the morning of 6 March, off the village of Pago a two-masted ship was seen, and she did not let herself be recognized.

On the 21st [March], from the port of Callao, Lima, anchored in the roads off the Town of Umata, the frigate of the Royal [Philippine] Company named **Príncipe Fernando**, and on the 22 she sailed for Manila.

On 27 April, a three-masted ship was seen from the Administration House at San José de Dandan² but it was not possible to recognize her.

Year of 1814

On 19 February, from Callao of Lima, coming around the Northern point of this island, at sunset, there anchored rather close to shore near this City, the frigate of the Royal Company named **Santiago, alias Infante Don Carlos** [sic] and in the morning of the next day, she was shipwrecked before the Fort of Orote on the shoal called

1 Ed. note: Same as Fort Santa Cruz.

2 Ed. note: The government cattle ranch north of Inarajan.

Calalang; the people were saved, and the cargo, which consisted in half a million and 12 thousand [i.e. 512,000] pesos in currency, copper, iron, and other goods, was salvaged.

In the afternoon of 20 April, from the basin of Fort Santa Cruz, the schooner of this Royal Garrison, named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** sailed [to Manila] bearing the news of the shipwreck of said frigate, and carrying aboard, to deliver to the Factors, 103,000 pesos in currency, and as many of the copper ingots that she could carry.

On 31 July, from the port of San Blas [in New Spain], there anchored at the Town of Umata, His Majesty's schooner named **Fidelidad**, and the next day she moved to the basin of San Luis de Apra for the purpose of receiving aboard her 200,000 pesos belonging to above-said manifest [of the Santiago], and on 7 August, she sailed for Manila.

Year of 1815

In the morning of 1 January, from the Sandwich Islands,¹ there anchored in said basin of Fort Santa Cruz, the Portuguese frigate **Mercurio**, and the Russian frigate **Orina**.²

On the 13th, the frigate **Mercurio** sailed for Canton.

On the 17th, from Manila, anchored in said basin the brig **San Antonio**.

On the 29th, at sea off the village of Inarajan, there appeared a three-masted ship that could not be recognized.

In the morning of 7 February, there sailed in company with said frigate **Orina**, bound for Manila, the brig **San Antonio**, loaded with the rest of the silver and other effects from those that said shipwrecked frigate had brought from Lima.

On 27 May, from the port of San Blas, there anchored at the Town of Umata, His Majesty's ship named **Rey Fernando**, and on 1 June she sailed for Manila.

On the 3rd [June], from said basin, loaded with cargo from said frigate, bound for Manila, the brig named **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores**.

On 29 August, from Manila, there anchored in said basin, the English ship named **Experiment** which came here to carry to Bengal the copper that was listed on the manifest of the shipwrecked frigate, and on 18 September, she sailed for her destination.³

Year of 1816

On 26 May, said brig **Dolores** returned from Manila and anchored in said basin.

On 2 June, at sea off the village of Inarajan, a two-masted ship was seen but could not be identified.

1 Ed. note: That is, the Hawaiian Islands. The Spanish are so fond of naming places and ships after Catholic saints that, in this case, the Governor's pen slipped and he wrote "San Duwich" as patron saint of Hawaii.

2 Ed. note: The frigate Orina was owned by Governor Baranov of Sitka, Alaska, and was formerly the O'Cain (see Doc. 1819A).

3 Ed. note: This is probably the same vessel as the 146-ton brig mentioned by Nicholson, in his Log of Logs, under 1810.

Year of 1817.

In the afternoon of 15 February, from the Administration House of San José de Dandan was seen a three-masted ship that could not be identified.

In the afternoon of 1 May, off the village of Pago a three-masted ship was observed but it was not possible to recognize her.

On the 6th, with cargo from said [wrecked] frigate **Santiago**, said brig **Dolores** sailed for Manila.

On the 27th, off the village of Merizo, a three-masted ship was seen but could not be recognized.

On 31 July, returning from Manila, said brig **Dolores** anchored in said basin.

On 24 November, from the Sandwich Islands, there anchored in said basin the war brig of Russian nationality, the **Rurik** of Kronstand [sic], and on the 29th she sailed for the Luzon Islands.

Year of 1818

On 11 March [rather May], with cargo from said frigate, the brig **Dolores** sailed for Manila, and on 3 [rather 1] April, she was captured by the insurgent frigate named **Argentina**.¹

On 15 May, off the area of Inarajan, a three-masted ship was observed at sea but she could not be recognized.

On 11 September, His Majesty's lighter named **Sonora** arrived from Manila, and on 22 December, she undertook her return voyage.²

On 4 December, coming from Lima by way of the Sandwich Islands, the war frigate of Russian nationality named **Kamchatka** anchored in the port of the Town of Umata, and on the 7th she sailed for Manila.

Year of 1819

On 9 February, from the port of Callao of Lima, and from the NW Settlements, there anchored at the end of the entrance channel of Orote Point the frigate owned by the Russian-American Company named **Kutusoff**. On the 13th, she moved to the port of the Town of Umata, and on the 15th, she sailed for Persia.³

On 14 March, from Manila northbound, with destination the port of Acapulco, there anchored at said Town of Umata, the frigate **Paz**, and on the 22nd, she sailed for her destination, but she returned on the 31st to take on water, and anchored at the tip of Orote Point. On 5 April, she succeeded in securing herself in the basin of said Fort [Santa Cruz], then she sailed on the 30th to pursue her voyage.

On the 16th, from Rawak on the coast called Waigiou, there anchored in the port of said Town, clearly armed, the war corvette of His Catholic Majesty Louis XVIII, named **Uranie**, and in the morning of the 28th, she sailed for said basin where she an-

1 Ed. note: See the story in Doc. 1818K.

2 Ed. note: Back to Manila (see Doc. 1818G).

3 Ed. note: The Kutusoff stopped at Batavia where she left Governor Medinilla's correspondence for Manila.

chored in the afternoon of 1 April, remaining there until 5 June when she sailed for the Sandwich Islands.

Year of 1820

On 19 April, from Acapulco, coming around the northern side of the island, there anchored close to the bar of this City, the trading schooner named **San Juan, alias La Espina**, and without tarrying much, a little more than one hour later, she pursued her voyage to Manila.

On 8 August, from the Japan Seas where she was whale fishing, from the North, there came the English frigate **Syren** but she remained under sail, tacking until the night of the 10th, when she followed her voyage, bound for the Moluccas.

Year of 1821

Coming from the Port of San Blas, in the morning of 4 March, there anchored in the port of the Town of Umata, the frigate **Maria**, and the next day she sailed for Manila.¹

Town of Umata, 5 March 1821.
José de Medinilla y Pineda²

1 Ed. note: Carrying Governor Medinilla away from Guam.

2 Ed. note: The above list is not complete, not even for Spanish ships. For example, it does not mention the first visit of the **San Antonio** (Capt. Dublon) and the visits of the **Santa Rita**, **Carmen**, and **Feliz**.

 Document 1812D

Two English ships in February 1812, via Helen Reef and Tobi

The logbook of the Dorsetshire, Captain Robert Hunter Brown

Source: Log 13F, India Office. Note: The two ships listed below were part of a fleet of 8 ships that left England. Unfortunately, I had no time to investigate what happened to the other ships in this fleet.

Honourable company's Ship Dorsetshire Towards China.

...

Courses NEbN, etc., Winds variable, etc.

Wednesday 5th February 1812

Variable winds with squalls, and rain in the first part. Latter fair weather. Employed as usual. Signal to **Scaleby** [Castle] 42-48. At 11 a.m., the man on the lookout at the mast head saw land bearing NNE. Made signal for it to **Scaleby Castle**. Shortly afterwards, discovered it to be a long range of breakers extending in an ESE and WNW direction, with the sea breaking very high on it & mostly so on the Easterly extremity. It had, at noon, the appearance of low land to the NE of it. This shoal is evidently the one described as St. Helen's Shoal [sic].

Our Longitude at Noon by Chron. 132°12', by Lunar 131°42' E & Lat. 2°45' N. It is laid down in Long. 131°42' & Lat. 2°50' N by Captain Seton of the **Helen** Country Ship.—¹ We made the body of the breakers, at Noon bearing NE dist. about 12' [i.e. miles]. Having had a distinct sight of St. Helen's Shoal in a clear day from the tops bearing at Noon NE distance 12 miles and the Lat. at Noon by a good observation being 2°45' N. Nd Long. well ascertained by lunar 131°42', etc. Var. 1° E.

Courses NNW, etc., Winds NE, etc.

Thursday 6th February 1812

... At 1 p.m., saw Lord North [i.e. Tobi] Island from the mast head bearing WbN distance about 6 leagues. At this time our Lat. carried on from Noon 2°58' N., Long. Obs.

¹ Ed. note: Captain Seton gave this shoal the name of his ship in 1794.

131°28' E & allowing for the bearing of the island will make its situation Lat. 3°32' N, Long. 131°10' E.

Arrowsmith lays it down in Lat. 3°8' N & Long. 131°13' E.

The appearance of the island from the mast head very much resembles its description in the [India] Directory, being low & flat and about 3 miles in extent. The **Scaleby Castle** being Long. Obs. 130°50' E to leeward of us saw lights distinctly on it at 10 p.m. the island then bearing SE.

Lat. obs. 3°46' N., Long. in. 134°10' E, by lunar 130°58' E, by Chron. 131°2' E, Var. 1° E.

...

Saturday 8th February 1812

... At midnight made the night signal to the **Scaleby Castle** to bear too on the starboard tack, being at this time 7 miles to the South of St. Andrew [Sonsorrol] Islands and fearful of running their Longitude [which] appears not very well ascertained. At daylight made signal again and tho' the morning was very clear, saw nothing of them, tho' from the best Authorities of their position and our own situation at Noon, we must have passed within 12 miles to the West of them...

Lat. obs. 5°42', by acct. 5°32', Long. in. 134°11', by Lunar 131°17' E, by Chron. 131°47' E.

...

Monday 10th February 1812

... At daylight the **Scaleby Castle** 3 or 4 miles to leeward, during the time of our shifting topsails, she tacked to join us.— At Noon 3 or 4 miles to the Eastward of the **Glatton's** track in 1797 with the Fleet under charge of Captain Drummond.

Lat. obs. 8°21' N., by acct. 8°34', Long. in. 134°2' E, by Lunar 131°23' E, by Chron. 131°53' E.¹

1 Ed. note: The logbook of the **Scaleby Castle**, Captain Thomas Talbot, is Log 34H in the India Office, but nothing more is of interest.

Documents 1813A

The abolition of the Manila galleon, temporarily suspended, actually took place in 1816

A1. Royal order suppressing the Acapulco galleon, dated Cadiz 14 September 1813

Sources: AGN AHH 426-20 (formerly AGN Fil. tome 43); cited in Francisco Santiago Cruz' La Nao de China (Mexico, 1962); AGN Marina 214, fol. 213-214.

Note: Some other documents give another date for this document, e.g. 27 September 1813, which was the date of its promulgation.

Original text in Spanish.

1815 Secretaria del Virreynato.—Filipinas n° 412.

Real Orden que suprime la Nao de Acapulco y habilita á los comerciantes de Filipinas para que hagan su comercio por los puertos de Acapulco y San Blas en buques particulares, bajo el permiso de quinientos mil pesos y un millon de retorno.

Excelentísimo Señor.

La Regencia del Reyno se ha servido dirigirme el Decreto siguiente:

“Don Fernando 7º por la gracia de Dios y por la Constitucion de la Monarquia Española Rey de las Españas, y en su ausencia y cautividad la Regencia del Reyno nombrada por las Cortes generales, y extraordinarias, á todos los que las presentes vieren y entendieren sabed: Que las Cortes han decretado lo siguiente:

1º Queda suprimida la Nao de Acapulco, y los habitantes de las Yslas Filipinas pueden hacer por ahora el comercio de generos de la China y demas del continente asiatico en buques particulares nacionales continuando su giro con la Nueva España á los puertos de Acapulco y San Blas, bajo el mismo permiso de quinientos mil peses concedido á dicha Nao, y el millon de retorno.

2º En defecto del puerto de Acapulco pueden las embarcaciones de dichas Yslas ir al de Sonsonate.

3º Para animar á aquel giro conceden á Filipinas la gracia de prorrogarles por quatro años la rebaja de derechos que dispenseo el Sr. D. Carlos 4º por su Real Cedula en San Lorenzo á 4 de octubre de 1806 por lo respectivo al permiso de los 500 mil pesos fuertes y su retorno.

4º La accion que gozaban los agraciados en las bodegas cesa con la supresion de la Nao, y la Diputacion provincial instruirá expediente en que se reunan todas las concepciones, é informara sobre el particular con justificacion y propondrá al propio tiempo arbitrios para substituir las que fueren de rigorosa justicia, que interinamente desde el recibo del presente Decreto deberan sufrir aquellas Caxas y consultar sobre las demas lo que le parezca sin perjuicio de que esta Corporacion oiga previamente no solo á los Ayuntamientos sino tambien á los empleados de la Hazienda publica conocidos hasta ahora con el nombre de Ministros de Real Hazienda.

“Lo tendrá entendido la Regencia del Reyno para su cumplimiento, y lo hara imprimir, publicar y circular.”

“José Miguel Cordova y Barrio, s Presidente.”

“Juan Manuel Subris, Diputado Secretario.”

“Miguel Riezco y Puerte, Diputado Secretario.”

“Dado en Cadiz á 14 de Septiembre de 1813.”

“A la Regencia del Reyno.”

Por tanto mandamos á todos los tribunales, justicias Gefes, Governadores, y demas Autoridades asi civiles como militares y ecclesiasticas de qualquier clase y dignidad, que guarden y hagan guardar, cumplir, y executar el presente Decreto en todas sus partes, pondreislo entendido para su cumplimiento y dispondreis se imprima, publique y circule.

L. de Borbon Cardenal de Scala Arzobispo de Toledo Presidente.

Pedro de Agár—Gabriel Ciscar, fho en Cadiz á 25 de Septiembre de 1813.

A D. Manuel Lopez Araujo.

De orden de S.A. lo comunico á V.E. para su inteligencia y cumplimiento en la parte que le toca.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Cadiz 27 de Septiembre de 1813.

Manuel Lopez de Araujo.

[A] Sr. Virrey de Nueva España.

Mexico 31 de Julio de 1814.

Avisese el recivo de esta Real orden é imprimase y publíquese por medio del correspondiente bando.

Calleja.

Nota: No corrió esta Real Orden por que al tiempo de cumplirla se supo la restitucion de nuestro Soberano el Sr. D. Fernando 7º á su Trono.

Es copia.

Mexico 5 de Febrero de 1815.

Translation.

1815 Secretariat of the Vice-Kingdom.—Philippines n° 412.

Royal Order suppressing the Galleon of Acapulco and giving permission to the traders of the Philippines to carry out their commerce through the ports of Acapulco and San Blas in private ships, under the permit to bring 500,000 pesos and take back 1 million.

Your Excellency:

The Regency of the Kingdom has been pleased to address to me the following Decree:

“H.M. Ferdinand VII, by the grace of God and by the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, King of the Spains, and in his absence and captivity,¹ the Regency of the Kingdom appointed by the general and extraordinary Courts, to all those who might see the present and hear about it: Let it be known that the Courts have decreed the following:

“1° The galleon of Acapulco has been suppressed and the inhabitants of the Philippine islands can now trade Chinese goods and other products from the Asian continent in private Spanish ships, and make the round-trip to New Spain, touching at the ports of Acapulco and San Blas, under the same permit of 500,000 pesos granted to said galleon, and one million on the return voyage.

“2° Should the port of Acapulco be closed, the vessels from those Islands may go to the port of Sonsonate.

“3° In order to encourage that round trip, they grant to the Philippines the favor of extending for four more years the decrease in customs duties that had been granted by H.M. Charles IV in his Royal Decree dated San Lorenzo 4 October 1806, regarding the permit of the 500,000 bullion pesos and the return profit.

“4° The activities that were enjoyed by those running warehouses will cease with the suppression of the galleon, and the provincial government will open a file in which all the [former] concessions will be enclosed, and it will submit a detailed report, with proofs, and recommend in due course whatever decisions should be taken, within the concept of strict justice, the proper measures, but in the meantime, as soon as the present Decree is received, the public funds overthere will have to suffer lack of cash and consultations should be held without prejudice by this Corporation about other funds as it pleases, provided that not only the city governments be heard, but also the employees of the Public Treasury, formerly known by the name of Ministers of the Royal Treasury.

“The Regency of the Kingdom is to be kept informed of actions taken, and is to have it printed, published and distributed.

“José Miguel Cordova Barrios, President.

“Juan Manuel Subris, Deputy Secretary.

“Miguel Riesco, Deputy Secretary.

1 Ed. note: Ferdinand, or Fernando, VII was restituted to his throne in 1814.

“Given at Cadiz, 14 September 1813.
“To the Regency of the Kingdom.”

Consequently, we order all the tribunals, Chief Justices, Governors, and other Authorities, civil, military and ecclesiastic, of whatever category and dignity, to obey and have others obey and carry out the present Decree in all of its parts, by taking steps to have it carried out and arrange for its printing, publishing and distribution.

L. de Borbon, Cardinal de Scala, Archbishop of Toledo, President.

Pedro de Agar Gabriel Ciscar.

Made at Cadiz, 25 September 1813.

To Manuel Lopez Araujo.

By order of His Highness I sent this to Y.E. for your information and action in the part involving you.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manuel Lopez de Araujo.

[To] His Lordship the Viceroy of New Spain.

Mexico, 31 July 1814.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this Royal order and have it printed and published by the corresponding proclamation.

Calleja.¹

Note: This Royal Order was not published because, before it could be carried out, it was learned that our Sovereign, H.M. Ferdinand VII, was restituted to his throne.²

This is a copy.

Mexico, 5 February 1815.³

1 Ed. note: Félix M. Calleja del Rey served as Viceroy from 1813 to 1816.

2 Ed. note: By order of Napoleon, after the disastrous campaign by his brother Joseph Bonaparte. The King abolished the Courts on 4 May 1814, the deputies were arrested and their acts proclaimed null and void.

3 Ed. note: The government in Mexico had suspended the execution of this royal order but it was re-affirmed by the King himself in another decree dated 14 September 1814. However, a rebel congress was formed in Mexico the following year, and it soon proclaimed a new constitution on 24 May 1815 (ref. AHH 426-33).

A2. The King of Spain renewed this decree on 23 April 1815

Sources: Among others, AGN Fil. 43, fol. 147-155, 362.

Note: As reproduced in a letter to the Viceroy of New Spain dated Madrid 6 November 1816.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sr.

Con fecha 23 de abril del año próximo pasado [1815] se comunicó al Gobernador Capitán General de las Islas Filipinas la Real orden siguiente:

“Deseando el REY proporcionar todos los medios posibles á la prosperidad y fomento del Comercio de esas Islas y en vista de lo que ha hecho presente su Diputado Don Ventura de los Reyes, se ha servido S.M. aprovar en todas sus partes, el decreto de las llamadas Cortes extraordinarias de 14 de Septiembre de 1813, por lo qual determinaron que quedase suprimida la Nao de Acapulco, dexando á esos habitantes en libertad de hacer su comercio en Buques particulares con lo demás que en él expresa.”

“Lo que participo á V.E. para su inteligencia en la parte que le toca.”

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.

Madrid, 6 de noviembre de 1816.

Manuel López de Araujo.

[Al] Sor. Virrey de Nueva España.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The following Royal order dated 23 April of the past year [1815] was sent to the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands:

“Since the King wishes to make all the means possible available to encourage the prosperity of the trade of those Islands, and in view of the representation made by their Deputy, Don Ventura de los Reyes,¹ H.M. has been pleased to approve in all its parts the decree issued by said extraordinary Courts dated 14 September 1813 by which they decided to suppress the Acapulco galleon and let the inhabitants of the Philippines trade freely with private ships, and all the other things mentioned therein.”

I let Y.E. know about it, so that you may the better be able to act in matters concerning you.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 6 November 1816.

Manuel López de Araujo.

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain.

¹ Ed. note: For more details about the representation of the Philippines in the Spanish Courts, see B&R 51: 279-297. The intervention of Los Reyes resulted in permission of the Philippines to trade with any other Spanish ports, under certain conditions.

A3. Proclamation by the Viceroy, dated Mexico 28 May 1816

Source: AGN Fil. 50, fol. 163.

Original text in Spanish.



Felix M. Calleja, Viceroy of New Spain, from 1813 to 1816.

Remito á V. S para su inteligencia y cumplimiento 50 exemplares del Bando que he mandado publicar en esta Capital, relativo á la observancia de la órden de la Regencia del Reyno de 27 de Septiembre de 1813, que trata de la supresion de la Nao de Acapulco, haciendo por ahora los habitantes de Filipinas su comercio de géneros de China y demas del continente asiático en buques particulares, y continuando su giro en este Reyno por los Puertos de Acapulco y San Blas, baxo el mismo permiso de 5000 pesos concedidos á dicha Nao y el millon de retorno.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años. México 28 de Mayo de 1816.

Calleja.

His printed proclamation of 1816.

Translation.

I remit to Your Lordship for your information and action 50 copies of the Proclamation that I have ordered published in this Capital, regarding to observance of the order of the Regents of the Kingdom dated 27 September 1813, which deals with the suppression of the Acapulco galleon. The inhabitants of the Philippines now carry on their trade of goods from China and others from the Asian continent in private ships, and continue to make their return voyage to this Kingdom through the ports of Acapulco and San Blas, under the same permission of 500 thousand pesos granted to said galleon and the return of one million allowed from the sale.

May God save Your Lordship for many years. Mexico, 29 May 1816.
Calleja.

A4. The agent for the Manila galleon was advised only in 1817

Source: AGN Fil. 43, fol. 359-359v.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

Ayer recibí el Oficio superior impreso de 23 del corriente con inserción de la Real Orden 6 de Noviembre último en que S.M. se sirvió aprobar el decreto de las llamadas Cortes de 14 Septiembre de 1813, que suprimió las Naos de Manila, permitiendo sus expediciones en buques particulares; y quedo como Apoderado general de aquel Comercio entendido de lo que V.E. se sirvió declarar sobre la devolución de derechos Reales que disminuye también la citada disposición soberana.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

México 25 de Septiembre de 1817.

Exmo. Señor.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[A] Exmo. Sor. Virey D. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca

Translation.

Your Excellency.

Yesterday I received the printed message from Y.E. dated 23rd instant, enclosing the Royal order dated 6 November 1813 which suppresses the Manila galleons, permitting their expeditions to be made with private ships. As general Agent of that trade, I remain informed of what Y.E. was pleased to declare regarding the restitution of Royal duties, which said order has also decreased.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

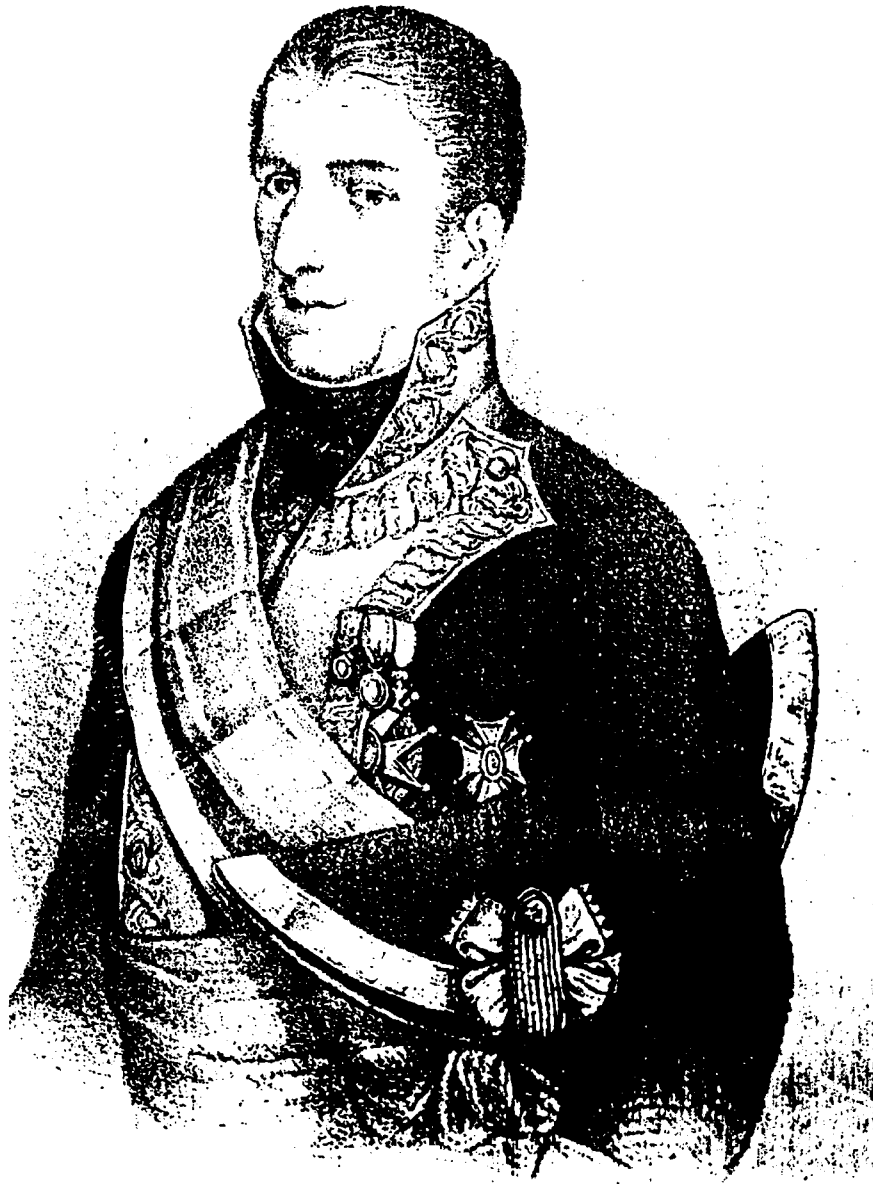
Mexico, 25 September 1817.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Ed. note: For those interested in the opinion of this Agent upon the regular Philippine trade, see his petition dated 22 February 1817, in fol. 152-156.



**Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Count of Venadito, Viceroy
1816-1821.**

(From Rivera Cambas' Los gobernantes de México).

Documents 1813B

Official reports on the College of San Juan de Letran in Guam

Source: AGI Fil. 371. Note: This report had been requested by the Minister of Overseas, in an order dated Cadiz 13 September 1812.

B1. Report by the Superior of the Recollects

Original text in Spanish.

Año de 1813. Testimonio de los informes respectivos al colegio de Agaña de las Yslas Marianas.

Muy Yllustre Señor.

En cumplimiento de la Orden de su Alteza fecha en Cadiz en trece de Septiembre de mil ochocientos y doce, y a consecuencia del oficio que VSia se sirvió pasarme de fecha seis de Octubre del presente año á cerca del informe circunstanciado que devo dar del Colegio de San Juan de Letran de las Yslas Marianas, á cargo de los Religiosos de mi obediencia desde el año de mil setecientos setenta y seis digo: Que su origen y establecimiento fué de la Reyna Doña Mariana, con forma separada de la Real Caja de Mexico para la dotacion de aquel Seminario de tres mil pesos anuales para su descencia [sic] y subsistencia, cuya cantidad de pesos vienen dirigidos á Don Andres de Asas, como Apoderado de aquel Colegio el que con la venía de los Señores de la Audiencia remite á Marianas, quando hay ocasion el numero de pesos que le asignan, empleado en ropas y otros utencillos para vestir á los Colegiales y mantener al Colegio con la descencia que siempre tubo, pero del fondo, ó existencia que pueda tener en el dia aquel caudal, no me ès posible dar rason por lo arriva expuesto. El Religioso que siempre hà nombrado el Superior Gobierno para Rector, reside de continuo allí.] Tiene de estipendio de Misionero, como cada uno de los demas Padres que administran en la Ysla y solamente lo subministra el Colegio la comida y nada mas.

La fabrica material del Colegio ès de piedra y texa bastante capas para abriguar el numero de quarenta niños Yndios naturales[.] tienen un solo Maestro de mucica y primeras letras[.] el que mañana y tarde los instruye en uno y otro, y estos tiples, ò músicos son los que cantan y tocan en todas las funciones de Yglesia. El enumerado Maestro tiene de sueldo en cada un año cinquenta y dos pesos con la racion diaria.

Quando estos Colegiales salen del Colegio para tomar estado, se le avia de ropas para si, y su muger segun se halla surtido el Colegio. Estos se emplean despues allà en sus Pueblos en Maestro de escuela, y como yà poseen el idioma Castellano ocupan los empleos de Governadorcillo[.] zelador[.] e cetera.

Tiene asi mismo el referido Colegio un Mayordomo con la misma dotacion que el Maestro de Escuela, el que cuida de las sementeras para que no falte la manutencion de los niños Colegiales. Y por que las Naos que van à Acapulco suelen no tocar en aquella Ysla à su regreso, ni de Manila sale embarcacion en derecha, para alli, solamente quando vâ el nuevo Governador à aquel Real Presidio, por estas causas hà padecido y padece mucha escàs de ropas aquel colegio por que las remisiones que hace el Apoderado no son tan abundantes que puedan alcanzar à dos ò tres años[.] Por lo que respecta à los reglamentos ò ordenes del referido establecimiento de aquel Colegio Seminario, no puedo llenar los deseos de su Alteza por no haver pasado à mi Provincia de San Nicolas documento alguno.

Es quanto hé podido indagar acerca del informe que se me pide.

Dios guarde à V.Sia muchos años.

Convento de San Sebastian en Siete de Octubre de mil ochocientos y trece.

Fray Enrique de Santo Tomas de Villanueva.

Translation.

Year of 1813. Reports regarding the College of Agaña in the Mariana Islands.

Most Illustrious Sir:

To comply with the order of His Highness dated Cadiz 13 September 1812, and as a consequence of the letter, dated 6 October last, that Your Lordship was pleased to forward to me, regarding the detailed report that I am to give about the College of San Juan de Letran in the Mariana Islands, under the care of the Religious under my direction since the year 1776,¹ I declare:

That its origin and establishment was by Queen Mariana, with a separate account from the Royal treasury of Mexico for an annuity of 3,000 pesos to that Seminary, to serve for clothing and food expenses. Said sum is released to Mr. Andrés de Asas, acting as Agent for that College,² and it is he who, with the approval of the Gentlemen of the Audiencia, remits to the Marianas, whenever there is an occasion, the number of pesos assigned, in the form of clothes and other accessories, to provide clothes to the college boys and maintain the College as decently as it has always been. However, I do not know what is done nowadays with the funds, or supplies, that are received, because the Religious whom the superior government has always appointed Rector, resides there continuously. He enjoys his stipend as a missionary, the same as any other Father ministering in the Island, and only gets his meals from the College, nothing more.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1777A.

2 Ed. note: An accountant in the administration of Manila (see below).

The physical building of said College is made up of stone, with a tiled roof, and large enough to accommodate 40 native Indian boys. They have only one person to teach them music, plus basic reading and writing. Every morning and afternoon, he teaches one subject or the other. These choir boys, or musicians, are those who sing or play at all the functions in the church. Said teacher is paid 52 pesos a year, plus his daily ration.

When these boys leave the College to get married, they are given clothes for themselves, and their wife, in accordance with what is found in the College. They in turn are employed overthere in their towns as school masters, and as they already speak Spanish, they also become town mayors, policemen, etc.

The above-said College also has a caretaker who receives the same benefits as the teacher. He takes care of the plantations to make sure the college boys will not lack food. And, given that the galleons that go to Acapulco usually do not touch at that Island on their return voyage, nor is there a vessel visiting it directly from Manila, but only when a new Governor is posted to that Royal garrison,¹ that College has suffered for these reasons, and continues to suffer shortages of clothes; indeed, the remittances made by the Agent are not so abundant as might last for two or three years. As far as the regulations or orders regarding the establishment of said Seminary College, I cannot fulfil the desires of Your Highness because my Province of San Nicolas has not received any document about it.

That is all I have been able to find out about the report that has been requested of me.

May God save Your Lordship for many years.

Convent of San Sebastian, 7 October 1813.

Fray Enrique de Santo Tomás de Villanueva

B2. Report by the Accountant in charge of material administration

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Yllustre Señor.

El Contador de Temporalidades en obediencia del Superior decreto de quinze [sic] del corriente por el que se manda forme un estado ò relacion que explique si es posible la fundacion del Colegio que existe en Agaña de las Yslas Marianas, con el obgeto de ilustrar al Gobierno Supremo segun la Real Orden de trece de Septiembre del año proximo de ochocientos y doce[,] dice: Que haviendo reconocido, y examinado detenidamente todos los papeles de la Comision antiguos y modernos de los regulares de la Compañia extinguida hà hallado por lo respectivo à la fundacion y ereccion del Colegio Seminario de niños huérfanos titulado de San Juan de Letran en la Ysla de Guajan, ò Ciudad de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas las siguientes noticias.

1 Ed. note: An exaggeration; Guam was visited more often, though not yearly.

Por Real Cedula fecha en Madrid à diez y ocho de Abril de mil seiscientos setenta y tres ordeno entre otras cosas la Reyna Governadora Doña Maria de Austria al Marquez de Mancera Virrey que era de la Nueva España, que comunicandose con el Padre Diego Luis de San Victores, uno de los Religiosos de la Compañia que se hallavan empleados en la combersion de los Naturales de las Yslas Marianas para la fundacion que tenia propuesto, se hiciese de un Seminario Real, con titulo de San Juan de Letran de Guan Capital de dichas Yslas, unido por medio de la congregacion de San Francisco Xavier, con la Cofradia de San Juan de Letran de Roma, para la buena instruccion de los niños de aquella tierra huerfanos por naturalesa, ò costumbre de nacion, en que totalmente estaban exemplos los hijos de la educacion y sugesion de sus Padres, dispuciese que de la Real Caja de Mexico se remitieran cada año hasta tres mil pesos ò lo que le informare el citado Padre, esto en el interin que lo situava en penciones de encomiendas de Yndios vacos encargandole lo hiciese asi quanto antes fuese posible, para aliviar la Caxa de esta Carga, y que de lo que fuese executando le diese cuenta en todas las ocaciones que se ofreciesen, para que lo tuviese entendido. Y por otra del mismo dia dirigida al citado Padre Diego Luis de San Victores se le participo lo ordenado al Virrey de Nueva España y previno que del estado que fueron tomando las fundaciones de dicho Colegio, y de otro de niños Marianos que era propuesto, avisará en las ocaciones que se ofrecieran.

En concequencia de estas dispocisiones, se establecio el Colegio Seminario en Agaña Capital de aquellas Yslas para la educacion de los hijos de aquellos Ysleños en los Misterios de nuestra Santa fee, en las costumbres, Christianas politicas, en el canto, è Ynstrumentos musicos que sirvese al Divino culto y en todas las demas acciones que eran utiles à aquel nuebo establecimiento. El numero de su dotacion era de sesenta Colegiales poco mas ò menos. Tenian su Rector que era uno de las Justicias [rather Jesuitas] operarios del Colegio principal de la Mision de las Yslas, cuidando de su Gobierno economico un hermano lego tenian sus Maestros seglares para enseñarles à leer, escribir, contar, y demas havilidades que devian aprender, en quienes siempre descargaron los Jesuitas la obligacion de la enseñanza, reservandose la inspeccion de ella, y su direccion[.] Que quando se admitian los colegiales que ès en la edad mas tierna, el primer cuidado era imponerlos en la Doctrina Christiana, y Santo temor de Dios, à que se seguia la Ynstruccion en leer escribir, y en la musica, adiestrandolos en el canto y en los Ynstrumentos, à que manifestaban mas inclinacion y aptitud, y luego que entravan en la edad robusta, se les comensaba à imponer en la agricultura, tomandose esta enseñanza en las tierras de labor del Colegio, que cultivaban los yà instruidos; y de suficientes fuerzas.

La Dotacion, y Renta de este Colegio hà sido y es de los tres mil pesos que de las Reales Cajas de Mexico se cobravan anualmente por el Padre Procurador general de los Jesuitas que residia en aquella Capital, y descontados los importes de los avios que se le podian [rather pedian] por su Rector para los Seminaristas remitia su remanerte [sic] à el Colegio de San Ygnacio de esta Ciudad donde recibio por el Padre Procurador general de la Provincia, despues que rebajara este, los costos de las Proviciones que de

aca tambien se le remitian dicha Cuenta formal al citado Rector del Seminario de Marianas para que como Administrador dispusiera del alcance à favor de los Colegiales.

Estos se hallavan asistidos de todo lo necesario para su escuela, sustento y vestuario, siendo este ò mantela lona ò mantela azul con su escudo de plata al pecho, y en el gravadas las Armas Reales, de tres vestidos al año segun el uso de los naturales[.] del [=desde el] extranamiento [el]¹ Governador Don Enrique de Michelena abandonò ese establecimiento sino que haciendose cargo de su grande utilidad por ser una fundacion Real, resolviò conservarlo en su mismo Sèr Supliendo de su caudal los gastos nesarios, dando cuenta de ello à este Superior Gobierno y Capitania General y pidiendo su aprovacion, haciendo presente que desde el año de mil setecientos sesenta y siete se estaban debiendo al Colegio Seminario por la Real Caxa de Mexico los tres mil pesos de su anual dotacion[.] todo fuè aprobado, y se le mando continuase manteniendo à el Seminario en la inteligencia de que seria satisfecho de los Suplementos que hiciese con el caudal de su dotacion como asi se verifico[.] Se oficio con el Señor Virrey de la Nueva España para que remitiese los situados detenidos, y que en lo subcesivo ordenase à los Oficiales Reales de aquellas Caxas su anual remision dandose cuenta de todo como se executò à Su Magestad.

*Como para la remision de los tres regulares que existan en aquellas Yslas, solo se remitieron desde esta Ciudad tres Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos el uno de ellos Lego, y que para la Direccion del Seminario, y la espiritual administracion de aquellos feligreses dispersos en los partidos de Pago, Agat, Umata, Merizo, Ynarajan, y separada Ysla de Rota, venian à quedarse en la misma necesidad que se hallaron los Jesuitas[.] se dispuso que al regresar por Marianas la Fragata **San Carlos**, que devia venir de Acapulco con una Mision de Religiosos Recoletos dexase cinco de ellos para las atenciones de su Ministerio, teniendo solo efecto el numero de quatro Yndividuos.*

Quando se verificò el extrañamiento quedò por entonces el fomento y conservacion del Seminario al cargo y direccion de los Governadores de aquellas Yslas hasta el año de mil setecientos setenta y seis que por el Real Acuerdo de la Audiencia de estas Yslas, fueron relevados de este cargo y cuidado poniendole al de el Vicario Provincial de dicha Mision Fray Andres de San José, nombrandosele por Rector para su manejo, y administracion à nombre de Su Magestad, en cuya sazon se empezaron à recibir los Situa-dos detenidos de su dotacion, y que por el Comisionado de Temporalidades presidente de la Junta Municipa proveyese al Colegio de todo lo nesario en la forma que antes se practicaba, y segun la Lista de Surtimientos que pidiese el Padre Rector para las atenciones del Colegio sus Alumnos, y demas empleados en el[.] Asi se ha practicado en todas las ocasiones que havia despacho para aquellas Yslas yà por la Nao que iba à Acapulco y devia tocar à su regreso para esta en ella, o ya en los Barcos particulares que se remitian en derechura.

Y con motivo de la Real Cedula de siete de Julio de mil setecientos setenta y dos en que declara haverse subrogado en la Real persona los derechos de Patronato que cor-

1 Ed. note: One line missing?

respondieron à los Regulares de la Compañia y Gobernadores de Yndias à nombre de Su Magestad determino el Real Acuerdo de esta Audiencia en diez de Junio de mil se-tecientos ochenta y nueve, poner à disposicion de es[t]a Superioridad el cuidado de la subsistencia de dicho el devoto Provincial de Agustinos Descalzos por que està à cargo de los Religiosos de su orden tambien podrá hacerlo del origen y fondos con que se estableciò por que havindoseles dado su Administracion por la Audiencia de estas Yslas, despues de la expulsion de los Jesuitas que la tenia à su cargo ès natural que se les entregasen los Archivos y documentos en que conste su execucion, que la Historia nos re-fiere deverse à la piedad de la Reyna Doña Mariana[.] Si no fuese asi el Contador de Temporalidades podrá executar lo examinando los Libros y papeles que me parece deven obrar en su poder en que constará el origen de esta obra pia, y el de las otras mu-chas que administraban los mencionados Jesuitas con destino à diversos ramos de in-struccion publica à que principalmente se ocupaban.

Por lo que à mi toca como Administrador de los fondos de dicho Colegio devo decir que estos se hallan en la Tesoreria general de estas, que para que tengan los mayores aumentos se dan à corresponder à Comerciantes bajo fianzas y Buques seguros por esta Superioridad que por este medio han tenido un acrescentamiento de mucha conside-racion en terminos que desde el año de noventa en que se separaron de la masa de tem-poralidades diez y ocho mil ochocientos noventa y seis pesos pertenecientes à este Colegio, no haviendo venido de Nueva España en los veinte y tres años corridos desde dicha fecha, màs de quarenta, y un mil pesos[.] se halla esta en el dia con treinta y dos mil doscientos un pesos en Caja, y cinquenta mil à riesgo, que con los diez mil ocho-cientos y treinta pesos que deven producir de premio hacen el total de noventa y tres mil ochenta, y un pesos, siendo asi que se perdio un Buque, que hacia en riesgo de con-sideracion, y que anualmente quando hay Buque se emplean tres mil pesos en los ar-ticulos que me pide el Rector para provision del Colegio.

Con este fondo, y en el supuesto de que Nueva España devan presisamente remitirse tres mil pesos en cada año por estar situados sobre fondos expresamente destinados à este obgeto pio por la expresada Reyna Doña Mariana, V.Sia parà [rather podrá] in-formar al Gobierno Supremo, lo que su Ylustracion y selo le aconseja àfin de que se logre la mejora de que pueda ser susceptible este establecimiento en aquella distancia. Que ès quanto puedo informar à V.Sia en vista de lo que se me ordena.

Manila trece de Octubre [sic] de mil ochocientos y trece.

Andres de Asas Valdes.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I, the Accountant for the *Temporalidades* [i.e. administration of the properties of the former Jesuits], to comply with the superior decree of 15th [sic] instant, by which I was ordered to prepare a report to explain if a foundation is possible for the College that exists in the Mariana Islands, for the purpose of making suggestions to the Supreme Government, in accordance with the Royal order dated 13 September 1812, do

declare: That, having surveyed and examined at length all of the old and modern papers of the Commission of the regulars of the abolished Society, have found the following information regarding the foundation and establishment of the Seminary College for orphan boys, named after San Juan de Letran, in the Island of Guajan, or City of Agaña in the Mariana Islands.

By Royal decree dated Madrid 18 April 1673, the Queen Regent, Doña María de Austria, among other things, ordered the Marquis of Mancera, then Viceroy of New Spain,¹ to communicate with Father Diego Luís de San Victores, one of the Religious of the Society who were then employed in the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands, for the foundation that he had recommended, to build a Royal Seminary, to be named San Juan de Letran of Guam, Capital of said Islands, and be united through the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier with the Brotherhood of San Juan de Letran of Rome, for the good instruction of the boys of that country, orphaned either by circumstance or by native custom, in which the boys would be a total example for the education and subjection of their parents, and he was to arrange for the Royal treasury of Mexico to remit every year up to 3,000 pesos, or the sum that the above-named Father would inform him about; this was to take place, until such time as he could arrange for regular subsidies to be paid out of the revenues of land-grants of vacant Indian land, something that he was to arrange as soon as possible, in order to relieve the treasury of such a responsibility, and he was to advise her in all the occasions that might offer of actions that he was taking. There is also another letter of same date addressed to said Father Diego Luís de San Victores² letting him know what she had ordered the Viceroy of New Spain to do and asking him to let her know on all occasions that might offer how the foundations of said College, and of another that he had proposed for Mariana boys [rather girls], would develop.

As a consequence of these measures, the Seminary College was established in Agaña, Capital of those Islands, for the education of the sons of those islanders in the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, in Christian customs and behavior, in singing and use of musical instruments to serve to the divine cult and in all the other actions that were useful to that new establishment. The number of students was to be 60 college boys, more or less. They were to have a Rector who was to be one of the Jesuit workers of the main College of the Mission of the Islands, a Jesuit brother to look after its financial administration, and lay teachers to teach them how to read, write, count, and other skills that they would have to learn. The Jesuits have always passed on the responsibility of teaching to them, reserving upon themselves the duties of inspection and administration. That, when the College boys were admitted (this happened at a very tender age), the first care was to impose upon them the Christian doctrine, and a holy fear of God, then there followed instruction in reading, writing, and in music, by training them to sing or to use musical instruments, according to their inclination and ability, and then, when

1 Ed. note: Reproduced fully in HM5:529-532.

2 Ed. note: See HM5:533-536.

they became old enough and strong enough, they were introduced to agriculture, on lands belonging to the College and cultivated on a regular basis by those who had already graduated and were strong enough.

The founding, rather funding, for this College has been, and continues to be, 3,000 pesos from the Royal treasury of Mexico, that were collected yearly by the Father Procurator General of the Jesuits who resided in that Capital, and once the value of the supplies that had been requested by the Rector for the seminarians had been deducted, the rest was remitted to the College of San Ignacio of this City, where it was received by the Father Procurator General of the Province, who in turn would deduct the costs of the supplies that would also be remitted from here to said Rector of the Seminary of the Marianas, so that as administrator he would dispose of the supplies in benefit of the College boys.

Therefore, they would be subsidized with everything necessary for their schooling, food and clothing. Their uniforms were made of rough blue canvas or linen,¹ with its silver shield on the chest, upon which was engraved the Royal coat-of-arms,² renewed three times per year, according to wear by the natives...³

Following the expulsion, Governor Enrique de Michelena, did [not] abandon that establishment;⁴ rather, recognizing it as a useful Royal foundation, he maintained it, on his own initiative, and with his own money, but he reported this to this Superior Government and Captaincy General, requesting approval, and representing that, since 1767, the Seminary College was owed by the Royal treasury of Mexico the 3,000 pesos of its yearly subsidy. Everything was approved, and he was ordered to continue to maintain the Seminary, on the understanding that the money would come out of the supplements that he might get from the foundation funds, and this was indeed done. A letter was sent to the Viceroy of New Spain, requesting him to remit the overdue subsidies, and in future to order the Royal officials of that Treasury to make the remittance yearly, and reporting everything to His Majesty, as was done.

As far as the replacement of the three regulars who lived in those Islands, only three Augustinian Recollects were sent from this City, one of them a lay brother. For the administration of the districts of Pago, Agat, Umatac, Merizo, Inarajan, and the separate Island of Rota, the Recollects soon felt the same need as the Jesuits had felt. It was decided that, upon the return of the frigate **San Carlos** that was to return from Aca-

1 Ed. note: So-called tunics of blue cloth were found in the inventory of the College in 1769 (see HM14:528).

2 Ed. note: These were small, removable, silver plates hanging from a chain, or cord, passed around the neck.

3 Ed. note: One line may be missing that renders the above and following sentences obscure.

4 Ed. note: Navy Lieutenant Enrique Olavide y Michelena served a second term as Governor of the Marianas from 1768 to 1771. The original copy of this particular report of his is no longer extant.

pulco with a mission band of Recollects, five of them should be left there to take care of the missions, but only four individuals did remain.¹

When the expulsion took place, the development and preservation of the Seminary became the responsibility of the Governors of those Islands. This lasted until 1776 when, by a Royal decision of the Audiencia of these Islands, they were relieved of this responsibility and care, and the Vicar-Provincial of said Mission, Fray Andrés de San José, was appointed Rector and asked to manage and administer it in the name of His Majesty. It was at that time that they began to receive the overdue subsidies, and that the Commissioner of the “Temporalidades” and President of the Municipal Board, would provide the College with everything necessary, as had been done before, and following a List of Supplies requested by the Father Rector for the use of the College, its pupils, and other employees working there. This has been the practice ever since, on all occasions of a galleon going to Acapulco, and being required to make a stop there during her return voyage, or sent directly, whenever there were private ships going there.

As a result of the Royal decree of 7 July 1772, in which it is said that the rights of the Royal Patronage, formerly in the hands of the Regulars of the Society and the Governors in the Indies, had been surrogated to the royal person, on behalf of His Majesty the Audiencia of Manila decided in a Royal decree dated 10 June 1789 to place at the disposal of that [rather this] Superior government the care of [delegating] the administration of said [college] to the devout Provincial of the Augustinian Recollects, so that it may be in the hands of the Religious of his Order, which was also to get from their source the funds with which it was established, because, since the Audiencia of these Islands had [already] given them the administration after the expulsion of the Jesuits who had had it in their care, it was natural to deliver the Archives and documents regarding it over to them, as History tells us that it was due to the piety of Queen Mariana. In any case, I, the Accountant of “Temporalidades” could do so, examining the Books and papers in my care, that seem to me to deal with the origin of this pious work, among the many other pious works that the above-mentioned Jesuits were administering, and dividing them among the various branches of public education, which had been their main business.²

As far as I am concerned, as Administrator of the funds of said College, I must say that such funds are to be found in the General Treasury of these [Islands], that, in order for take advantage of them as much as possible, they are given to some traders under guarantees and aboard secure ships by this Superior Government and it is by this means that they have enjoyed a considerable increase in benefits, so much so that since 1796,

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- 1 Ed. note: Meaning, only one more individual came with the galleon. The original band of four Recollects were: Fr. Andrés Blasquez (de San José); Fr. Antonio Sanchez (de la Concepción); Fr. Pedro Torres (del Pilar), perhaps he was the lay brother; and Fr. Cristobal Ibañez (de San Onofre), who was still there in 1813, but would leave Guam the following year.
 - 2 Ed. note: These documents were eventually lost, or ended up in many places, such as AHN in Madrid, the archives of the Recollects elsewhere in Spain, the archives of the new Jesuits of the Aragon Province in Spain, or disappeared in the hands of private collectors.

when 18,896 pesos belonging to this College were separated from the mass of “temporalidades”, because not more than 41,000 pesos had come from New Spain during the 23 years that preceded said date. Said [treasury] has on hand 32,201 pesos in cash and 50,000 pesos as insecure investments, which, along with the 10,831 pesos that they must produce as profits, make a total of 93,801 pesos. As a matter of fact, one ship was lost and the loss was considerable, and every year, when there is a ship, 3,000 pesos are employed in the articles that the Rector requests me to buy for the supplies of the College.

With this fund, and supposing that New Spain must necessarily remit 3,000 pesos every year, since the funds that the above-named Queen Mariana had expressly assigned to this pious purpose are located there. Your Lordship could inform the Supreme Government of the things that Your zealous mind may decide, in order to improve what may be susceptible to this faraway establishment. That is all I can report to Your Lordship in view of what I have been ordered to do.

Manila, 13 October [rather November] 1813.

Andrés de Asas Valdés

B3. Official reaction of the Manila Government

Original text in Spanish.

Manila veinte y tres de Noviembre de mil ochocientos y trece.

Para poder contestar al Ministro de la Governacion de Ultramar, à la Orden de trece de Septiembre de mil ocho cientos y doce, con todos los documentos yà reunidos y que acreditan los Colegios existentes en esta Capital, y su universidad, por lo respectivo al Colegio de Agaña de las Yslas Marianas, se pondrà a continuacion Testimonios del informe, que sobre este Colegio produce el Reverendo Padre Provincial de Recoletos, el Contador de Temporalidades y el Administrador de sus fondos Don Andres de Asas, sacandose por duplicado el competente para acompañar à la Consulta.

Rubricado de su Señoria.

José Reyes.

Translation.

Manila, 23 November 1813.

In order to be able to answer the order of the Minister of Overseas Administration dated 13 September 1812, with all the documents already assembled, which accredit the Colleges existing in this Capital, and its University, as far as the College of Agaña in the Mariana Islands is concerned, the report produced by Rev. Father Provincial of the Recollects, plus that by the Accountant of “Temporalidades” and Administrator of its funds, Don Andrés de Asas, are to be annexed to the answer, not forgetting to make copies to present for Consultation.

Signed by His Lordship.

José Reyes

Document 1814A

Papal Bull dated 7 August 1814, restoring the Jesuit Order

Source: Bullarium Romanum, Tome VII, Pars I, Bull n° DLXVII.

*Notes: See Doc. 1773C for the Papal Brief that suppresses the Jesuit Order. During the 5-year imprisonment that Pope Pius VII endured at Savona and Fontainebleau, France, during the government of Napoleon, he had ample time to discuss the re-establishment of the Jesuit order with his fellow prisoner, Cardinal Consalvi. When Napoleon met his Waterloo, the Pope was freed and went back to Rome, in May 1814; this bull was one of his first acts. The part translation below is also taken from Fr. Campbell's book, *The Jesuits*, vol. 2 (New York, 1921).*

Restoration of the Jesuit Order by Pope Pius VII

Original text in Latin.

Reintegratio Societatis Jesu in pristinum statum in universo orbe catholico.

Pius Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

*[Propemium.]*¹

1. Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum humilitati Nostræ, meritis licet et viribus impari, Deo sic disponente concredita. Nos cogit omnia illa subsidia adhibere, quæ in Nostra sunt potestate, quæque a adivina providentia Nobis misericorditer subministrantur, ut spiritualibus christiani orbis necessitatibus, quantum quidem diversæ, multiplicesque temporum, locorumque vicissitudines ferunt, nullo populorum nationum habito discrimine, opportune subveniamus.

[Memoratur reintegratio facta societatis in regno Russiaco ad preces imperatoris Pauli primi.]

2. Hujus Nostris pastoralis officii oneri satisfacere cupientes statim ac tunc in vivis agens Franciscus Kareu, et alia sæculares presbyteri a pluribus annis in amplissimo Russiaco imperio existentes, et olim addicti Societati Jesu a felicis recordationis Clemente XIV prædecessore Nostro suppressæ, preces Nobis obtulerunt, quibus facultatem sibi fieri supplicabant, ut auctoritate Nostra in unum corpus coalescerent, que facilius inventuti fidei rudimentis erudiendæ, et bonis moribus imbuendæ: ex proprii

¹ Ed. note: Text in square brackets indicate notes in margin.

*instituti ratione operam darent, munus prædicationis obirent, confessionibus excipien-
dis incumberent, et alia sacramenta administrarent: eorum precibus eo libentius an-
nuendum Nobis esse duximus, quod imperator Paulus primus tunc temporis regnans
eosdem presbyteros impense Nobis commendavisset humanissimis literis suis die un-
decima augusti anni Domini millesimi octingentesimi ad Nos datis, quibus singularem
suam erga ipsos benevolentiam significans, gratum sibi fore declarabat, si catholico-
rum imperii sui bono Societas Jesu auctoritate Nostra ibidem constitueretur.*

*[Laudes ecclesiasticorum virorum, unde continuo societas floruit magna cum utili-
tate populorum.]*

*3. Quapropter Nos attento animo perpendentes quam ingentes utilitates in amplissi-
mas illas regiones, evangelicis operariis propemodum destitutas, essent proventura
quantumque incrementum ejusmodi ecclesiastici viri, quorum probati mores tantis lau-
dum præconiis commendabantur, assiduo labore, intenso salutis animarum procuran-
dæ studio, et indefessa verbi divini prædicatione catholicæ religioni essent allaturi:
tanti, tamque benefici principis votis obsecundare rationi consentaneum existimavi-
mus, Nostris itaque in forma brevis literis datis die septimaa martii anni Domini mil-
lesimi octingentesimi primi prædicto Francisco Kareu, allisque ejus sodalibus in
Russiaco imperio degentibus, aut qui aliunde illuc se conferre possent, facultatem con-
cessimus, ut in unum corpus, seu congregationem Societatis Jesu conjungi, uniri que
liberum ipsis esset, in una vel pluribus domibus arbitrio superioris, intra fines dumtaxat
imperii Russiacci designandis; atque ejus congregationis præpositum generalem eum-
dem presbyterum Franciscum Kareu ad Nostrum et Sedis apostolicæ beneplacitum
deputavimus cum facultatibus necessariis et opportunis, in sancti Ignatii de Loyola regu-
lans a felicis recordationis Paulo tertio prædecessore Nostro apostolicis suis constitu-
tionibus approbatam, et confirmatam retinerent et sequerentur; atque ut hoc pacto socii
in uno religioso coetu congregati juventuti religioni, ac bonis artibus imbuendæ oper-
am dare, seminaria et collegia regere; et probantibus ac consentientibus locorum ordi-
nariis confessiones excipere, verbum Dei annunciare, et sacramenta administrare libere
possent; et congregationem Societatis Jesu sub Nostra et apostolicæ Sedis immediata
tutela et subjectione recepimus, et quæ ad illam firmandam et communiendam, atque
ab abusibus et corruptelis, quæ forte irrepsissent, repurgandam visum fuisset in Domi-
no expedire, Nobis ac successoribus Nostris præscribenda et sancienda reservavimus:
atque ad hunc effectum constitutionibus apostolicis, statutis, consuetudinibus, privele-
giis, et indultis quomodolibet in contrarium præmissorum concessis et confirmatis,
præsertim literis apostolicis memorati Clementis XIV prædecessoris Nostri incipienti-
bus “Dominus ac redemptor Noster” expresse derogavimus in iis tantum quæ contra-
ria essent dictis Nostris in forma brevis literis, quarum initium “Catholicæ” et dumtaxat
pro Russiaco imperio elargitis.*

*[Memoratur æque reintegratio ejusdem Societatis facta in regno Siciliarum ad preces
Ferdinandi regis.]*

*4. Consilia, quæ pro imperio Russiaco capienda decrevimus, ad utriusque Siciliæ
regnum non ita multo post extendenda censuimus, ad preces charissimi in Christo filii*

Nostri Fernandi regis, qui a Nobis postulavit, ut Societas Jesu eo modo quo in præfatto imperio stabilita a Nobis fuerat, in sua quoque ditione, ac statibus stabiliretur; quoniam luctuosissimis illis temporibus ad juvenes christiana pietate ac timore Domini, qui est initium sapientiæ informandos, doctrinaque, et scientiis instituendos præcipue in colegiis, scholisque publicis clericorum regularium Societatis Jesu opera uti in primis opportunum sibi arbitrabatur. Nos ex muneris Nostri pastoralis debito piis tam illustris principis desideriis, quæ ad majorem Dei gloriam,¹ animarumque salutem unice spectabant, morem gerere exoptantes Nostras literas pro Russiaco imperio datas ad utriusque Siciliæ regnum extendimus novis in simili forma brevis literis incipientibus "Per alias" expeditis die trigesima julii anni Domini millesimi octingentesimi quarti.

[Preces quaquam versus porrectæ pro instauratione ejusdem Societatis.]

5. *Pro ejusdem Societatis Jesu restitutione unanimi fere totius christiani orbis consensu instantes, urgentesque petitiones a venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis, et episcopis, atque ab omnium insignium personarum ordine et coetu quotidie ad Nos deferuntur; præsertim postquam fama ubique vulgata est uberrimorum fructuum, quos hæc Societas in memoratis regionibus protulerat; quæque prolis in dies crescentis fecunda, Dominicum agrum latissime ornatura et dilatura putabatur.*

[Ratio decernenda reintegrationis.]

6. *Dispersio ipsa lapidum sanctuarii ob recentes calamitates et vicissitudines, quas deflere potius juvat, quam in memoriam revocare; fatiscens disciplina regularium ordinum (religionis et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ splendor et columen) quibus nunc reparandis cogitationes, curæque Nostræ diriguntur, efflagitant, ut tam æquis et communibus votis assensum Nostrum præbeamus. Gravissimi enim criminis in conspectu Dei reos Nos esse crederemus, si in tantis reipublicæ necessitatibus ea salutaria auxilia adhibere negligeremus, quæ singulari providentia Deus Nobis suppeditat, et si Nos in Petri nevicula assiduis turbinibus agitata, et concussa collocati expertes et validos, qui sese Nobis offerunt, remiges ad frangendos pelagi naufragium Nobis et exitum quovis momento minitantis fluctus respueremus.*

[Tenor decretæ reintegrationis.]

7. *Tot, ac tantis rationum momentis, tamque gravibus causis animum Nostrum moventibus id exequi tandem statuimus, quod in ipso pontificatus Nostri exordio vehementer optabamus. Postquam igitur divinum auxilium ferventibus precibus imploravimus, suffragiis et consiliis plurimum venerabilium fratrum Nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium auditis, ex certa scientia, deque apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine ordinare et statuere decrevimus, uti revera hac Nostra perpetuo valitura constitutione ordinamus et statuimus, ut omnes concessionem et facultates a Nobis pro Russiaco imperio, et utriusque Siciliæ regno unice datæ, nunc extensæ intelligantur, et pro extensis habeantur, sicut vere eas extendimus, ad totum Nostrum statum ecclesiasticum, æque ac ad omnes alios status et ditiones.*

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

[Licentia superioribus concessa admittendi, et cooptandi tirones qui regularem ordinem in Societate exercere cupiunt.]

8. *Quare concedimus et indulgemus dilecto filio presbytero Thaddæo Borzowshi [sic] moderno præposito generali Societatis Jesu, aliisque ab eo legitime deputatis omnes necessarias et opportunas facultates ad Nostrum et Sedis apostolicæ beneplacitum, ut in cunctis præfatis statibus, et ditionibus omnes illos, qui in regularem ordinem Societatis Jesu admitti et cooptari petent, admittere et cooptare libere ac licite valeant, qui in una vel pluribus domibus, in uno, vel pluribus collegiis, in una vel pluribus provinciis sub præpositi generalis pro tempore existentis obedientia conjuncti, et, prout res feret, distributi, ad præscriptum regulæ sancti Ignatii de Loyola apostolicis Pauli III constitutionibus approbatæ et confirmatæ suam accomodent vivendi rationem: concedimus etiam, et declaramus, quod pariter juventuti catholicæ religionis rudimentis erudiendæ, ac probis moribus instituendæ operam dare, nec non seminaria et collegia regere, et consentientibus atque adprobantibus ordinariis locorum in quibus eos degere contigerit, confessiones auadire, verbum Dei prædicare et sacramenta administrare libere et licite valeant: omnia vero collegia, domus, provincias, sociosque sic conjunctos, et quos in posterum conjungi et aggregari contigerit, jam nunc sub immediata Nostra, et hujus apostolicæ Sedis tutela, præsidio, et obedientia recipimus; Nobis et Romanis pontificibus successoribus Nostris reservantes ea statuere ac præscribere, quæ ad eamdem Societatem magis magisque constabiliendam et communiendam, et ab abusibus, si forte (quod Deus avertat) irrepserint, repurgandam, statuere ac præscribere visum fuerit expedire.*

[Monitum ad superiores, socios, et alumnos.]

Omnes vero et singulos superiores, præpositos, rectores, socios, et alumnos qualescumque hujus restitutæ Societatis quantum in Domino possumus commone facimus, et exhortamur, ut in omni loco ac tempore sese fideles asseclas et imitatores tanti sui parentis, et institutoris exhibeant, regulam ab ipso conditam et præscriptam accurate observent, et utilia monita ac consilia quæ filiis suis tradidit summo studio exequi conentur.

[Simile ad principes, ordinarios, aliosque indignitatibus constitutos.]

10. *Denique dilectis in Christo filiis illustribus et nobilibus viris, principibus, ac dominis temporalibus, nec non venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, aliisque in quavis dignitate constitutis sæpeditam Societatem Jesu, et singulos illius socios plurimum in Domino commendamus, eosque exhortamur, ac rogamus non solum ne eos inquietari a quocumque permittant, ac patientur, sed ut benigne illos, ut decet, et cum charitate suscipiant.*

[Clausula sublata, et decretum irritans.]

11. *Decernentes præsentis literas, et in eis contenta quæcumque semper ac perpetuo firma, valida, et efficacia existere, et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, et ab illis ad quos spectat, et pro tempore quandocumque spectabit inviolabiliter observari debere; sicque et non aliter per quoscumque judicem quavis potes-*

tate fungentes judicari et definiri pariter debere; ac irritum, et inane, si secus super his a quaquam quavis auctoritate scienter, vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.

[Derogatio contrariorum.]

12. Non obstantibus constitutionibus; et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac præsertim supramemoratis literis in forma brevis felicis recordationis Clementis decimiquarti incipientibus “Dominus ac Redemptor Noster” sub annulo piscatoris expeditis die vigesima prima julii anni Domini millesimi septingentesimi septuagesimi tertii, quibus ad præmissorum effectum expresse ac speciatim intendimus derogare: cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

[Fides habenda transumptis.]

13. Volumus autem, ut earumdem præsentium literarum transumptis, sive exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicujus notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personæ in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ munitis, eadem prorsus fides in judicio et extra adhibeatur, quæ ipsis præsentibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

[Sanctio pœnalis.]

14. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostræ ordinationis, statuti, extensionis, concessionis, indulti, declarationis, facultatis, decreti, et derogationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire; siquis autem hoc attentare præsumserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se novorit incursum.

Datum Romæ apud sanctam Mariam Majorem anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo octingentesimo quartodecimo, septimo idus augusti, pontificatus Nostri anno quintodecimo.

Part translation by Fr. Campbell.

The Constitution by which the Society of Jesus is restored in its pristine state throughout the Catholic World.

[The preamble first refers to the Brief “*Catholicæ fidei*” which confirmed the Society in Russia and also to the “*Per alias*” which restored it in the Two Sicilies. It then says:]

The Catholic world unanimously demands the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus. Every day we are receiving most urgent petitions from our venerable brothers, the archbishops and bishops of the Church, and from other most distinguished personages to that effect. The dispersion of the very stones of the sanctuary in the calamitous days which we shudder even to recall, namely the destruction of a religious order which was the glory and the support of the Catholic Church, now makes it imperative that we should respond to the general and just desire for its restoration. In truth, we should consider ourselves culpable of a grievous sin in the sight of God, if, in the great dangers to which the Christian commonwealth is exposed, we should fail to avail ourselves of the help which the special Providence of God now puts at our disposal; if, seated as we are in the Barque of Peter, we should refuse the aid of the tried and vigorous mariners who offer themselves to face the surges of the sea which threaten us with shipwreck and death. Therefore, we have resolved to do today what we have longed from the first

days of our Pontificate to be able to accomplish, and, hence, after having in fervent prayer implored the Divine assistance, and having sought the advice and counsel of a great number of our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, we have decreed, with certain knowledge, and in virtue of the plenitude of our Apostolic power, that all the concessions and faculties accorded by us to the Russian empire and the Two Sicilies, in particular, shall henceforward be extended in perpetuity to all other countries of the world.

Wherefore, we concede and accord to our well-beloved son Thaddeus Brzozowski, at present the General of the Society of Jesus, and to the other members of the Society delegated by him, all proper and necessary powers to receive and welcome freely and lawfully all those who desire to be admitted into the Regular Order of the Society of Jesus, and that, under the authority of the General at the time such persons may be received into and assigned to one or many houses, or colleges or provinces, as needs be, wherein they shall follow the rule prescribed by St. Ignatius Loyola, which was confirmed by the Constitutions of Paul III. Over and above this, we declare them to possess them and we hereby concede to them the power of devoting themselves freely and lawfully to educate youth in the principles of the Catholic religion; to train them in morality; to direct colleges and seminaries; to preach and to administer the sacraments in their place of residence, with the consent and approbation of the ordinary. We take under our protection and under our immediate obedience as well as that of the Apostolic See, all the colleges, all the houses, all the provinces, all the members of the Order, and all those who are gathered in their establishments, reserving nevertheless to Ourselves, and to the Roman Pontiffs, our successors, to decree and prescribe whatever we consider it our duty to decree and prescribe as necessary to consolidate more and more the same Society, in order to render it stronger and to purge it from abuse, if ever (which may God avert) any may be found therein. And we exhort with our whole heart, in the name of the Lord, all superiors, rectors and provincials, as well as all the members and pupils of this re-established Order to show themselves in all places, faithful imitators of their Father. Let them observe with exactness the rule prescribed for them by their great founder, and let them follow with ever increasing zeal the useful admonitions and counsels which he has left for the guidance of his sons.

Finally we earnestly recommend in the Lord this Society and its members to the illustrious kings and princes and temporal lords of the various nations, as well as to our venerable brothers, the archbishops and bishops and whosoever may occupy positions of honor and authority. We exhort them, nay we conjure them, not only not to suffer that these religious should be molested, in any manner, but to see that they should be treated with the benevolence and the charity which they deserve.

...

Epilogue.

The Bull was delivered by the Pope into the hands of the Jesuits at the Gesù, their church in Rome, in the presence of the College of Cardinals and of many bishops and

notables then in the city. Among the latter were Queen María Luisa, the wife of Charles IV of Spain, with her niece and three sons. It was Spain's reparation for the wrong it had done the Society.

Furthermore, a royal decree of 22 August 1815, re-established the Jesuit order in the Indies and the Philippines.

Documents 1814B

Mexican funds no longer reach the Philippines

Source: AGNAHH 600-137.

B1. Letter from Governor Gardoqui to the Viceroy, dated Manila 24 April 1814

Original text in Spanish.

1815 Secretaria del Vireynato de N.E.—Filipinas N° 459.

Sobre auxilios de dinero que solicita el S. Gobernador de las Yslas Filipinas.

Exmo. Sor.

*Con su respectivo Indice acompaño à V.E. el Duplicado de los oficios que mi antecesor dirigió à V.E. por la Corveta **Fidelidad**, el qual debia haver conducido el Navio **Magallanes**; pero como este Buque no pudo emprender su salida en todo el mes de Septiembre, fue de aqui el opinar la mayor parte de este Comercio, y con razon, el no aventurar su cargamento en la estacion mas critica del año, pues qualesquiera suceso funesto que experimentase dho Buque acabaria de consumir la ruina de estos Comerciantes y obras pias.*

*Es tal, Sor. Exmo., la situacion lamentable y espantosa en que hé hallado à este Pays, por la estagnacion de su Comercio, que bastará à persuadirselo el noticiar à V.E. haverme visto en la extrema necesidad de prohibir la extraccion de la poca plata que circulaba en numerario. Es verdad que tal medida la conviné en la esperanza de ver regresar la Nao **Rey Fernando** para principio de este año; pero desgraciadamente he visto frustrada esta confianza, y que se han completado los tres años de su salida, sin que apenas tengamos de ella mas noticia, que la de existir en San Blas, à donde pasó, desde Acapulco.*

Por lo tanto, y por que la miseria de la Capital há trascendido à las demas Provincias, resulta, que ni el moderado tributo de estos Naturales pueden satisfacerlo, y que estando los productos de Rentas al nivel de la propia miseria, le es imposible à esta Tesoreria cubrir, ni la mitad de sus cargas comunes; haviendome sido forzoso licenciar, aunque contra buena razon política, dos cuerpos de tropas de los que por absolutamente precisos, mantenia mi antecesor sobre las Armas, despues de despedir otros.

Nada me há quedado por arbitrar para ponernos al nivel de la mas estremada economia, quando al Gobierno le faltan todos los recursos que agotaron mis antecesores, en la confianza de que nunca se paralizaria el giro con ese Reyno; pero desgraciadamente he venido á encontrarme en esta metamorphosis, sin que me quepa otro recurso en la triste situacion en que me hallo, que referirme á lo que mi antecesor solicitó de V.E. en su adjunto oficio n° [blank].

*Es á quanto puedo limitar mi suplica á V.E. sin desconfiar de su zelo, y de su providad, que, si le es posible aumente á aquel pedido, lo que la situacion de esa Tesoreria permita que satisfaga de situados atrasados, para que al regreso de la Nao **Magallanes**, que se prepara para dar la vela en Junio proximo, obtenga yo de V.E. este subsidio con que poder satisfacer á los muchos acrehedores, que cuenta esta Tesoreria, por prestamos generosos que la anticiparon.*

*Como supongo en esta fha, fuera de ese Reyno á la Nao **Rey Fernando** y á la Corveta **Fidelidad**, es de aqui el adelantarme á exigir de V.E. lo que la posibilidad permita remitir á esta Tesoreria en el **Magallanes**. Mas si contra mi calculo ha demorado alguno de los referidos dos Buques su salida, y el Bergantin **Activo** apresura su arrivo á San Blas, no dudo merecer á V.E. que en el Buque que regrese primero extienda sus eficaces, y exforzadas providencias para auxiliarme.*

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años. Manila 24 de Abril de 1814.

Exmo. Sor.

Josef de Gardoqui.

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Virrey de Nueva España*

Translation.

1815 Secretariat of the Vice-Kingdom of New Spain.—PHilippines N° 459.

Regarding the financial help solicited by the Governor of the Philippine Islands.

Your Excellency:

Along with their respective list of documents, I enclose for Y.E.'s attention the files that my predecessor had sent to Y.E. aboard the schooner **Fidelidad**, and which should have been carried by the galleon **Magallanes**, but this ship was unable to make her departure during the whole month of September [1813] and the majority of the traders here were of the opinion, quite correctly, that her cargo should not be placed at risk during the worse season of the year, since any unfortunate event that might occur to that ship would just complete the destruction of the trade and investments of the pious works.

Your Excellency, the situation in which I found this country is so lamentable, and so frightening, on account of the stagnation of its trade, that it should be sufficient for me to let Y.E. know that I was forced to prohibit the extraction of the little silver that was circulating in currency. It is true that I took such a measure in the hope of seeing the galleon **Rey Fernando** return at the beginning of this year, but, unfortunately, I have seen this hope frustrated. It has now been three years since her departure and we

have received no other news but that she is now in San Blas, where she had gone after leaving Acapulco.

Consequently, and because the misery of the Capital has affected the other Provinces, the result is that not even the moderate tribute paid by these natives can make up for it, and since the tax revenue is at the same miserable level, this Treasury cannot cover even half of its obligations, and I have been forced to disband, much against any good policy, two bodies of troops, from among the strict minimum that my predecessor had kept under arms, after he had dismissed others.

I have left no stones unturned in my efforts to further reduce our costs, when the Government had no recourses left, since my predecessors had used them all up, hoping that the round-trip commerce with that Kingdom would never stagnate; however, unfortunately, I have been left with this sad situation, and I have no other recourse than to refer to what my predecessor solicited from Y.E. in the enclosed file n° [blank].

This is as much as I can ask, without abusing the zeal and probity of Y.E., and if possible, I hope that you will add to that request anything that the situation of the Treasury overthere may allow, to pay some of the overdue subsidies, and I hope that with the return of the galleon **Magallanes**, which is being prepared to sail next June, I may get from Y.E. this subsidy, that I may pay some of the numerous creditors that this Treasury has, on account of the generous loans that were made to it.

As I suppose that, as of this date, the galleon **Rey Fernando** and the schooner **Fidelidad** would have already left that Kingdom, I reiterate my request for Y.E. to supply this Treasury with as much as you can for the return of the **Magallanes**. However, should any of the two ships in question be delayed in their return voyage, and the brig **Activo** should make it to San Blas, I have no doubt that Y.E. will take advantage of the first ship that makes the crossing to extend your efficient and express provisions to help me.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 24 April 1814.

Your Excellency,

José de Gardoqui.

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain.

B2. The galleon is not to unload at San Blas, but only in Acapulco

Source: AGN Marina 214, fol. 234.

Original text in Spanish.

He resuelto, que por ningun motivo se permita a la Nao de Filipinas desembarcar sus efectos en el Apostadero de San Blas, sino que precisamente lo verifique en Acapulco, que libre de Bandidos, tiene ademas expedito el camino para esta Capital, y en él la tropa suficiente para escoltar dichos efectos y preservarlos de qualquiera invasion; en cuya virtud, espero tome V.S. por su parte las providencias convenientes, a efecto de

que lo tenga esta resolucion, que comunico en derechura al Comandante del Apostadero de S. Blas.

Dios, &a.

[Mexico] Noviembre 13/14.

Translation.

I have decided that, on no account, the Philippine galleon is to be permitted to unload at the Naval Station of San Blas, but must necessarily do so at Acapulco, which is free from bandits and has in addition a direct road leading to this Capital, and has a sufficient number of soldiers to escort said effects and prevent them from being attacked. Therefore, I expect that Your Lordship will take the appropriate measures to carry out the present resolution, which I communicate directly to the Commander of the Naval Station of San Blas.

May God, etc.

[Mexico,] 13 November 1814.

B3. Inaction on the part of the Viceroy

Original text in Spanish.

Mexico 19 de Abril de 1815.

Informen los tres Ministros de la Tesoreria General y el Real Tribunal de Cuentas y con lo que digan al Sr. Fiscal de Real Hacienda.

...

Este oficio, dice el Gefe, quien representa, que es adjunto à su Instancia; pero en realidad no está agregado; y acaso pudo quedar en la Secretaria: mas indicandose, que se cotrajo à que remetiese parte de los Situados atrasados en el primer Buque que regrese à aquellas Yslas, basta solo decir à V.E. que le es notorio el estado de escases de este Erario: en vista de lo qual su superioridad resolverá lo que estime justo.

Tesoreria General de Ejercito y Hacienda Publica. Mexico Agosto 30 de 1820.

[Minute:]

Contaduria de Cuentas 25 de Enero de 1821.

Ynforme el Contador encargado de la Mesa 2ª de Marina.

Antonio Silva.

Translation.

Mexico, 19 April 1815.

The report of the three Ministers of the General Treasury and the Royal Tribunal of Accounts to the Fiscal of the Royal Treasury.

...

The letter, which the requesting Chief says is attached to his request, is in fact not found therein, and it may still be in the Secretariat. However, he seems to indicate that

part of the overdue subsidies may be sent aboard the first ship that return to those Islands, but Y.E. knows very well that this Treasury is short of funds. In view of this, your superior judgment will decide what is just.

General Treasury of the Army and Public Treasury.

Mexico, 30 August 1820.

[Minute:]

Accounting Department, 25 January 1821.

Send the report to the Accountant in charge of Table N° 2 of the Navy.

Antonio Silva.

B4. Letters from the Accounting Department, dated April 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Sres. Contadores de Cuentas.

Es muy justa la peticion que hace à esta Superioridad el Sor. Gobernador de las Yslas Filipinas en su oficio con que principia este Expediente, é indudable las angustias en que habré tenido y tendria á aquel Gobierno la falta de recivo de sus situados, que deben remitirse de esta N. E.; pero tampoco se oculta à ninguno de quantos saben la Situacion desgraciada de esta, que su Vireynato no ha podido absolutamente hacerle los embios correspondientes, lo qual podra contestarse por el Exmo. Virey à aquel Gefé, añadiendole que teniendo siempre presentes todos los objetos à que debe darle à aquellas Yslas.

Mesa Segunda de Marina de la Contaduria de Cuentas de Mexico 17 de Abril de 1825.

Carvajal.

Exmo. Sor.

Si la situacion en Manila hacia mediados del año de 814 era tan lamentable y espantosa como la describe el Señor Gobernador de aquellas Yslas en el oficio con que da principio este Expediente, es forzoso considerarlos al borde en su ultima ruina con los intereses que acaban de perder usurpados por los nuevos disidentes; pero à pesar de estas tristes congeturas, el Erario de este Reyno, que apenas iba conbaleciendo de las pasadas convulsiones à esfuerzos de la prudencia y zelo de V.E., ha vuelto à recaer en una paralisis que no dexa la menor esperanza de poder socorrer en mucho tiempo à las Filipinas, por mas justos y executivos que sean sus reclamos. El mismo Gefé en aquellas poseciones se convencerá bien de ello, luego que llegue à su noticia la moderna revolucion en que nos hallamos envueltos, y que V.E. se lo reproduzca en consultacion a su citado oficio, como se servirá disponerlo se fuese en su agrado.

Contaduria de Cuentas de Mexico 7 de Mayo de 1821.

Alegria Beltran.

Translation.

Gentlemen members of the Accounting Department.

The request made to this Superior Government by the Governor of the Philippine Islands in his letter at the beginning of this file is indeed very just, and there is no doubt that that Government would be suffering anxieties for lack of receipt of its subsidies that must be sent from this New Spain. However, it is no secret to anyone knowledgeable about the unfortunate situation of this country, that the Vice-Kingdom has absolutely been unable to make the corresponding remittances, something that His Excellency the Viceroy could answer to that Chief, adding that he always keeps in mind all of the help that must be given to those Islands.

Table N° 2 of the Navy in the Accounting Department of Mexico, 17 April 1825.
Carvajal.

Your Excellency:

If the situation in the middle of the year 1814 was so lamentable and frightening as described by the Governor of those Islands in the letter that appears at the beginning of this file, it must now be desperate, given the recent losses they have suffered on account of new dissidence. In spite of these sad events, the Treasury of this Kingdom, which had scarcely from past convulsions, thanks to the efforts of the prudence and zeal of Y.E., has again fallen into a paralysis that leaves not the least hope of being able to help the Philippines, not for a long time yet, no matter how just and pressing their needs. The same Chief would have become convinced of this fact by now, as soon as he received the news about the modern revolution that we find ourselves in, something that Y.E. may point out to him, in answer to the letter in question, as well as anything else that may be of your pleasure.

Accounting Department of Mexico, 7 May 1821.
Alegria Beltran.¹

1 Ed. note: This is the first Spanish document signed by a woman to appear in this series. Mexican independence had just succeeded. The last officially-appointed Governor of the Philippines had quit in 1816 and the last Viceroy in 1821, of course.

Documents 1814C

Subsidy for the Mariana Mission, for 1814

Source: AGN Fil. 43, fol. 102-111.

C1. Petition of Fray Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña

Original text in Spanish.

1814.—Filipinas N° 389, fol. 107v.

El R.P. Presidente del Hospicio de S. Nicolas sobre pago de sinodos atrasados desde el año de 811 à los Misioneros de Yslas Marianas.

Excmo. Sor.

Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña, Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas de esta ciudad de religiosos agustinos recoletos de la provincia de Filipinas, ante la superioridad de V.E. digo: que en el gobierno del Excmo. Sor. Venegas promovi, mucho tiempo hace, la solicitud ordinaria y corriente propia de mi oficio, sobre que se pagasen por estas cajas generales los sinodos de los misioneros de mi provincia que administran en Marianas; y en efecto el expediente está ya instruido, en mi concepto, con la liquidacion correspondiente de los Señores Ministros de Hacienda, pero no se ha verificado el cobro, ni ha habido tampoco proporcion de remitir el importe à Filipinas por las novedades del reyno.

A la presente puede haberla, segun entiendo, y no se puede absolutamente perder esa ocasion, sin gravissimo perjuicio de los misioneros, por que estando ellos situados en unas Yslas retiradas y casi desiertas, son imponderables las privaciones y miserias que ssufren por la retardacion de la llegada de los socorros previsos para la subsistencia, aun en tiempos comunes por diversos acaecimientos que no se pueden evitar dejandose por esto discurrir lo que habrá padecido con la dilacion que ha habido en estos ultimos años, en que no se les ha podido embiar cosa alguna por la indicada causa. Para aprovechar pues la primera ocasion y no exponer a aquellos pobres religiosos a que perezcan de necesidad, habilitando con tiempo los renglones que se considera han menester; rendidamente suplico a la piedad de V.E. se sirva mandar se me entregue con toda la brevedad posible el importe de dichos Sinodos que no puede ascender à mucho para evitar la ruina total que puede temerse de aquellas importantes misiones.

A V.E. suplico asi se sirva hacer &c°

Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña.

Translation.

1814. Philippines N° 389, fol. 107v.

Rev. Fr. President of the Hospice of San Nicolas regarding the payment of church subsidies, owed since 1811, to the Missionaries of the Mariana Islands.

Your Excellency.

I, Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña, President of the Hospice of San Nicolas of this city of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers of the Province of the Philippines, before the superiority of Y.E., do declare: that during the term of His Excellency Viceroy Venegas, I submitted a claim, a long time ago, enclosing the ordinary and current request to fulfil the duty of my office, requesting the payments by this general treasury of the church subsidies of the missionaries of my province who minister in the Marianas; in fact, I think that the file had been approved by the Ministers of Finance, but the corresponding disbursement has not taken place, nor has there been an occasion to remit same to the Philippines, on account of the events in the Kingdom.

As I understand, an opportunity has come up¹ and should absolutely not be missed, without very grave prejudice to the missionaries, because, they being located in some isolated and almost desert islands, the privations and miseries that they suffer are unimaginable, on account of the succors provided for their sustenance getting there late, even in common times on account of various happenings that cannot be avoided. Just imagine the sufferings that followed the delay that occurred in recent years during which not one thing could be sent to them, for said reason. So, to take advantage of the first occasion and not expose those poor religious to dying of hunger, by sending them some goods of prime necessity, I humbly beg the piety of Y.E. to be pleased to order the delivery as soon as possible of the sum of said church subsidies that cannot amount to much, to prevent the possible total ruin of those important missions.

I beg Y.E. to please do so, etc.

Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña.

C2. Reaction of the Viceroy and Royal officials

Original text in Spanish.

Mexico 14 de Febrero de 1814.

Ynformen los Señores Ministros de la Tesorería general.

Exmo. Sor.

Con presencia de los Documentos que exhibió el R.P. Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas, se liquidaron en virtud de Superior Decreto de 9 de Diciembre de 1811 los Sinodos y Limosnas que segun varias Reales Cédulas y ordenes correspondientes à los Religiosos de las Yslas Marianas en los años de 1810, y 811 importando liquidos dos

1 Ed. note: The schooner *Fidelidad* has arrived from Manila (see next chapter).

mil seis cientos treinta y tres pesos, dos reales, cinco granos que NO percivió en 812 por NO haber habido Nao de Filipinas en que remitirlos.

En los Buques que se hallan en San Blas no vendrian al Padre Presidente los Certificados de la existencia de los Religiosos à las Misiones, una vez que No solicita los Sinodos sino solo aquel alcance para enviarlo à su destino; y quedando V.E. instruido de la cantidad que importa, de su procedencia, de la necesidad con que lo pide el Padre Presidente, y de la situacion de la Tesoreria General, se servirá resolver lo que fuere de su superior agrado.

Tesoreria General de Exercicio y Hacienda Publica.

Mexico 17 de Febrero de 1814.

[Signed]

Mexico 22 de Febrero de 1814.

Ynforme el Tribunal de Cuentas.

Exmo. Sor.

No es extraño que en los Buques de Manila que arribaron à San Blas no hayan benido los certifiaciones de los Religiosos Agustinos recoletos que aquella Provincia mantiene en las Yslas Marianas, por que es rumbo diverso del que se toma quando regresan de Nueva España para Manila, y no constando la existencia no se debe pagar el Sino do de 1812.

En quanto al debengado en 1810 y 811 que importa mil seiscientos treinta y tres pesos dos reales cinco granos, ha ocurrido el Reverendo Padre Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña tan tarde, que aun quando se le entregase la Cantidad no tenia tiempo para emplearla en las cosas necesarias y ponerlas en conducta para Guadalaxara y San Blas, cuyo comboy y pasajeros lleban varios dias de camino.

Sirvase V.E. mandar se haga saber de ruego y encargo al Reverendo Padre Presidente que luego que tenga noticia de la llegada de otro baxel de Filipinas ocurra y se tomará providencia de Satisfacer los Sinodos de 1810 y 811 si la Tesoreria tubiere en el ramo de Vacantes fondo para ello.

Tribunal y Audiencia de la Contaduria de Cuentas 28 de Febrero de 1814.

Monterde Ordoñez Beltran

Mexico 5 de Marzo de 1814

Al S. Fiscal.

[Opinion of the Fiscal]

Excmo. Sor.

El Fiscal Dice: que la solicitud del Reverendo Padre Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas Fray Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña, se contrae al pago de los Sinodos de los Misioneros, que su Provincia de Agustinos descalzos de Filipinas mantiene en las Yslas

Marianas, respectivos a los años de 810, y 811, que ya antes se habian liquidado, y por esto no ofreceria embarazo la falta de los documentos correspondientes al de 812.

Sin embargo, es muy grave el que presenta el estado de la Tesoreria general, y el de que se encarga el Tribunal de Cuentas en el anterior informe, pues si ya salio el comboy para Guadalaxara, y no tiene tiempo dicho Padre Presidente de habilitar las cosas necesarias para los Misioneros de Yslas Marianas, ni proporcion para embarcarlas à aquel destino, tampoco hay necesidad para desvelarse en facilitar este pago, que aun quando se verificara para aprovechar la primera ocasion, siempre seria dañoso emplear la mayor parte de los dos mil seiscientos treinta y tres pesos y dos rreales cinco granos, que resultan à favor de dichos Misioneros, bajo los exorbitantes precios à que corren los efectos en la actualidad.

Por todas estas razones, subscribe el Fiscal el informe que antecede del Tribunal de Cuentas de cuya conformidad, tendrá à bien acordar V.E. siendo serbido, y mandar, que, de ruego y encargo, se abise la resolucion al Padre Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas para su inteligencia.

Mexico 14 de Marzo de 1814.

Torres Torijos

Mexico 24 de Marzo de 1814

Como pide el Sr. Fiscal.

Calleja.

[Answer given to the petitioner]

En el Expediente promovido à solicitud de V.R. sobre pago de los sinodos atrasados desde el año de 811 à los Misioneros de las Yslas Marianas, he determinado en decreto de hoy de conformidad con lo pedido por el Sr. Fiscal, que no constando la existencia de los Religiosos no pueden satisfacerse los sinodos del año de 1812, y que por los tocantes à los pertenecientes a 810 y 811, no habiendo por ahora conjuntura de emplearlos en los efectos que han de remitirse sino à precios mui subidos, ni proporcion de comboy ni Buque en que dirigirlos à su destino, se reserve providenciar lo conveniente para el pago hasta que se presente àquella oportunidad y lo aviso à V.R. para su inteligencia y que ocurra luego que venga noticia de la llegada de algun Bagel de Filipinas.

Dios &c. Marzo 24 1814.

[A] *R.P. Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas.*

Translation

[Minute]

Mexico, 14 February 1814.

I need a report from the Ministers of the general Treasury.

Your Excellency.

In the presence of the Documents exhibited by the Rev. Fr. President of the Hospice of San Nicolas, the church subsidies and alms that in accordance with various Royal decrees and orders regarding the Religious of the Mariana Islands were liquidated, for 1810 and 1811, by virtue of the Superior decree of 9 December 1811. They amounted to 2,633 pesos 2 reals 5 grains, but they were not collected in 1812 because there was NO Philippine galleon to remit them.

Among the ships that are now in San Blas, there would not be any Certificates of the existence of the Religious in the Missions addressed to the Father President, but it does not matter if he solicits only the past subsidies, to remit same. Now that Y.E. has been informed of the sum in question, its provenance and the urgent need mentioned by said Father President, and knowing the condition of the General Treasury, you should be pleased to decide what may be of your superior pleasure.

General Treasury of the Army and Public Finance.

Mexico, 17 February 1814.

[Signed]

[Minute]

I need a report from the Tribunal of Accounts.

Your Excellency.

It is no wonder that the ships from Manila that arrived at San Blas do not carry the certifications of the existence of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers whom that Province maintain in the Mariana Islands, because the route is different from that used when they return to Manila from New Spain, and, if there is no statement as to their existence, the church subsidies of 1812 should not be paid.

As far as those that are due for 1810 and 1811, which total 1,633 pesos 2 reals and 5 grains, the Rev. Father President of the Hospice of San Nicolas, Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña, applied for them so late that even when the sum had been delivered to him, there was no time to employ it in buying the necessary things and send them on their way to Guadalajara and San Blas, as the regular convoy and the passengers had already left many days earlier.

Y.E. will be pleased to order that an official answer be sent to the Reverend Father President, stating that when there is news of the arrival of another vessel from the Philippines, he is to apply and a measure will be taken to satisfy the church subsidies of 1810 and 1811, if the Treasury should then hold some funds in its reserves for that purpose.

Tribunal and Audiencia of the Accounting Department, 28 February 1814.

Monterde Ordoñez Beltrán

[Minute]

To the Fiscal [for an opinion].

[Opinion of the Fiscal]

Your Excellency.

The Fiscal declares: that the petition of the Reverend Father President of the Hospice of San Nicolas, Fray Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña, is concerning the payment of the church subsidies of the Missionaries whom his Province of Discalced Augustinians of the Philippines maintains in the Mariana Islands, corresponding to 1810 and 1811. They had been liquidated before, and that is why the lack of documents for 1812 would not be a problem.

However, the condition of the general Treasury is very serious, and so are the comments made by the Tribunal of Accounts in the preceding report; indeed, if the convoy for Guadalajara has already left, and said Father President has no time to buy necessities for the Missionaries of the Mariana Islands, and no means by which to ship them there, there is no need either to be worried about this payment, which, even when it could be made to take advantage of the first occasion, it would still be damaging to buy things with the greater part of the 2,633 pesos 2 reals and 5 grains, owed to said missionaries, under the exorbitant prices that are presently being charged for goods.

For all of these reasons, the Fiscal concurs with the preceding report of the Tribunal of Accounts, whose adoption he recommends to Y.E.'s pleasure, sending an official letter to advise the Pather President of the Hospice of San Nicolas of your decision, for his information.

Mexico, 14 March 1814.

Torres Torijos

[Decree]

Do as the Fiscal requests.

[Answer given to the petitioner]

In the file opened at the request of Your Reverence regarding the payment of the church subsidies due since 1811 to the Missionaries of the Mariana Islands, I have decided in a decree of this date, to grant what the Fiscal requested, and refuse your petition, since the church subsidies for 1812 cannot be paid without proof of the existence of the Religious. Insofar as those for 1810 and 1811, for lack of an opportunity at present to buy goods to be shipped except at very high prices, for lack of a convoy, and lack of a ship in which to send them, the payment is withheld until that opportunity should present itself, and I advise Your Reverence of same, for your information, and will you please bring up the matter again when news be received of the arrival of some vessel from the Philippines.

May God, etc.

24 March 1814.

[To] Rev. Fr. President of the Hospice of San Nicolas.¹

1 Ed. note: So, once again, the poor Father petitioner "missed the boat."

Documents 1814D

The Activo, Captain Toro, and the Fidelidad, Captain Martija

Sources: AGN Fil. 47/1, 62/2 & 4.

D1. Despatch of the Fidelidad by the Governor of the Philippines in August 1813

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 77-82; copy of the list on fol. 87.

Original text in Spanish.

1814—Secretaria del Virreynato de N.E.

Filipinas N° 386, f. 107 v.

*Llegada à San Blas de la Corveta Santa Potenciana alias la **Fidelidad** con cargamento de efectos que conduce de Manila.*

N. 8.

Excmo. Sor.

*Por el Bergantin **Activo** que al mando de su Comandante el Capitan de Fragata de la Real Armada Don Pedro de Toro [que] arribo à este Puerto el 21 de Marzo, recibí la correspondencia que me dirige V.E. con su respectivo indice, y oficio de 28 de Junio de 1812, habiendo sido no poco admirable que este Buque no hubiese sufrido en su navegacion algun temporal, pues en cualquiera que hubiese experimentado, havria sin duda perecido, segun el fatal estado en que se le halló, al tiempo de realizarse su carena, en la qual se entiende para dexarlo en el más perfecto estado de navegar, y que segun se presente el tiempo y circunstancias, regrese à San Blas en Octubre proximo, ó principio del año entrante, pues la asombrosa carena que ha sido indispensable dar à la Nao **Magallanes**, ya excluida, por la falta de la **Rey Fernando**, y recorrido de la Corveta **Fidelidad**, ha demorado la no pequeña del **Activo**.*

*Como la referida Corveta no llenó las intenciones del objeto con que fue despachada, y que indique à V.E. en mi oficio n° 1 de 24 de Septiembre de 812, ni aunque supo en Acapulco que la Nao **Rey Fernando** havia sufrido tanta miseria y mortandad en su Oficialidad, Pasajeros y Tripulacion, y que por tal motivo havia pasado à San Blas, no trató su Comandante de dirigirse à este Puerto, donde podría haverla auxiliado, y*

*se encamino al de Sonsonate en donde desembarcó la correspondencia, que supongo ya en manos de V.E. ès de aqui el haverme visto precisado à franquear este Buque al comercio, asi para que se aproveche del permiso extraordinario que S.M. le tiene concedido, como para que auxilie à la **Rey Fernando**, se ponga en comunicacion con V.E., y retorne con caudales, ya de su propio cargamento, ò de la misma Nao, antes ò despues de esta, segun el estado y circunstancias, que ès imposible fixar en tal distancia, y en la inverosimilitud de acaecimientos. Aunque el Comandante de la Corveta cumplió con las Ynstrucciones que obtuvo del de este Apostadero, ès innegable, que estas no fueron convinadas, ni con las mías, ni con las del Comercio que costeaba sus gastos como ahora lo verifica tambien: asi fué un clamor general el que hubo al verla arivar, sin satisfacer nuestras respectivas miras, ni ver mas resultado que el de llevar Cartas al correo: asi se explicava todo el publico, y como desgraciadamente experimentamos el retardo de la Nao **Rey Fernando**, y paralizado total y absolutamente el giro, he tenido que convenir con las peticiones de este Comercio, para dar salida à tanto efecto, como tenia resagado en sus Bodegas, pues tal medida ès infinitamente mas lisongera, aunque vea demorado el cargamento de la anterior Nao, por quanto en èl de la **Magallanes**, y la Corveta se ha convinado el surtimiento mas analogo à las circunstancias en que pueda hallarse ese Reyno, las cuales supone este Comercio, y Yó me he prometido muy variadas en justa consequencia, asi de las activas providencias de V.E. como de los auxilios que la Peninsula ha tratado de remitir, para lograr la completa pacificacion de esos insurgentes: ello es cierto, que se aventura quanto cave en el melancolico estado del Pays, y que toda prudente juiciosa reflexion lo resiste; pero he tenido que ceder à las circunstancias, maiormente quando por otra parte me son tan tristes las de este Erario, y que a pesar de la estricta economia à que están reducidos nuestros gastos, me es imposible cubrir los mensualidades de dos años à esta parte, ni encuentro ya en el Pays un recurso, ni un arbitrio de que poder valerme, pues la misma falta de giro tiene disminuidos los ingresos de Rentas, casi en la mitad de sus rendimientos, y como la misma falta de estraccion de efectos, y producciones ha disminuido totalmente la de Buques que vengan à introducirlos, y exportarlos, resultan cero los productos de Aduana.*

Por tal consequencia, y por que debo ponerme en el mismo caso de angustia en que V.E. se hallará en ese Reyno, limito mis pedidos à lo que contemplo mas prudente, y posible sin demandar el justo reintegro de lo que son en dever de esas Caxas à esta Tesoreria. Asi pues espero de V.E., y lo suplico que al retorno de cada Buque, me auxilio del modo, que le sea mas posiblemente convinable, pero que al menos, se extienda en cada uno à la remesa de tres cientos mil pesos, pues à esta Cantidad han debido y deben sufragar bastantemente los derechos que devengan los Cargamentos de los propios Buques.

Con el unico y solo obgeto de conseguir en esta vez que el Capitan de la Corveta Don Miguel Martija, se ponga en comunicacion con V.E., y reciva sus ordenes, he dispuesto se embarque en calidad de Comisionado mio el Capitan de Exercito Don Alejandro Parreño que pondrá en manos de V.E. este oficio, pues en el momento de arivar

à cualesquiera Puerto emprenderá su marcha por tierra para verificarlo, y que impuesto de quanto conviene, y le deyo relacionado, provea y disponga V.E. como guste.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Manila 3 de Agosto de 1813.

Excmo. Sor.

Manuel Gonzales

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Virrey de Nueva España.

Estado que manifiesta el Cargamento que desde Manila á este Reyno conduce la Corveta Sta. Potenciana alias la Fidelidad al mando de su Capitan Don Miguel Antonio Martija.

A saver:

<i>560</i>	<i>Fardos de Ropa de Manila, China y la Yndia.</i>
<i>915-3/4</i>	<i>Quintales de Fierro de las Minas de Filipinas.</i>
<i>200</i>	<i>Piezas de Lona doble de 40 varas.</i>
<i>1500</i>	<i>Ydem de idem sencillo de 6 id.</i>
<i>53</i>	<i>Caxones de [h]ojas de Lata.</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>Pipa de Vino madera [rather Madeira]</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>Medias id. de Romth [sic].</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>Barriles de idem.</i>
<i>3</i>	<i>Caxones con juegos de Loza para Cha [sic= tea].</i>
<i>4</i>	<i>Ydem con 6 caxoncitos de id.</i>
<i>3</i>	<i>Ydem con varias Lozas.</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>Emboltorio con juegos de Bandejas de maque.</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>Baul con Ropa de uso.</i>

San Blas y Diciembre 5 de 1813.

Alonso Morgado

Translation.

1814.—Secretariat of the Vice-Kingdom.

Philippines N°386, fol. 107v.

Arrival at San Blas of the schooner **Santa Potenciana alias Fidelidad** with a cargo of goods from Manila.

N° 8.

Your Excellency.

Through the brigantine **Activo** which arrived at this port on 21 March [1813] under the command of Royal Navy Commander Pedro de Toro, I received the correspondence that Y.E. had addressed to me, along with its respective index, and letter dated 28 June 1812. It is something short of a miracle that this ship did not suffer from any storm

during her voyage; indeed, had she met any, she would undoubtedly have perished, according to the dreadful condition she was in, as was discovered at the time of her carenage. This operation is being carried out, in order to make her ready to travel safely back to San Blas next October, or by the beginning of next year, whenever the weather and circumstances will be alright. In fact, the extensive carenage that had become indispensable for the galleon **Magallanes**, presently unavailable, on account of the absence of the **Rey Fernando**, and quick repairs done to the schooner **Fidelidad**, have caused a delay in her extensive carenage.

Said schooner did not fulfil the intentions of the purpose for which she had been despatched, and that Y.E. indicated in your letter n° 1 dated 24 September 1812. Nor have I heard anything since about the galleon **Rey Fernando**, other than that I had learned in Acapulco, that she had suffered so much misery and mortality among her officers, passengers and crew, that it had been the reason why her Commander bypassed San Blas, when he could have found some help there or in said port [of Acapulco], but went on to that of Sonsonate instead, where he unloaded the correspondence which I suppose are already in the hands of Y.E. As for me, I found it necessary to turn over this ship to the traders, for them to take advantage of the extraordinary permission granted by H.M. to them, and also to assist the **Rey Fernando**,¹ get in touch with Y.E. and return with funds, either as her own cargo, or aboard the galleon herself, before or after her, according to their conditions and circumstances, which are unable to predict from so far away, given the improbability of the events. Although the Commander of the schooner complied with the instructions that he had received from the Commander of this Naval Station, it cannot be denied that they had not been consulted beforehand; they did not agree with mine, nor those of the traders who were costing their expenditures differently. So, there was a general outcry when she arrived, without satisfying any of our expectations, carrying nothing but letters from the mail. At least, that is how the public gauged the affair. Unfortunately, the delay of the galleon **Rey Fernando** had totally and absolutely paralyzed the two-way trade. I was forced to consider the petitions presented by the traders here, to give them an opportunity to reduce the inventory in their warehouses; indeed, such a measure is infinitely more pleasing, in view of the delay in the loading of the former galleon. As far as the cargo of the **Magallanes** and the schooner [Activo] is concerned, it has been agreed to choose supplies more appropriate to the circumstances in which that Kingdom may find itself, at least as far as the traders can anticipate. As for myself, I have promised to make them as varied as possible, as a just consequence of the active measure taken by Y.E., as well as the aid that I received from the Peninsula that I will try to forward, the better for you to pacify those insurgents. What is certain is that I will be taking chances, in view of the melancholic condition of this country, when prudence militates against my being too generous; however, I have had to yield to circumstances, specially when, in the other hand, the circumstances affecting this Treasury are so sad that, in spite of a strict econ-

1 Ed. note: By providing a crew supplement.

omy in the management of our expenses, I have found it impossible to pay the monthly salaries of the past two years. I cannot find in the country one source of funds, no tax revenue that I can rely upon. Indeed, the same lack of two-way trade has decreased the revenue from it, to almost half of its potential, and the same absence of ship-borne trade and production has totally decreased the number of ships visiting us, as imports and exports, the result of which has been zero revenue from customs duties.

As a consequence of the above, and because I presume that Y.E. will find himself with the same anguish in that Kingdom, I limit my requests to what I think more prudent, and possible, without demanding the just reimbursement of what is due by that Treasury to this Treasury. Thus, I expect from Y.E., and I beg you, to help me by sending what you can possibly send with every returning ship; please let it be at least 300,000 pesos, considering that the cargo aboard those same ships would create that much tax revenue.

For the sole purpose of obtaining it, on this occasion the Captain of the schooner will get in touch with Y.E., to receive your orders. I have also appointed Army Captain Alexandro Parreño as my Commissioner;¹ he will place this letter in the hands of Y.E.; indeed, at the first contact with that coast, he will disembark and make his way overland to reach you, and to place himself at your feet. He carried instructions from me, but Y.E. may decide what to do with him, according to your pleasure.

May God serve Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 3 August 1813.

Your Excellency.

Manuel Gonzalez

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain.

Statement showing the cargo carried from Manila to this Kingdom by the schooner Santa Potenciana alias Fidelidad, under the command of her Captain, Miguel Antonio Martija, as follows:

560	Bundles of textiles from Manila, China, and India.
915-3/4	Quintals of iron from Philippine mines.
200	Pieces of double-weight Ilocos canvas, each 40 yards long.
1500	Pieces of ordinary Ilocos cloth, each 6 [or 60?] yards long.
53	Crates full of tin plates.
1	Butt of Madeira wine.
2	Half-barrels of rum.
2	Barrels of rum.
3	Crates with porcelain tea sets.

¹ Ed. note: We learn here that this former Governor of the Marianas, who was replaced in 1812, travelled from Manila to Mexico in 1813, and probably went back to Granada, Spain, in 1814.

4	Crates with 6 boxes of same tea sets.
3	Crates with various porcelain articles.
1	Bundle containing sets of lacquered trays.
1	Trunk with personal clothes.

San Blas, 5 December 1813.
Alonso Morgado¹

D2. Arrival of the *Fidelidad* at San Blas reported to the Viceroy in December 1813

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 85; copy on fol. 87.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*Acava de fondear en este Puerto la Corveta de Guerra de mi mando Santa Potenciana (alias) la **Fidelidad** con ciento y tres dias de navegacion, sin haber ocurrido en ella novedad particular; esta Corveta la costea el Comercio de Manila con el objeto de traer Pliegos de S.M. y del publico á cargo de su Maestre Don Alonso Morgado, y quinientos y setenta Fardos de Permiso, para indeenizar [sic] los gastos de esta espedicion, por lo que suplico á V.E. tenga la bondad de mandarnos todos los auxilios necesarios, afin de que nuestro retorno, sea con la brevedad posible para en alguna manera remediar la miseria, y fatal situacion [en] que quedan aquellas Yslas.*

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

San Blas y Diciembre 5 de 1813.

Excmo. Sor.

Miguel Antonio Martija

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Don Felix Maria Callejas [sic], Virrey y Capitan General del Reyno de Mexico &c.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

The war schooner under my command, the **Santa Potenciana, alias Fidelidad**, has just anchored in this port, after 103 days of navigation² without a special incident. This schooner is being financed by the traders of Manila for the purpose of bringing mail belonging to H.M. and the public, in the care of her Master, Alonso Morgado, plus 570 [rather 560?] Bundles under the permission, to idemnify the expenses of this expedition. I thus beg Y.E. to be so kind as to send to us all of the necessary succors to

1 Ed. note: Morgado was the supercargo, as the English would say.

2 Ed. note: A record time for an eastward crossing.

enable us to effect our return voyage as soon as possible, in order to help remedy the miserable and dreadful condition of those Islands.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

San Blas, 5 December 1813.

Your Excellency.

Miguel Antonio Martija

[To] His Excellency Felix María Calleja, Viceroy and Captain General of the Kingdom of Mexico, etc.

Note 1814E

Captain Dublon's re-discovery of Truk

Secondary sources: Adelbert von Chamisso. A Voyage Around the World (UHP translation, 1986); mentioned by D'Urville also.

A mere mention by Chamisso.

...
Furthermore, Don Luis de Torres gave us information of a high, large island of unknown name that had been seen by the brigantine **San Antonio** of Manila, Captain Manuel Dublon, on the voyage from Manila to Guam on 10 December 1814, at 7°20' lat. N and 151°55' long. E. A very high mountain towers above it.¹

...

1 Ed. note: The very name of this atoll, Chuuk, formerly Truk, means Mountain. Try as I may, my search for more information about this incident has been fruitless.



King Ferdinand VII, ruled from 1814 to 1833.

Documents 1815A

The ship **Rey Fernando**, Captain **Juan Echenique**

Sources: MN 577, fol. 90-91v; AGN Fil. 47/2, 53/17.

Note: This may have been a newly-built galleon, named after the new King of Spain, Ferdinand VII, whose reign began in 1814. However, by 1818, she is also referred to by the alias of San José.

A1. Report of Lieutenant Uztariz to General Espinosa y Tello

Original text in Spanish.

Señor Don Jose Espinosa Tello

*Nao **Rey Fernando** en el Puerto de San Blas 19 de Marzo de 1815*

Mi Venerado General y Señor: hasta el día de oy no se ha podido concluir con las Cuentas de los Compromisarios, en la tarde embarcamos los Presos, y con el terral daremos esta noche la vela para Manila.

La invernada pasada la hicimos en el Puerto de San Jose de Guaymas de donde escribí a V.

Le Deseo a V. la mas completa salud y remitiendole copia del estado de salida, no puedo menos de suplicarle, que en qualesquiera sitio que me halle mande V. imperiosamente a su mas agradecido y SSqBSM

Juan Bautista Uztariz.

Translation.

[To] Don José Espinosa y Tello.

Galleon **Rey Fernando** in the port of San Blas, 19 March 1815.

My Venerable General, Sir:

As this date, the trade commissioners have been unable to conclude their accounts. This afternoon we will embark the prisoners, and, with the land breeze, we shall set sail tonight for Manila.

We spent the last winter in the port of San José of Guaymas, whence I wrote to you.

I wish you the fullest of health and remit a copy of our condition upon departure. I cannot help but beg you to please order me without hesitation to do your will, whenever I may be found, as I am,

Your grateful and devoted servant, who kisses your hand,
Juan Bautista Uztariz

A2. Description of this galleon upon departure from San Blas

General description of the galleon **Rey Fernando**, carrying 28 guns, which is leaving the Port of San Blas for that of Manila today [i.e. 19 March 1815], under the command of Royal Navy Lieutenant Juan Echenique.

Ranks and names of military officers:

Lieutenant and 2nd Commander: Juan Bautista Uztariz.

Captain of the Militia in charge of the troop: Andrés Palmero.

Ranks and names of the senior officers:

Accountant: Anastacio Hernandez.

Chaplain: Ancelino Jorge Faxardo.

Surgeon: José María Herrera.

Special pilot n° 1: Felix Dayot.¹

Special pilot n° 2: John Christopher O'Farrell.

Another pilot: Fernando Cuervo.

Another pilot: Francisco Varela Cagigas.

Master of the silver: José de Eguía.

Steward: Victoriano de la Cabrada.

...

Notes: 1) The ship carries 70 bundles belonging to the King, 1,027 bundles and 1,558 ingots belonging to individuals, 2 million pesos in currency and gold bars belonging to the Manila traders.

2) She carries 8 passengers, among whom can be found: 1 Colonel and 1 Navy Lieutenant with their families, 1 retired Lieutenant, 1 ship-building Adjutant, 1 lawyer with their families, 14 Augustinian Fathers, 8 "Dieguino" Fathers, 2 Dominican Fathers.²

1 Ed. note: A Frenchman residing at Manila (see Doc. 1802L).

2 Ed. note: There is no record of any Augustinian Recollect having arrived at Guam in 1815; so, these were regular Augustinians. As for the Fathers of San Diego, they could simply have been Franciscans.

3) In addition, she transports 7 convicts who have been recruited as soldiers, and 20 more as garrison troopers, and 69 as prisoners.

4) For the standing company, as shown in the list on reverse,¹ only the Drummer and 2 gunners had come from Manila aboard the schooner **Fidelidad** and had remained here on account of illness. The rest are taken from San Blas.

...
Galleon **Rey Fernando**, 19 March 1815.²

1 Ed. note: A list of 119 men.

2 Ed. note: Governor Medinilla has recorded the visit to Guam of this galleon, in May 1815. In 1818, this galleon is reported to be as a ship belonging to the RPC, that went from Lima to Calcutta and did a circumnavigation by both Capes, i.e. Cape Horn and Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Lieutenant-Commander Alonso de la Riva (ref. MN 1777, doc. 13, fol. 137-144v).

Document 1815B

The Marquis of Wellington, Captain Betham, visited Mokil

Source: Log 56B, India Office; AJCP M1625; cited in Nicholson's Log of Logs.

Note: This ship took 198 male convicts from England to NSW, then went on to China, and back home to England.

Extract from the logbook

Extract from the logbook kept by Captain George Betham, commanding the EIC ship of 563 tons named Marquis of Wellington—Voyage June 1814-February 1816.

...

[On the voyage from NSW to China, the ship crossed the Equator at Long. 164° E.]

[Discovery of Mokil Island]

Courses NNW, etc. Wind NE.

Sunday 7th May 1815

Light airs & fine weather. Out 1st reef main topsail. hand set the sky sail, some hands employed filling salt water to trim the ship more by the head.

At 6 ditto weather. In one reef fore and main topsail.

At 8 squally, shortened sail.

At 11 a.m. performed 10 wine services.¹

At 1 moderate and steady breezes, set studding sails & stay sails.

At 4 ditto weather. At 1/2 past 5 a.m. discovered 2 low islands bearing N.W. dist. 7 miles, at 7 saw another, the centre island East 9 miles. The easternmost rather the largest with a reef stretching to the East, about 1 mile from the SE end. The westernmost or smallest connected by a reef running from the former in a SW & NE direction, all well covered with a thick brush wood and a vast number of cocoa nut trees. passed within 4 miles of the westernmost, sounded [but] no ground [at] 70 fathoms. Supposed them to be discoveries. Therefore named them Wellingtons Group.

1 Ed. note: An Anglican ceremony, in which the Captain acted as priest.

Lat. obs. 7°1' N., Lat. acct. 6°38' N., Long. in. 161°42' [E], Long. acct. 160°23' E.
[Corrections:] Lat. 6°41'00" North, Long. 159°48' Corrected.

Courses NW by W, etc. Wind NE.

Monday 8th May 1815

Light breezes and clear weather. All sail set. At 4:30 observed an island bearing SW1/2 W distant about 12 leagues. At 6 moderate weather. At 7 in lower studding sail. At 9 variable, in topmasts and topgallant studding sails.

At 6 [a.m.] squally, in topgallant sails. At 7 made all sail. At 8 moderate. At 11 ditto, sent down the main Royal yard to repair the sail & put battens on the yard.

Lat. obs. 8°3' N., Long. in. 160°25' E.

...

Courses W by N, etc. Winds variable, and East.

Sunday 14th May 1815

Squally with heavy showers of rain. Shortened sail occasionally.

At 6 moderate with rain. At 7 the extremes of Tinian bore W by S & SW by W dist. about 18 leagues.

At 12 shortened sail and bore up W1/2S.—

At 5 moderate and fine, saw Saypan bearing SE dist. 17 leagues.

Set 1st reef out of the topsail.

At 8 moderate and clear. At noon ditto weather, mustered the ships company.

Lat. obs. 16°1' N., Long. in. 148°50' E.

...

Document 1815C

The Spanish ship *Descubierta* on a voyage around the world

The logbook kept by Captain Alonso de la Riva

Source: MN 1777, fol. 119-123v.

Original text in Spanish.

Extracto de Lima a Manila, 2a Parte. Salida en 31 de Noviembre de 1814.

Este buque sale haciendo de 12 à 18 pulgadas de Agua en las 24 horas...

...

Extracto del Diario de la Navegacion de Lima a Manila por la Corveta de Guerra de S.M. la Descubierta en los Años de 1814 y 1815.

Ocurrencias Semanarias.

...

En esta semana hubo vientos del 2º cuadrante habiendo llegado del S con la circunstancia de ser viento duro, precedido del mucho bochorno, horizontes calinosos y bastante velente [sic] por las noches, asi lo experimentamos antes de dicho viento, el que aguantamos con trinquete y Gavia arrizada, con mar gruesa.

El 29 recalamos sobre la Ysla de Guajan hallando una diferencia bastante sensible en el Relox de Parkinson, pues dió un grado 26'08" al E. de la recalada, o sea que por un olvido en bo(?) Cantidad, se quedó un dia en la mar parado por no haverlo dado cuerda: El de Arnold, diferió en solo 11'08" y la estima en 12º27'48" al E tambien cuya diferencia corregida à 19-1/2 millas de Corrientes diarias desde Lima à Guajan.

...

En la Bahia de Manila á 2 de febrero(?) de 1815.

Alonso de la Riva.

Translation.

Extract from Lima to Manila, Part 2. Departure on 31 November 1814.

This ship is leaking 12 to 18 inches of water every 24 hours upon departure.

...

Extract from the log of the voyage from Lima to Manila of the war schooner **De-scubierta** in 1814 and 1815.

Weekly occurrences.

...

During this week, there were winds from the 2nd quadrant. Since the wind had previously blown southerly, it blew hard, preceded by much sultry weather, hazy horizons and rather obscure(?) skies at night. Thus was our experience before said wind, which we resisted with furled foresail and [fore-] topsail, the sea running high.

On the 29th, we made the Island of Guajan,¹ where we found a rather sensible difference in the Parkinson Chronometer; indeed, it was 1°26'08" to the E. of the anchorage. This can be explained by a mistake made at sea, when it remained stopped for [part of] one day, as we had forgotten to wind it. Arnold's Chronometer differed by only 11'08" and the estimated longitude was 12°27'48" to the E. also, which is indicative of the currents having driven us [an average of] 19-1/2 miles per day between Lima and Guajan.

...

In the Bay of Manila, 2 February [rather July?] 1815.

Alonso de la Riva

1 Ed. note: This ship did remain at Guam five days, from 29 May to 1 June 1815 (see Doc. 1812C). It is unfortunate that Captain Riva says nothing about his visit.

Documents 1815D

The Victoria, Colonel Felix Ruiz

D1. Her arrival at San Blas reported to the Viceroy

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 269-269v.

Original text in Spanish.

*El Comandante interino de San Blas dando parte à V.E. de la llegada a este Puerto del de Manila con efectos del Asia la Fragata particular nombrada la **Victoria**.*

Excmo. Sor.

*En la tarde del dia de hoy ha dado fondo en este Puerto procedente del de Manila la Fragata particular nombrada la **Victoria** conduciendo à su Bordo los efectos Asiaticos, y pertrechos de guerra que expresa la nota qe adjunta incluyo à V.E. para su devido conocimiento.*

En el momento de cersiorado [sic] procedia de dicho destino con efectos oficie con el Compromisario de dicho Buque D. Ramon Zuñiga, manifestandole las ordenes con que me hallaba de V.E, para que siguiese su biaje à Acapulco, y que por ningun preteso desembarcase lo mas minimo en este Puerto hasta la decision de V.E. haviendolo responsable de lo Contrario; dando yo por mi parte las providencias que me han parecido conducentes al efecto.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

San Blas 25 de Mayo de 1815.

Exmo. Señor

Domingo Perez de Ancoategui

[A] Excmo. Sor. Virrey Governador y Capitan General de N. E., D. Felix Maria Calleja.

Translation.

The interim Commander of San Blas reports to Y.E. the arrival at this port of the private frigate named **Victoria** proceeding from Manila with Asian products on board.

Your Excellency.

This afternoon there anchored at this port, proceeding from Manila, the private frigate named **Victoria** carrying Asian products and war equipment, as listed in the attached note which I send to Y.E. for your information.

As soon as it became clear that she proceeded from Manila with cargo, I wrote to the Supercargo of said ship, Ramón Zuñiga, to let him know the orders that I had received from Y.E., to have them continue their voyage to Acapulco,¹ and that they were not, on any account, to unload the least thing in this port without a decision by Y.E., making him responsible otherwise. On my part, I took the measures that seemed appropriate to the purpose.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

San Blas, 25 May 1815.

Your Excellency.

Domingo Perez de Ancoategui.

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain, Don Felix María Calleja.

D2. Her departure from San Blas reported to the Viceroy

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 266.

Original text in Spanish.

*El Contador interino de San Blas, dando parte à V.E. de la Salida de este Puerto para el de Acapulco [de] la Fragata Particular la **Victoria**, procedente de Manila.*

Excmo. Sor.

*La madrugada del 6 del corriente, dio la vela de este Puerto para el de Acapulco, la Fragata de Manila la particular nombrada la **Victoria**, conduciendo à su Bordo efectos del Asia à Cargo de su Capitan D. Felix Ruiz, lo que noticio à V.E. para su conocimiento.*

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años

San Blas 8 de Junio de 1815.

Excmo. Sor.

Marcelo Croquer

[A] Excmo. Sor. Virrey Gobernador Capitan General de esta Nueva España D. Felix Maria Calleja

Translation.

The interim Accountant of San Blas reports to Y.E. the departure from this port bound to Acapulco of the private frigate **Victoria**, proceeding from Manila.

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1814B2.

Your Excellency.

In the early morning of the 6th instant, the private frigate from Manila named **Victoria** sailed from this port bound to Acapulco, with a cargo of Asian products, under the command of her Captain, Don Felix Ruiz. I bring said notice to the attention of Y.E., for your information.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

San Blas, 8 June 1815.

Your Excellency.

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain, Don Felix María Calleja.

D3. Letter from Colonel Ruiz to the Viceroy, dated Acapulco 15 June

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 281-281v.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Señor

Dà parte à V.Ex^a el Teniente Coronel de Milicias regladas de Granaderos de Luzon, Capitan y Maestre de este Buque, procedente de Manila, donde salió el 2 de Enero, con destino à la Rada de San Blas, à donde llegó el 25 del mes próximo pasado, con superior permiso, y con carga de aquel Comercio, y como ocurrió encontrarse el representante de él, con la superior providencia de V.Ex^a, comunicada por aquel Ministro, para que la Nao de Filipinas, viniese à descargar à este Puerto; de aqui és, que otro representante, para asegurar los intereses, hizo su representacion à el Sr. General de Guadalupe; de sus resultas el mismo Compromisario, es regular imponga à V. Ex^a con las que se determinò dar la vela el dia 5 del presente mes para este.

Por el estado adjunto, se impondrà V.Ex^a de el todo del Buque y de lo que en el viene por cuenta del Comercio y de la Real Hacienda; de esto último me manifestó el Comandante del Apostadero de San Blas una Orden del Señor Xefe de aquella Provincia, en que le ordenaba, me prestase todos los auxilios para verificar la descarga de todos los peltrechos de guerra, que conducia à mi cargo, en efecto hize las mas vivas diligencias para dexarlo en aquel puerto, y únicamente pude dexar parte de la Metralla y las Cureñas, con quarenta y una piezas y media de Lona; estas me la devolvió por decir que era un encargo de V.Ex^a, y las recibí, las que tendré à disposicion de V.Ex^a en éste, como tambien entregare el resto de los peltrechos, à este Governador, para que tambien los tenga à disposicion de esa Superioridad.

Dios Guarde à V.Excelsia muchos años.

Fragata Victoria à el Ancla en el Puerto de Acapulco 15 de Junio de 1815.

Excelentissimo Señor

Felis Ruiz

Excelentissimo Sr. D. Felix Maria Calleja

Translation.

Your Excellency.

I, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular militia of Grenadiers of Luzon, as Captain and Master of this ship, report to Your Excellency that I departed Manila on 2 January, bound to the port of San Blas, where I arrived on the 25th of last month, with superior permission, and with a cargo belonging to the Traders of Manila. As it turned out, we met their agent there, bearing the superior provision of Y.E., which he got through that Minister, for the Philippine galleon to come and unload at this port; then, another agent of theirs, intending to ascertain their interests, made a representation before the General of Guadalajara, the result of which was that the same agent accepted the intervention of Y.E. as lawful, and it was decided to set sail for this port on the 5th.

From the attached statement, Y.E. will gather everything about the ship and her cargo belonging to the trade and to the Royal Treasury.¹ Referring to this cargo, the Commander of the Naval Station of San Blas showed me an order from the Chief of that province, by which he ordered him to provide me all the help necessary to accomplish the unloading of all of the war implements that I carried under my care. I did indeed make the most lively efforts to leave them in that port, but could only leave part of the grapeshots and the gun carriages, with 41-1/2 pieces of canvas. He gave me back the latter canvas, saying that the request for it had come from Y.E. So, I received it, and will keep it at the disposal of Y.E. in this port. I will also deliver the rest of the grapeshots to the Governor here, for him in turn to keep it at the disposal of your superior government.

May God save Your Excellency for many years.

Frigate **Victoria** at anchor in the port of Acapulco, 15 June 1815.

Your Excellency.

Felix Ruiz

[To] His Excellency Don Felix María Calleja.

D4. Letter from the Supercargo, dated Acapulco 15 June

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 309-310v.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Señor

*Como compromisario que soy del comercio de Manila, tengo el honor de presentarme ante V.E. dandole parte de la feliz llegada de la fragata **Victoria** (alias la Manileña) a este Puerto hoy 15 de Junio habiendo salido de Manila el 2 de Enero con el cargamento de que me exento por cuenta a V.E. por menor por constarme cumple ya con esta obligacion el Capitan y Maestre de dicho Barco.*

¹ Ed. note: The statement in question is missing from the file, and may have been forwarded to Army HQ.

El 25 de Mayo proximo pasado llegamos a la rada de S. Blas que hera nuestro destino y luego que fondeamos recivi un oficio del Ministro de Marina de aquel Apostadero en que me trasladava el que V.E. le paso con fecha 13 de noviembre ultimo para que si la Nao de Filipinas llegara á aquel puerto se trasladara al de Acapulco. En vista de lo qual comboqué Junta de los interesados que vienen en esta Fragata de la que se decidió solicitar de el Señor Presidente de Guadalaxara la aclaracion de si la superior orden de V.E. debia tambien entenderse con este Buque que aunque trahe el permiso del comercio de Manila que no viene como Nao y es la que V.E. señalaba devia descargar en Acapulco en lo que al no se resistia la superior orden de V.E. sino que nos exensionamos de la responsabilidad que seria sobre nosotros por ser la mayor parte del valor de este cargamento tomado a riesgo para este Puerto y no pudimos variarlo sin una orden expresa de V.E. o necesidad absoluta, y no habiendose justificado esta ultima causa de que lo abanzado de la estacion no permitia sin gravisimo y manifiesto peligro esperar la superior resolucion que el Señor General y Presidente de Guadalaxara havia impetrado de V.E. resolvimos pasar a este Puerto creyendo esto seria mas conforme con las ideas de V.E y tambien para asegurar el cargamento.

*El comercio de Manila Excmo. Sor. se halla en la mayor decadencia y consiguientemente las Yslas que no tienen otro recurso en la mas deplorable miseria [en] no haber podido verificar en seis años mas que dos expedientes [rather expediciones] la una incompleta, por no dar la Corbeta **Fidelidad** en que se efectuo Buque para mas y la otra desgraciadisima que hizo en el Navio **San Fernando** y que será su ruina si V.E. no nos dispense su poderosa proteccion para resarcir en esta expedicion pronto de los gravisimos perjuicios que aquel Comercio ha sufrido para la demora de la Nao y grandisimos impuestos que han sufrido en Guadalaxara los dos Cargamentos citados.*

Por lo que en nombre del Tribunal del Consulado de Manila y su Comercio imploro la proteccion de V.E. á favor de los intereses de aquel, en especialidad de los que este Buque para lo cual he informado al Apoderado de aquel cuerpo en esa capital de los puntos que devo representar á V.E. manifestando los fueros y prerrogativas de aquellos comerciantes cuya justicia claramente conoce V.E. de cuya integridad y beneficencia espera el Comercio de Manila una resolución favorable cuyo exito feliz se lisongea aquel Consulado dever á las buenas y justificadas intenciones de V.E. que en todo tiempo dará testimonio autententico de su gratitud.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.E. muchos años.

Acapulco 15 de Junio de 1815.

Ramon de Zuñiga.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

As supercargo representing the traders of Manila, I have the honor of presenting myself to Y.E. and report the successful arrival of the frigate **Victoria** (alias Manileña) at this port today 15 June, having left Manila on 2 January with the cargo of which

I apologize here to Y.E. for not giving the details, as the Captain and Master will comply with this obligation.

Last 25 May we arrived at the port of San Blas, which was our destination, but as soon as we anchored I received a letter from the Minister of the Navy of this naval station in which he reproduced the letter of Y.E. dated 13 November last, that stated that, if the Philippine galleon were to arrive at that port, she was to go on to that of Acapulco. In view of this, I called a Meeting of the interested parties aboard this frigate and it was decided to solicit from the President of Guadalajara a clarification of whether or not the superior order of Y.E. also applied to this ship which, though it carries the permitted trade of Manila, does not come as a galleon, the type of ship specified by Y.E. as having to unload in Acapulco. Our intention was not to resist the superior order of Y.E., but to get an exemption from the responsibility that could be ours, since the greater part of the cargo was on speculation and destined to this port [i.e. San Blas] and we could not choose another without a specific order from Y.E. or facing an absolute necessity. We did not plead the latter reason, although the lateness of the season did not allow us without very serious and obvious danger to await the superior decision that the General and President of Guadalajara had requested from Y.E. We simply decided to come to this port, in the belief that such was more in agreement with the ideas of Y.E., and also to place the cargo in safety.

Your Excellency, the commerce of Manila finds itself in the worst of decadence and consequently the Islands, which have no other resource, are in the most deplorable of miseries, as there have been only two voyages in the last six years, and one of them was incomplete, because the schooner **Fidelidad** did not have the space for it, and the other, that of the galleon **San Fernando** was a complete disaster, one that will cause our ruin if Y.E. does not extend your powerful protection, for us to recuperate soon in this voyage from the very grave prejudices that the trade has suffered, on account of the delay of the galleon and the excessive taxes imposed on both of the above-mentioned shipments in Guadalajara.

Therefore, on behalf of the Tribunal of the Hall of Commerce of Manila and the traders, I implore the protection of Y.E. in favor of their interests, specially those involving this ship. To this effect, I have informed the Representative of this organization in that capital of the points that I must represent to Y.E., by making known the legal privileges and prerogatives of those traders. Y.E. clearly knows how just they are. The traders of Manila hope to get a favorable decision from the integrity and benevolence of Y.E. The Hall of Commerce already flatter themselves that they owe it to the good and justified intentions of Y.E. and they will forever give an authentic testimony of their gratitude.

May God save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 15 June 1815.

Ramón de Zuñiga

D5. Letter from the Commissioner of the Manila trade, dated 27 June

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Señor

*Por el superior oficio de V.E. del 25 en que se halla otro del Governador interino de Acapulco del 16, quedamos advertidos de haver llegado la Fragata mercante **Victoria** procedente de Manila a cargo de su Capitan y Maestre D. Felix Ruiz con efectos para este Reyno. En la Gatezeta [sic] del dia se ha servido V.E. publicar la misma noticia que de muchos modos es satisfactoria para todo el Reyno, por la grande trascendencia de estas Expediciones del Asia, las que inmediatamente influyen à la ocupacion, provision, y comodidad de efectos, a veneficio de la gente pobre.*

Se adelanta V.E. à ofrecer que tomarà las medidas convenientes para la mas pronta, y segura conduccion de este cargamento à esta Capital, circunstancias todas sumamente interesantes, y son las mismas que ciertamente han de querer, y venir pidiendo los compromisarios, e interesados en dicho Buque, con el fin de traer à esta sus generos, venderlos, recoger los productos, y tener tiempo de llebarlos à Acapulco por Enero, para hallarse prontos, à dar la vela en fin de Febrero proximo, que es el tiempo oportuno, por que de no hacerlo asi, se postergaria la salida hasta el año siguiente, con el perjuicio que se deja inferir.

*Para conseguir estas grandes ventajas se ha de hacer conveniente superar algunas dificultades. Será una de ellas la presente estacion de Aguas, pero en la misma vino el cargamento de la Fragata **San Rafael**: será otra la falta de mulas, pero se dice que las tiene el Señor Comandante Armijo; que ban algunas à la sazón con cargamentos de los Presidios, y Misiones; y aun tambien se cree que los interesados tomaràn gran parte en aviliarse de las que faltan haciendo los encargos necesarios para ellas.*

De todo tiene V.E. conocimientos superabundantes, y la actividad que demanda el asunto, en que descansa este Consulado, y Comercio agradeciendo como es debido la anticipacion de una noticia tan plausible.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Mexico Junio 27 de 815

Excmo. Señor

El Conde de Casa de Agreda

Juan Marcos de Rada

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Virrey D. Felix Maria Calleja.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

Through the superior letter of Y.E. dated 25th instant, enclosing another from the interim Governor of Acapulco of the 16th, we remain informed of the arrival of the merchant frigate **Victoria** proceeding from Manila in charge of her Captain and Mas-

ter, Don Felix Ruiz with goods for this Kingdom. In today's Gazette Y.E. was pleased to publish the same notice that in any case is satisfactory news for the whole Kingdom, since such voyages from Asia are of great importance, as they have a direct influence upon the poor people, who benefit from the availability and utility of their goods.

Y.E. has graciously offered to take the appropriate measures for the quickest and most secure transport of this shipment to this capital. Such circumstances are extremely interesting and they are certainly the same as the trade agents and interested parties aboard said ship want, for the purpose of bringing their goods overhere, sell them, collect their profits, and have enough time left to take those to Acapulco by next January, in order to be ready to sail at the end of February, which is the best time, because otherwise, departure would be postponed until the following year, with the prejudice that one can infer.

To achieve these great advantages, a few difficulties must be overcome. The first one is the present rainy season, but the shipment of the frigate **San Rafael** came in that season also.¹ Another difficulty would be the lack of mules, but it is said that Commander Armijo has them; some of them are ready with shipments meant for the garrisons and missions. It is also believed that the interested parties will take an active part in contracting for more.

Y.E. already has an abundance of information on the subject, and the actions required in this matter, so that the traders and specially this agent offer thanks for the good news received in advance.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 27 June 1815.

Your Excellency.

Juan Marcos de Rada, Count of Casa de Agreda

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy, Don Felix María Calleja.

D6. Letter from Colonel Ruiz, undated (perhaps written on 15 August 1815)

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 336-336v.

Original text in Spanish.

Es copia del Escrito presentado en esta fecha à este Sr. Gobernador interino.

Sr. Gobernador

*D. Felix Ruiz, Teniente Coronel de Granaderos de Luzon y Capitan de la Fragata **Victoria** (alias) la Manileña, procedente de Manila, y anclada en este Puerto; ante V. atentamente se presenta y dice:*

¹ Ed. note: This happened in 1800 (see Doc. 1802E1).

Que hallandose, por razon de sus interezes, en la precisa necesidad de permanecer en este Puerto hasta el mes de Enero ò Febrero del año entrante, y creyendo que de esta retardacion se le sigue el perjuicio de inutilizarle el Buque, por razon de la mucha broma que hay, como tambien por ser el tiempo mas enfermiso de todo el año de el que resulta, que la Tripulacion se le està enfermado todos los dias, y en esta fecha se encuentra con 25 enfermos y la mayor parte de ellos de la mayor gravedad; y para evitar estos irremediables males, y no imposilitarse totalmente para el tiempo de su salida, de lo que resultaria un perjuicio general en llegar este caso; suplica à V. que en consideracion à lo expuesto, se sirva concederle su Superior permiso, el que el Buque de su mando pase al Puerto de Guaymas, à pasar esta Ynvernada. Por tanto.

A V. suplica asi provea y mande por ser justicia &a.

Felix Ruiz

Translation.

Herewith a copy of the Writ presented on this date to this interim Governor.

My dear Governor:

I, Felix Ruiz, Lieutenant-Colonel of Grenadiers of Luzon and Captain of the frigate **Victoria**, alias Manileña, proceeding from Manila, and at anchor in this port, present myself before you, and declare:

That, finding myself, by reason of my interests, in the precise necessity of remaining in this port until the month of January or February of the coming year, and believing that prejudice will follow if the ship is unused, on account of excessive damage from sea-worms, and also, as far as weather is concerned, it is the most unhealthy season of the year, and my crew is getting sicker by the day. Indeed, today I have 25 on the sick list and most of them are seriously ill. And in order to avoid these evils, that have no remedy, and not to render my departure impossible, something that would bring a general prejudice, I beg you, considering what I have said, to please grant me your superior permission for the ship under my command to go to the port of Guaymas, to winter there. Consequently:

I beg you to so provide and order, as it is only justice, etc.

Felix Ruiz

D7. Letter from Agent Terán, dated Mexico 15 September 1815

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 355-356v.

Note: Terán was the regular representative of the Manila traders in Mexico.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo, Señor.

*A costa de muchas diligencias se han ajustado 600 mulas para traer de Acapulco lo que puedan del Cargamento de la Fragata **Victoria**, que deben salir de esta Capital el dia 20; y no dudando de que la bondad de V.E. se dignará continuar á la expedicion el favor que hasta ahora se le ha dispensado: suplico á V.E. se sirva mandar se proporcione para el dia citado la escolta competente hasta Cuernavaca, y las ordenes superiores para que las divisiones Militares de los demas puntos hasta Acapulco den el auxilio necesario, y no permitan se embarguen, detengan ni ocupen estos atajos por ningun motivo ni pretexto.*

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Mexico 15 de Septiembre de 1815

Excelentísimo Señor

Francisco Alonso Terán

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Virey D. Felix M^a Calleja.*

Translation.

At the coast of many efforts, a total of 600 mules have been found to transport from Acapulco what they can from the shipment of the frigate **Victoria**. The mule train must depart this Capital on the 20th and, not doubting that the kindness of Y.E. will continue to favor the expedition, as you have done so far, I beg Y.E. to please arrange for the above-said date for an appropriate escort as far as Cuernavaca, and issue your superior orders for the military divisions in the other posts as far as Acapulco to give the necessary assistance, and not permit any blockade, detention, or blockage of the roads under any reason or pretext.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Felix María Calleja.

D8. Letter from Terán, dated 22 September

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 382-282v.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor.

*Ya con el superior decreto que V.E. se dignó mandar se acompañase al Oficio de 18 del corriente pude solicitar del Sargento Mayor de esta Plaza la escolta de un Oficial y 40 Dragones que custodiasen las 600 Mulas dirigidas hoy hasta Chalco, y así se me facilitó con la mayor puntualidad. La misma me prometo de los Comandantes de Armas y Gefes Militares del resto del camino hasta Acapulco; y que de este modo se logre la extraccion del cargamento de la fragata **Victoria**, su transito y entrada en esta Capital, beneficios que al paso que en el dia son mui difíciles de conseguir, entrechan mas y mas mi reconocimiento á dar le á V.E. muchas y mui rendidas gracias.*

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Mexico 22 de septiembre de 1815.

Exmo. Señor

Francisco Alonso Terán

[Al] *Exmo. Sor. Virey D. Felix M^a Calleja*

Translation.

Your Excellency.

Thanks to the superior decree that Y.E. was pleased to issue with your letter dated 18th instant, I was able to solicit the Sergeant-Major of this Garrison for an escort of one officer and 40 dragoons to guard the 600 mules that began their trip today, and they will go as far as Chalco.¹ So, I was given it without any delay. I expect the same cooperation from the Commanders of Arms and Military Officers along the rest of the way as far as Acapulco, and I hope to be able to achieve the loading of the cargo of the frigate **Victoria**, its transport and introduction to this capital, benefits that nowadays are hard to achieve, so much so that I am becoming more and more grateful to Y.E. and wish to render my most sincere thanks.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 22 September 1815.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Felix Maria Calleja.

1 Ed. note: Located S.E. of Mexico City. Clearly, they were going by way of Cuautla, located east of Cuernavaca, intending to avoid the regular and more direct route between Mexico and Cuernavaca, and the danger posed by armed revolutionary bandits encamped along it.

Documents 1815E

New ports proposed for the Manila galleon

E1. First letter of José Giral

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 293-295.

Original text in Spanish.

Antequera 1815—Yntendencia.

Expediente promovido sobre las ventajas que ofrece que la Nao de Filipinas, en lugar de permanecer en Acapulco, pase à alguno de los Puertos mas sanos de la Provincia de Oaxaca.

Secretaria del Virreynato de N.E.—Filipinas.

Extraoficialmente sabemos que ha llegado a Acapulco [la] Nao de Filipinas con cargamento de Comercio de bastante cantidad; en cuyo concepto y en el de que en manera alguna sea facil, sino imposible que los dos mil y mas fardos que conducen se puedan transportar a Mexico en muchos tiempos ni tampoco subsistir el indicado Buque en aquel puerto, sin que padesca y muera mucha o la mayor parte de su tripulacion, de que hay ejemplares funestos, ocurre que acaso, el medio mas conveniente en las presentes circunstancias comparadas las en que se hallan los territorios intermedios de Acapulco à Mexico con las de las distancias de la costa de los Puertos Escondido, Angel, y Aguatulco parece resulta que si aquella embarcacion viniese a qualquiera de estos tres puertos lograria por lo menos los beneficios siguientes.

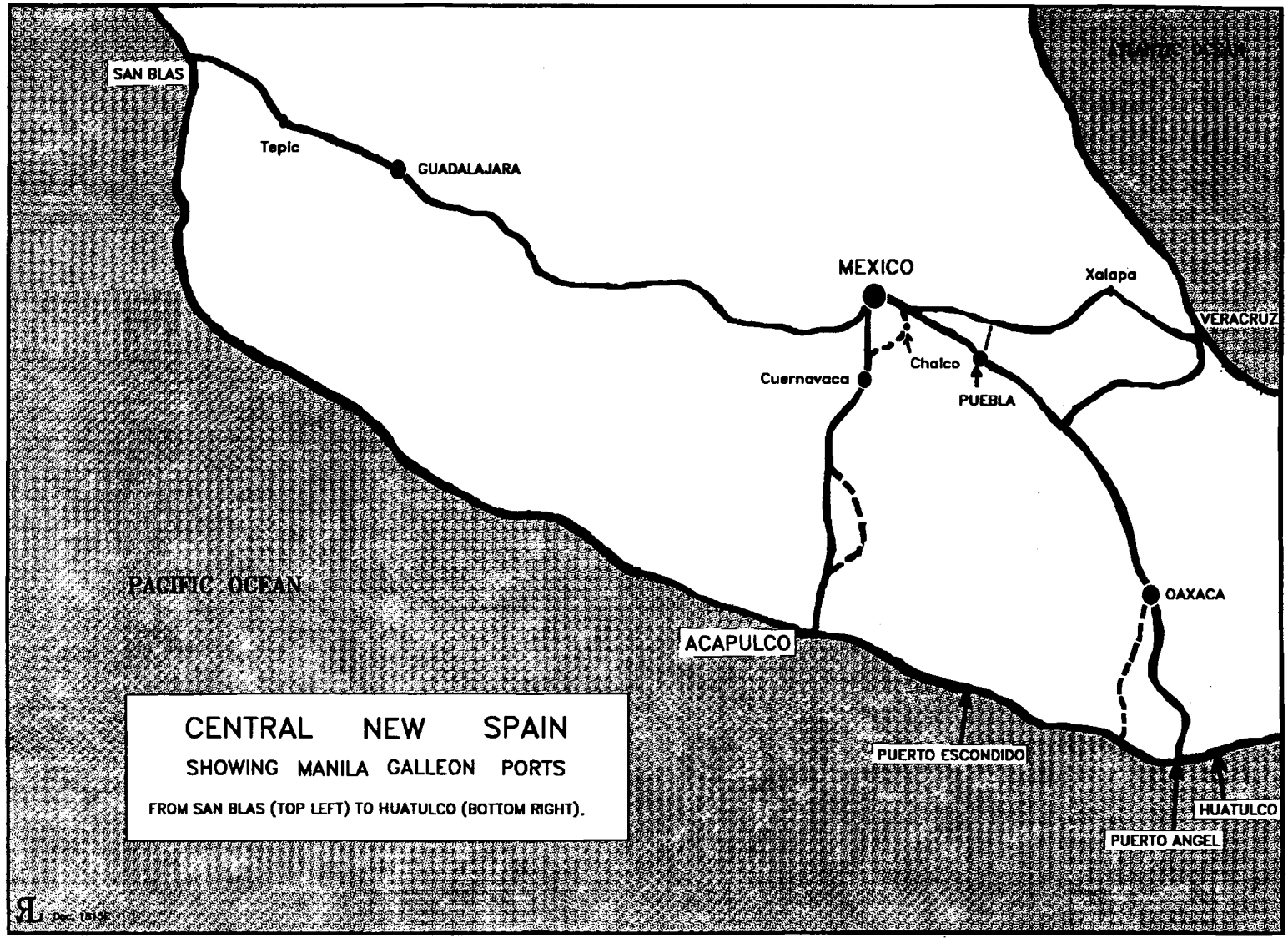
1° Gozar de un temperamento mejor, por tener notoriamente mas ventilacion que Acapulco.

2° Proveerse de viveres frescos en tanta abundancia cuanta necesitase, a precio mucho menos caros que en Acapulco.

3° Trasladar en pocos dias y con poca escolta el cargamento de esta Ciudad.

4° Vender en ella la parte de la carga que les conviniese por haber muchos mas compradores y proporciones para su expendio que en Acapulco.

5° Y que la mayor parte ó aunque fuese todo el cargamento, sería mas fácil conducirlo de aqui à Puebla y Mexico, porque hay mas mulas, y proporciones para llevarlo, quiza con menos escolta que la que se necesitaría de Acapulco à aquella Capital.



 Dec. 1815

6º Y como esto puede ofrecer muchas ventajas à la Real Hacienda, à los comerciantes de la Nao, y à los de esta provincia, lo manifiesto à V.S. en el concepto de que si se concibe adecuada esta ocurrencia se sirva V.E. teniendole a bien disponer se examine en Junta con los sujetos inteligentes y mas idoneos de esta vecindad y comercio a fin de que juzgandose conveniente, se manifiesta à la superioridad del Excmo. Señor Virey en los terminos que V.S. estimare del caso, ofreciendo Yo desde luego los practicos conocimientos y limitadas luzes que alcance para quanto pueda redundar en obsequio del Real Servicio.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Oaxaca 18 de Julio de 1815.

Joseph María Girál de Cráme.

[Al] Señor Yntendente de esta Provinvia.

Translation.

Antequera 1815—Intendance.

File recommending the advantages that would result if the Philippine galleon, instead of remaining at Acapulco, were to go on to one of the healthier ports of the Province of Oaxaca.

Secretariat of the Vice-Kingdom of New Spain.—Philippines.

Unofficially we have learned that the Philippine galleon has arrived at Acapulco with a load of trade goods in rather large quantities. In this regard, and considering that it will be somewhat difficult, if not impossible, to transport the more than 2,000 bundles that she carries to Mexico, except over a long period, and also that the above-said ship cannot remain at that port without having many or most of her crew suffer from illnesses and death, of which there are sad examples, it happens that perhaps there would be better circumstances available at other intermediary territories linking Mexico with the sea, other than Acapulco, such as the roads leading to Puerto Escondido, Puerto Angel, and Huatulco. It appears that if that vessel were to come to any one of these three ports, she would achieve at least the following advantages:

1º The enjoyment of a better climate, since they are known to have much more ventilation than Acapulco.

2º The availability of fresh food supplies as abundantly as needed, at prices much cheaper than at Acapulco.

3º The transport to this City of the goods, in a few days and with a small escort.

4º The possible sale here of part of the cargo that they wish, since there are many more buyers and facilities for their resale than at Acapulco.

5º The greater part, or even the whole cargo, would be easier to transport from here to Puebla and Mexico, because there are many more mules, and facilities to transport it, perhaps with fewer escort soldiers than those required from Acapulco to that Capital.

6° As this could offer many advantages to the Royal Treasury, to the traders from the galleon, and to those of this province, I propose it to Your Lordship, in case you should consider it worthy of being analyzed in a Board Meeting to which would be invited the more knowledgeable and more adequate individuals from this vicinity and commerce, so that, should it be judged appropriate, Your Lordship might bring it up to the attention of the superior government of His Excellency the Viceroy, with terms chosen by Your Lordship. Of course, I am readily available to provide my practical, though limited, knowledge, and any time, in honor of the Royal service.

May God save Your Lordship for many years.

Oaxaca, 18 July 1815.

José María Girál de Crame

[To] the Intendant of this Province.

E2. Second letter of José Girál

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 298-300.

Original text in Spanish.

El Tesorero Girál de Cráme respetuosamente hace presente las ventajas que resultarían, en las circunstancias del día, de que la Nao de Filipinas, en lugar de subsistir en Acapulco, pasase a alguno de los tres puertos de la provincia de Oaxaca.

Exmo. Señor.

Si nada descide mejor que la experiencia los efectos de las situaciones locales de los parages, bien puedo asegurar que Acapulco es el punto mas enfermo y acaso menos conveniente en las presentes circunstancias de insurreccion, para las Nao de Filipinas, que otro alguno de los tres de esta provincia que son Puerto Escondido, el del Angel, y el mejor de todos, Aguatulco, tanto para la salud a causa de no estar tan empozados, y rodeados de cerros quanto porque son susceptibles á todo genero de provisiones de viveres, siempre, con mas surtimientos y abundancia, inmediacion, y comodidad de precios de cuyas verdades estoi convencido practicamente, por no ser la primera vez que he entrado aqui y por haver servido la Tesoreria de Acapulco cerca de catorce años en donde vi las tempranas muertes, que se experimentan, mayormente en tiempos de aguas en que perecen Europeos, Asiaticos y Americanos a montones en terminos de renovarse a menudo tantos de ellos segun en mi tiempo sucedio con mis criados, con hijos mios, y con muchos gobernadores y hombres acomodados que unos por su suerte, y otros por la facilidad don que, causa de los estragos del temperamento, ganan el dinero los que sobreviven, subsistian en aquel infierno temporal, que me puso en agonias [en] dos ocasiones; y como estos desastres no solo entorpecen, sino que bienen á ser perjudiciales al estado, y la Real Hacienda considerando que sería mui conveniente á ambos recomendables objetos, y tambien á la humanidad que la presente Nao de Manila, no subsista en aquel clima fatal, y sí se trasladase a qualquiera de los indicados tres Puertos, en el evento que se supone de ser muy dificil que se traslade su Cargamento á

esa Capital por lo imposible de los caminos por la falta de Mulas, y por otros obstaculos del dia, lo represente esta yntendencia, bien persuadido de ser cierto y notorio quanto expongo y que consiguientemente si se resuelve que otro Buque pase a alguno de los indicados tres puertos entre las ventajas que de este paso resultaran, concibo de tan preferente consideracion la de evitar enfermedades y muertes en la tripulacion de la Nao que por ella sola deberia verificarse.

En tal concepto, como si esto sucediese se necesitaria enviar al Puerto a que viniese la Nao algun Ministro con competente resguardo para que en Jalones (que se harian breve, facil y prontamente) se custodiase la carga suponiendo su interior traslacion bajo las formalidades de Guias, Facturas y demas conducentes á evitar, no solo extravios, sino tambien contrabandos y abusos nocivos, ú opuestos del mejor servicio, descargar y expedicion del Buque, concibo oportuno y del caso exponer, que todo esto puede verificarse facilmente, y con el mismo numero de Guardas provisionales que se nombra en Acapulco a las ordenes del Ministro de Real Hacienda que se destinase, en el concepto de que á falta de qualquiera de los que lo entiendan, que acaso se escuse si V.E. quisiere ir Yo (que, como V.E. sabe mui bien jamas me escuso á nada, aun en los casos de mayores riesgos) y de este modo sin mas gastos que los que se hacen en aquel nocio Puerto y quiza con menos se deberá despachar y concluir todo con tan claras y justificadas operaciones que dejen satisfecha la inviolable rectitud de V.E., la sabiduria del Señor Fiscal de Real Hacienda, y del Real Tribunal y Audiencia de Cuentas que tienen pleno conocimiento de las labores y operaciones de todos los oficiales Reales.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Oaxaca 21 de Julio de 1815.

Excmo. Señor

Joseph Maria Girál de Cráme

[Al] Excmo. Señor Virey D. Felix Maria Calleja.

Translation.

Treasurer Girál de Crame respectfully submit the advantages that would result, under the present circumstances, of having the Philippine galleon come to one of the three ports of the province of Oaxaca, instead of remaining at Acapulco.

Your Excellency.

Nothing better than experience can decide the relative effects of the local conditions of various neighborhoods. I can very well assure you that Acapulco is the least salubrious and perhaps least appropriate port for the Philippine galleon under the present circumstances of the insurrection, when compared with any of the three ports of this province, to wit, Puerto Escondido, Puerto Angel, and the best of all, Huatulco, not only for their healthier climate, on account of not being deep basins nor surrounded by hills, but also because they are susceptible to the provision of all sorts of food supplies, always, and with more variety and abundance, nearness, and at fair prices. Frankly, I am convinced from experience; indeed, it is not the first time that I come here and have

served the Treasury at Acapulco during about 14 years where I saw early deaths that happened for the most part during the rainy season, during which too many Europeans, Asians and Americans die, not a few of them when they had almost recovered. This is what was happening during my time also, with my servants, my children, and with many governors and men residing there, and it was only through luck, and others through money earned by the survivors (the reason for going there) that they survived and subsist in that infernal climate.¹ As for myself, it very nearly finished me twice. As such disasters are not only troublesome to the visitors there, but also to the state and the Royal treasury, considering that it would be very appropriate to both their worthy objectives, and also to humanity, if the present Manila galleon did not remain in that dreadful climate, and if she would move to any of the three above-mentioned ports, since it is supposed very difficult to transport her cargo to that Capital, on account of the intransitable roads, on account of the lack of mules, and because of other obstacles nowadays. This Intendance recommends it, quite convinced that the facts mentioned above are true and well known. Consequently, if it be decided that another ship were to continue to any of the three ports in question, I think that many advantages would result from it, not the least of which would be to avoid illnesses and deaths among the crew of the galleon, an advantage which is sufficient to recommend such a decision.

Therefore, if this were to happen, it would be necessary to send to the port where the galleon would be some Minister with an appropriate escort so that in easy, and short, stages the cargo could be placed in safety, by transporting it inland with, of course, the formalities of waybills, invoices and other documents, in order to prevent, not only losses, but also contraband and abuses that are harmful and opposed to order. Speaking of the unloading and forwarding of the cargo, I think it is timely and appropriate to mention that they can be done easily, and with the same number of provisional guards, as is done at Acapulco, at the orders of the Minister of the Royal Treasury who would be sent there. With the understanding that Y.E. may not have at your disposal anyone knowledgeable about this business, I offer myself as a volunteer (as Y.E. knows, I never shrink from responsibility in anything, even in cases of greater danger) and in this way, with no greater expenses than in that harmful port and perhaps with fewer, everything would be despatched and concluded with clear and justified operations that would satisfy the inviolable righteousness of Y.E., the wisdom of the Fiscal of the Royal Treasury, and of the Royal Tribunal of Accounts who have full knowledge of the labors and operations of all of the Royal officials.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Oaxaca, 21 July 1815.

Your Excellency.

José María Girál de Crame

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Felix María Calleja.

1 Ed. note: The very word Acapulco, in the Indian language, meant Gates of Hell.

Document 1816A

The ship *Ophelia*, Captain Samuel Hill

Sources: Logbook in NYPL; published in the New England Quarterly, June 1937.

Note: Captain Hill had previously commanded the Lydia (1804-1807), and the Otter (1809-1812).

Summary of the voyage of the *Ophelia*.

The *Ophelia* departed Boston on 2 July 1815, bound for Chile and China. She was a privateer. The ship went by the Cape Verde Islands, Rio de la Plata, Cape Horn, Juan Fernandez I., Valparaiso, where the first mate was discharged. Then the ship headed for the Sandwich Islands, by way of the Galapagos, down to the **Gilberts** and on to the Solomon Islands, New Britain, New Ireland, then St. David's [**Mapia**] Is., to the Moluccas, etc. to Macao and Canton. The return voyage was through the Sunda Straits to the Indian Ocean and back to the USA via the Cape of Good Hope.

Journal and Logbook of *Ophelia*, and Packet, Capt. Samuel Hill, 1815-1822

Extract from the first part about the Gilberts

...
18 May 1816. Lat. 0°14'54" South. Long. 185°40'18" [W of Greenwich].

...
[**Abemama**]

At 9:30, discovered land bearing W by S to S.W. by W. This was Hoppers Island near the South East extremity of the New Caroline Islands.

[Lat.] 0°35' N, [Long.] 173°52' E.

[but] 0°02' S and 174°22' E [by obs. of the Planet Venus].

...
On the 18th, steering SSW by compass at 9:30 a.m. being in Lat. 00°28' North & Long. from Lunar distances taken a few minutes before, I made the land 185°26'30" West or 174°33'30" East from Greenwich. Land was discovered from the masthead bearing from SW by W to WSW. Took in the steering sails and hauled up SW.

At 10:50 being about four miles from the shores which were low and sandy, and bounded on the outside by a coral reef, we hove to & sounded but found no bottom.

Ranged along the South Eastern shore of the island and at noon when the Sun was on the meridian, the South Point bore North dist. 6 miles. The Lat. from good meridional altitudes was $00^{\circ}14'56''$ North and the longitude from lunar distances taken this morning & reduced to noon was $185^{\circ}40'18''$ West or $174^{\circ}19'40''$ East of Greenwich. From this Station the South point of the island bore North 13° East distant four miles, the South Eastern point North 10° E and the western land then in sight North 55° West. Tacked & stood in N by W for the South point until within 1-1/2 miles of its shores, then wore & steered NW by W ranging along the shore at a distance of one to two miles. Saw a village of 20 houses just to the westward of the South point where the land falls back & forms a deep bay which appeared likely to afford anchorage.

At two P.M. having run about 9 miles NW by W by compass we rounded the western point of the island in that direction, & hauled up round the sandy spit or bank which extends from the dry land about 1/4 to 1/2 a mile. The naked natives of all sizes [were] running along the beach to look at the ship. This western part appeared like a separate island from the first. Its extent [is] about three miles in a North East & South West direction but in a closer examination it was found connected to the first by a reef over which there was not more than 3 or 4 feet water as the natives I believe walked across. From the western point of this little islet, the North West Point of another small island bore North 20° West, dist. 2-1/2 leagues, between it & the one which we were now abreast of there appeared a navigable channel of about two miles wide. From the North West Point above-mentioned I hauled up North & run about three miles. Sounded 40 fathoms coral & sand. 3/4th of a mile from the beach while we lay to to sound, a tall man stood on the shore up to his knees in the water waving a large branch of a plantain or banana tree & calling loudly to us in their language which however I could not understand.—

All this land was covered with trees & bushes to the margin of the white sandy beach which surrounds the islands & which is protected from the surf by a wall of coral. I do not think the elevation of the land[,] I mean the highest part[,] was more than 20 feet above the level of the sea.

[Kurua Islands]

At 3 p.m., we made sail from the West Point above-mentioned, and steered SW by S and SSW by compass for another small island or islands, as we approached there the wind headed us off so that I could not weather them as I wished to do. I accordingly steered for the channel between the two which appeared perfectly clear & about 1-1/2 miles wide.¹

At 5 p.m., we were within one mile of the Point on the South Eastern Island which forms the narrowest part of the Channel between it & the more western island, when the man at the masthead sung out "Rocks ahead." Tacked ship immediately & could

1 Ed. note: The two islands in question were part of one atoll, Kurua (see below).

see the coral reefs under the bottom while we were in stays.¹ [I] judge there was about 7 fathoms water but before we had trimmed all on the other tack, she was off the reef. Hauled off on the wind, at North, & run two miles then wore, & bore up at sunset for the channel between the North East Point of the more western island, and the South West Point of that which we left at 3 p.m. This channel is about 8 miles wide and perfectly safe.

At sunset, [the] two last-mentioned islands, which I shall call one island, as it is evidently connected by a reef of coral, bore as follows: East Point South 80° East; Point which forms the channel which I attempted being the western point of that section, South 10° E and the South Point of the other section next the channel, South 40° West; the North Point of island South 85° West. Steered NW by W until 7 p.m. then West until 8 then WSW until 9, then SW until 10, after which set the course at SSW 1/2 West and saw no more of Hoppers islands. It appears [that] the chain of islands of which Hopper Island is the southernmost, except Byrons Island [Nukunau] was discovered by Capt. Marshall in the **Scarborough** in 1788 and laid down by him centrally under the Equator, extending from Lat. 0°15' South to 0°15' North and Long. 173°40' East from Greenwich, and described as one island...

Whereas in fact there are three separate small islands extending from Lat. 0°24' North to 0°4' South and from Long. 174°05' East to 174°30' East of Greenwich. The latitudes were deduced from good meridional altitudes of the Sun, and the longitudes from lunar distances, Sun & Moon, when in sight of the island and the day after leaving it and I should suppose certainly not liable to more than 15 miles error at most in longitude. The variation of our compass from good azimuths when near these islands was 10°41' East.

These little islands are elevated about fifteen feet above the surface of the ocean and are highest towards their outer margins just within the white sandy beach where vegetation begins. They are covered with trees & shrubs of a most luxuriant growth, among which I could plainly distinguish the coconut as the tallest, & another with a bushy spreading top which I think is the breadfruit. The plantain and several others not known to us, entirely covered their surfaces & appeared to form a most agreeable shade. A very white sandy beach was observed on all sides of them immediately outside of the line of vegetation extending to the sea near the waters edge there appeared to be a wall or reef of coral rock which seemed to protect it from the oceanic surf which however was not high as the sea seemed very smooth. On the South West sides the sandy beaches extended in some places half a mile nearly on a level with the surface of the ocean which just washed over it about one foot deep except near the margin of the sea where it was entirely above water except in a high surf and a reef of coral guarded the outer edge of this back all round next the sea. They are inhabited & quite populous. The men, women & children came out from their shady arbours and ran along the sandy beach in considerable numbers following the ship, & when we rounded to sound, they made signs

1 Note in margin: Tacked ship over a reef of coral rocks. Depth of water 5 to 7 fathoms.

& gestures which could not be misunderstood for us to come on shore. A man stood directly opposite to us about knee deep in the water & waved a branch of plantain tree, until we were quite out of sight of him as I saw him still with my glass when no longer visible with the naked eye. They were of a dark copper color somewhat darker than the Sandwich Islanders. Their hair appears short & bushy, but whether woolly or not I could not ascertain, being half a mile from the nearest of them. They were quite naked & had not even a covering over the sexual parts, at least the males, but I think the females had a kind of mat made of grass round their waists.

I saw several canoes hauled up on the beach with outriggers similar to those of the Sandwich Islands, and one under sail but she would not come alongside. Their houses were roofed in, covered on the roof & sides but the ends were open. I saw no animals among them.

At 10 p.m. of the 19th, we cleared away the Hoppers Islands, and with a fine South Easterly breeze crowded all sail to the South Westward for the land of the Arsacides, intending to pass near Egmont islands.¹

...

June 21, 1816. 0°45'20" South. 225°57' West.

... Thermometer 81°00 [Fahrenheit scale]

... At 5 a.m., made St. Davids [Mapia] Islands.

At 5 a.m. of the 21st [June 1816] being about an hour before daylight saw land on the lee bow bearing NW close aboard. At this time we were steering WNW the wind at South West. As we could not weather it we tacked & stood off SSE until daylight when we tacked again to the Northwestward. Soon after daylight discovered it to be a cluster of small islands apparently lying near each other, being small, low, and covered with trees, the nearest being the southernmost, was very remarkable by having three trees or clumps of trees rising much higher than the rest.

At 8 a.m., the group bore North 10 degrees East, to North 35° East, the farther which we saw, distant 10 or 12 miles, but as the weather was cloudy & squally, I suspect there was one if not more islands lying farther north which we did not see distinctly. The nearest, and southernmost, bore N 21° to N 24° East, dist. six miles.

At 8 it was nearly calm and several canoes full of men were seen coming toward us. We hove to and they came alongside without much caution or suspicion, and many of them came on board. They brought nothing for sale except a few coconuts. The first canoe which arrived alongside was manned with four young men apparently of 17 years of age, and I think one of them was the best featured, as well as shaped in other respects of any Indian I have seen in the Islands of the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, and he possessed so great a share of intelligence that we soon became tolerably well acquainted. The Chief also came on board, he was a man about thirty years old, of a very good countenance and elegant deportment and all his behaviour was marked with propriety.

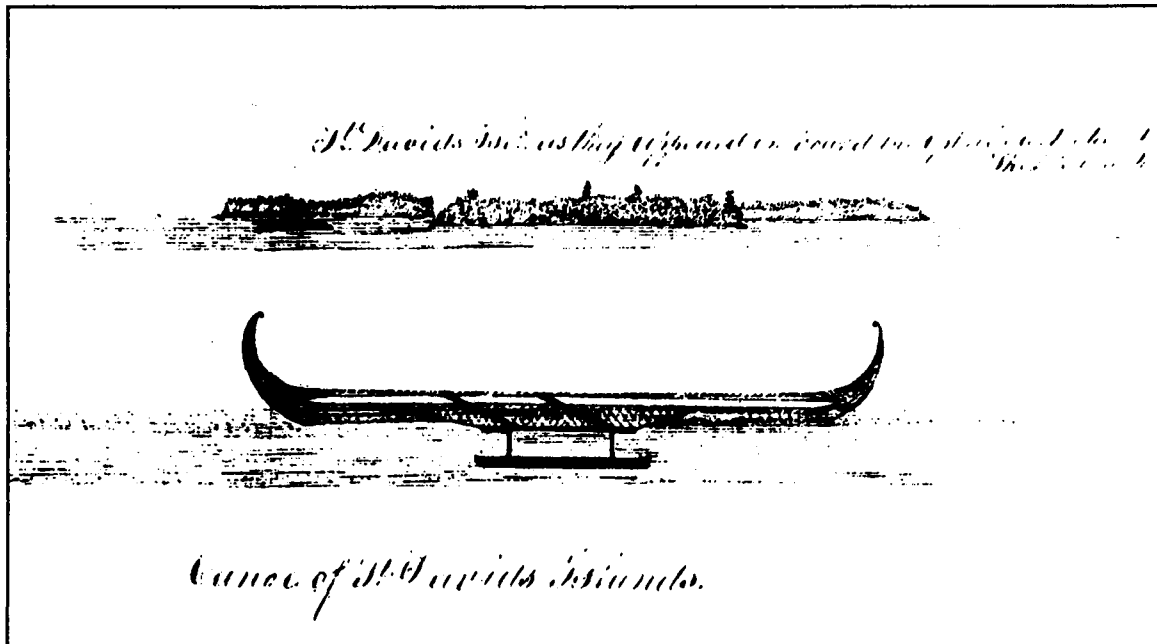
1 Ed. note: According to Brigham's Index, a name given in 1769 by Surville to Malaita, Solomon Islands. The Egmont Is. are the Santa Cruz Islands.

These people are of a light copper colour exceedingly well limbed with small close joints, small hands and not large feet, about the middle size but none very tall or stout, very active, & swim as if the water was their natural element, wear no clothing or covering except a small piece which just covers the sexual parts, long hair with straight black coarse hair, others with brown hair and bushy being somewhat crisped or curled in my opinion by the intense heat of the Sun. Most of them wore their hair tied or clubbed on the top of their heads. They had fine white teeth, used no quid or chewed or smoked, seemed very cleanly in their persons, plucked up the beard & hair from all parts except the head. Some few of them were slightly tattooed after the manner of the Owhyheans [Hawaiians]. Their mode of salutation is by touching noses, as the Owhyheans, & their canoes also resemble theirs in a degree. Their nets & fishing implements is the same as the Owhyheans, and under the whole extent of the outrigger and its frame to their canoes, they suspended a net of strong line neatly meshed; this seemed intended to prevent their small articles, which they lay on the platform of the outrigger, from being lost overboard. The carved head pin which seemed purely ornamental on their canoes is so fitted as to turn inward on striking against anything being perforated in the joint and secured with the flexible & tough roots of some tree or shrub. Similar to those which the Canadian & Penobscot Indians make use of for the same purposes, most of them had their ears perforated, and some wore necklaces and broad plates of shells of the pearl oyster or of that kind commonly called mother of pearl. They also wore rings on their fingers and large bracelets on their arms made of tortoise shell. They were open free & unsuspecting, seemed lively & cheerful and even humorous, brought no weapons of war of any kind, in any of their canoes that I saw, but like most men in a state of nature, they were addicted to stealing, several of them having been detected in attempting to carry away small articles and when so detected seemed no way disconcerted, only disappointed at not having succeeded.

One of them succeeded in getting an iron hook & thimble from some of the rigging and when a sailor requested him to deliver it, he immediately jumped overboard and swam to his canoe with it where he remained with as much unconcern as if he had done nothing wrong, and it was not likely that one lesson or two would induce him to give up his ideas of right & wrong & adopt ours. I thought it much better to let him enjoy in quiet the Prize which he so highly valued than merely for the sake of showing our superiour power to take it from him and in case of obstinacy to punish him.

Causes much more trivial than the above have been the means of destroying many lives by hasty & inconsiderate persons, which perhaps laid a foundation of lasting hatred & animosity against us among these rude children of nature.—

I saw none of their females, but I think they must be handsome.



Profile of the Mapia Islands. A native canoe.

Their **canoes** were made of a very hard kind of wood which had the appearance of mahogany. They were about twenty five feet long, 1.2 to 1.6 broad and 20 inches deep. Such are the inhabitants of the St. Davids Islands whose language was totally unintelligible to us, and whom I think the most civil, cheerful people and the most regular formed I have seen of the Great South Sea nation.—

At 9:30 a light air of wind springing up, we made all sail, and took leave of these good people who waited & lay by in their canoes until we were 2 leagues from them. Steered SW by W.

Towards noon, a heavy squall from the South East which obliged us to take in our reefs, soon after it became nearly calm. Our latitude from Dead Reckoning at noon was $0^{\circ}45'20''$ North and Long. $134^{\circ}03'$ East. During the last 24 hours we had been influenced by a current setting North 40° West 30 miles. The latitude of St. Davids Islands' southernmost island is $0^{\circ}53'$ North and the longitude $134^{\circ}23'$ East. These positions I took considerable pains to calculate with accuracy, and I am persuaded it will be found very near the truth.—They bear from the Cape of Good Hope on the North extreme of New Guinea North 51° E 107 miles, and from Point Pigot, the Eastern extreme of Isle Waigee [Waigiu] 00° N by E 161 miles.

...

Editor's notes.

The ship arrived back in Boston on 1 March 1817. The next voyage of Captain Hill was with the **Packet**, owned by Israel Thorndike of Boston. The Packet was a ship of 339 tons, built at Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1803. The owner's instructions was for

Captain Hill not to stop at any of the ports or islands along the way, between South America and China. Consequently, there is no report of any visit at any island of Micronesia, during this 1817-18 voyage.

Hill gives a shipping list for Valparaiso for January 1817 to September 1818. Among others are some prizes that the Chilean insurgent ships named **Aguila**, **Chileno** and **Lantarro** had captured from peninsular Spaniards. The Chilean privateer brig **Chileno**, Captain James, had formerly been the brig **Adeline** of Philadelphia. This Yankee captain even seized other Yankee ships that had flown Spanish colors. Other Yankees also turned privateers, e.g. brig **Fortuna**, Capt. Hurrell; brig **Santiago**, Capt. Brown.

His own ship is described thus: "Oct. 18 [1817]: Am. Ship **Packet**, Hill, from Boston, with dry goods, jewelry, furniture, crockery, hats, iron, steel, brandy, etc. etc."

The **Packet** departed Valparaiso on 14 September 1818, and stopped at Coquimbo for 5 days, where Capt. Hill copied another list of ships that visited that port as of April 1818. One visitor was the French whaler **Archimèdes**, Captain Bunker, that departed Coquimbo in July "to catch whales."

The **Packet** sailed from Coquimbo for Canton, arriving there the following December. Then she left China in May 1819 to return to Valparaiso, then home.

For the next voyage of the **Packet**, including a sighting of the Northern Marianas, see Note 1820A.

Document 1816B

The Millwood, Captain Bailey, brought more settlers to Agrigan Island

Source: Captain Charles H. Barnard. A Narrative of the Sufferings and Adventures of Captain Charles H. Barnard, in a Voyage Round the World, 1812-1816 (New York, 1829).

The narrative of Captain Barnard

Chapter XIX. The Passage.

We remained in Toei Bay ten or twelve days, when, having taken on board all the sandal wood that could be obtained, we sailed for Woahoo, with Amiral Young on board, who was to weigh and deliver the sandal wood that we should receive there. We arrived the next day, found the **Enterprise** yet at anchor, and took on board the wood the king had ordered for us; but it was much inferior to the quantity we wished or expected. We sailed in company with the **Enterprise** for Atooi Roads, in hopes of procuring some, but got only a small quantity.

...

[Seal-skins belonging to another ship were taken on board there.]

...

On the 16th [February 1816], at 8 p.m. we sailed for Canton. In addition to the crew, we had on board several men, and among them the American and Englishman, who were not able to make the expected present to Tamaammaah, when we carried the tribute from Woahoo, to Owyhee, and who then predicted that they would be compelled to leave the country. On their return to Woahoo, they were ordered to repair on board one of the ships and depart. They refused, upon which their gardens were threatened to be destroyed, and their buildings burnt. Finding that they must obey the mandate, they solicited Captain Bailey to give them and their followers, consisting of six natives of the Sandwich Islands, viz. four men and two women, a passage to Agregan, they providing their own stores. Captain Bailey consented, as he should take that island on his route, it being one of the Marine [sic] Ladrones, and being on the track of all vessels bound from the Sandwich Islands to Canton.

Butler, and Davis also wished to be landed there, as some years previous, Tamaammaah, being dissatisfied with the conduct of a number of the white residents in his domi-

nions compelled them to depart. They prevailed upon some American N.W. traders to land them, their wives, and domestics, who were natives, on that island; where they formed a settlement, engaged in cutting small sandal wood, which grows on the mountains; in raising tara [i.e. taro] and sweet potatoes, and gathering yams and cocoa-nuts. These different productions they exchanged with the vessels that occasionally touched there, for clothes and other articles necessary to their comfort. The weather was now very pleasant, the wind varying from N.E. to S.E. When at S.E. blowing fresh, with light squalls of rain.

On February the 24th the wind continued at N.E. and blew fresh, with settled weather. Longitude, per lunar, $178^{\circ}58'$, latitude observed, $18^{\circ}8'$, variation, per amplitude, $10^{\circ}34'$ east. We passed the anti-meridian of London in $18^{\circ}57'$ north: fresh wind from N. to N.E. with a high and confused sea, apparently caused by a current from N.E. On the 29th it was squally, with rain; the wind veering to the N.W. latter part calm. Many boobies and man-of-war birds were seen round the ship; the current setting S.W. about fifteen miles in twenty-four hours.

Longitude, per lunar, $168^{\circ}55'$ east.

Latitude, by observation, $18^{\circ}45'$ north.

March the 1st, winds light and variable; latter part, strong winds from N.N.W. and a long, heavy swell from the northward. Took in light sails and reefed topsails.

March the 2d, the wind hauled to the N.E. with fine weather.

Longitude, per lunar, $167^{\circ}5'$. Latitude 20° .

On the 4th it was squally through the night, when we took in and set the light sails occasionally.

Longitude $158^{\circ}36'$ per amplitude, $9^{\circ}15'$ east. Latitude, by observation, $21^{\circ}10'$ north; variation, per amplitude, $9^{\circ}15'$ east.

The 7th being squally, and as we were nearly up with the Garden Islands, according to the Spanish authorities, we perceived a number of small birds, which indicated land at no great distance; some appearance of it in the west board.

Longitude $155^{\circ}40'$. Latitude, by observation, $21^{\circ}40'$ north.¹

The 12d commenced with light breezes and clear weather. At 6 p.m. we made the island of Agregan, bearing W. by S. distant, by estimation, ten leagues; stood on till midnight, and then off and on till daylight. At 5 am. bore up W. for the south part of the island; at nine rounded the south point; down pinnace, out yawl, and loaded them with

¹ Ed. note: The so-called Garden Islands were the misplaced Jardines, or Namonuito of the Carolines. The only island in the area was actually Marcus, or Minami Tori, Island located at $24^{\circ}14'$ N & 154° E.

articles belonging to Butler and Davis, the six natives of the Sandwich Islands, (their labourers,) and their wives. I went on shore for a few hours; found the high land rocky and unproductive, but the valley capable of cultivation.

The 13th commenced with fresh breezes and passing clouds; we were still lying off and on, under the lee of Agregan, and employed in getting Butler and Williams's effects on shore. **This island had recently been inhabited by some whites and a number of the natives of the Sandwich Islands**, whom Tamaammaah had compelled to leave by the American north-west traders, who used, after the settlement was formed, to stop and get supplies of vegetables; but we now found the island deserted and uncultivated, yielding nothing but cocoa-nuts. As the Spaniards claim all these Marine Lardons, we concluded that the former residents had been forcibly taken off by some vessel from Manilla;¹ there were four huts in tolerable order and in good repair. From this place I took a new departure, being in latitude 18°45', longitude 146°17' east.²

The wind and weather continued favourable until the 25th, which commenced with fine breezes and passing clouds, and hazy.

...

1 Ed. note: Their assumption was correct.

2 Ed. note: Agrigan's SW side lies indeed at 18°45' but 145°40' E.

Notes 1816C

The ship **Beverly**, Captain Edes, via Agrigan also

C1. Article in the Boston Gazette

Sources: Boston Gazette of 28 November 1816; quoted in Gerard Ward's American Activities, under Marianas I.

Worthy of remark.

The ship **Beverly**, belonging to the Hon. I. Thorndike, which arrived here the 7th inst. from Canton, left this port on the 22nd of July, 1815, stopped 3-1/2 months in Valparaiso; visited all the Sandwich Islands and the Marun [sic] islands, in the Pacific Ocean.

C2. Article in the Columbian Centinel

Sources: Columbian Centinel, Boston, 9 November 1816; quoted by Ward, under Agrihan I.
Note: Similar report in Boston Patriot and Morning Advertiser of 13 November, and also in Salem Gazette of 12 November.

Continental shipping list.

Capt. Edes, ship **Beverly**, Boston, stopped at Agrigon, (one of the Landrones) April 11th and found Mr. E. R. Butler and J. Williams, there, left there with 7 Sandwich Islanders, by Capt. Bayley, of the **Milwood**, having missed the Garden or Jardine Islands, to which they were bound in search of sandal wood. The Spaniards had taken off several adventurers from this island before Messrs. B. and W. arrived; and it was expected they would share the same fate, as the Spaniards would not permit settlers on these islands.

Document 1816D

Subsidy for the Mariana Mission, for 1816

Source: AGN Fil. 47, fol. 211-221.

Note: Besides the petition reproduced below, the file contains the usual certifications, etc.

Petition of Fray Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña

Original text in Spanish.

1816.—Secretaria del Vireynato.—Filipinas n° 265.

Sobre sinodos y limosnas à los Misioneros Agustinos Recoletos de Yslas Marianas.

Exmo. Sor.

Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña, Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas de esta Ciudad, y Procurador general de este Reyno de mi Provincia de Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos de Filipinas, encargados de las Misiones de Yslas Marianas, como mejor proceda, Digo: que siguiendo la practica constante de acreditar con certificaciones, segun hay proporcion de que vengan y se reciban aqui, atenta la distancia de dichas Yslas, la existencia de Misioneros en ellas, su numero y el de los sagrarios y lamparas que alli se han mantenido, à fin de que se paguen los sinodos y limosnas que S.M. tiene señaladas à aquellas remotas y desprovidas Misiones; presente tres Certificaciones por las quales consta que en los años de ochocientos diez, ochocientos once, y doce existieron y continuaron desempeñando dichas Misiones los R.R. P.P. Cristoval Ybañez de San Onofre Vicario Provincial, y Fr. José Maria de la Virgen del Carmen Ministro conservandose dos sagrarios cada uno con su lampara; cuyos documentos traen las respectivas comprobaciones del Sor. Gobernador, Capitanes y Secretario de la Governacion de Marianas en la forma acostumbrada para no poderse dudar de su autenticidad. En atencion à lo qual y protestando presentar las de los años siguientes, suplico à V.E. se sirva mandar que liquidandose en estas Reales Caxas lo que se deba de sinodos y limosnas, con presencia de dichos Documentos se me entregue la cantidad que fuere de todo lo corrido, para que no se pierda la primera ocasion que se presente de remitir ese socorro à los indicadas Misiones.

A V.E. suplico asi se sirva hacer &°

Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña

Translation.

1816.—Secretariat of the Vice-Kingdom.—Philippines n° 265.

Regarding church subsidies and alms to the Augustinian Recollect missionaries of the Mariana Islands.

Your Excellency.

I, Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña, President of the Hospice of San Nicolas of this City, and Procurator General in this Kingdom of my Province of Augustinian Recollect Father of the Philippines, responsible for the Missions of the Mariana Islands, in the best form possible, do declare: That, according with the usual practice of accrediting with certifications (whenever they do come and reach here, considering the distance to said Islands) the existence of the missionaries there, their number and the number of sanctuaries and lamps that have been maintained there, for the purpose of getting the church subsidies and alms that H.M. has earmarked for those remote and resourceless Missions, I present three Certifications by which it appears that, in the years 1810, 1811, and 1812, there continuously lived and worked in said Missions, the Rev. Fathers Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, Vicar-Provincial, and José María de la Virgen del Carmen, Minister, maintaining two sanctuaries, each with its own lamp. Said documents bear the respective proofs provided by the Governor, Captains and Secretary of Administration for the Marianas, in the usual form to prevent any doubt as to their authenticity. Based on the above, and promising to present those of the following years, I beg Y.E. to please order this Royal Treasury to liquidate the payable church subsidies and alms, and deliver to me, upon presentation of said documents, the sum of all those now due, so as not to lose the first occasion to remit that succor to the above-said Missions.

I beg Y.E. to be so pleased, etc.

Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña¹

¹ Ed. note: The certifications, for 1811 and 1812, are similar to those appearing in Doc. 1810B. There were still only two priests serving in the Marianas. The same military men signed them. Given the shortage of funds in Mexico, the Viceroy decided to pay this subsidy up to the end of 1813 only.

 Document 1816E

Captain Vila visited the Northern Marianas in 1816 and 1817

Source: MN 96, fol. 77-78v.

Note: In November 1816, Vila was pilot aboard the San Fernando, alias Príncipe de Asturias, but in September 1817, he returned in command of the Rita.

Captain Vila's notes on the geographic positions of some islands

Original text in Spanish.

Noticias geográficas del Oceano Pacifico setentrional que presenta al Depósito general de Hidrografia D. Claudio Vila, Piloto 1º de la Carrera de Yndias. Año de 1819.

Islas Marianas.

*El dia 25 de Noviembre de 1816 en la tarde me hallaba en el navio **San Fernando (a) Príncipe de Asturias**, propio de la R. C. de Filipinas á la vista de la isla Seypan, y por cuatro series de Sol-Luna que tomé y otras cuatro del dia anterior (cuyos extremos llevada la cuenta con los relojes estaban dentro de 3' de ecuador) tenia á las 4-3/4 por un promedio*

la longitud E. de Cadiz 152º16'50".

A dicho tiempo se marcó la isla Seypan proyectada con Tinian al S48ºO, y por base medida estaba al O del buque - 00º24'30"

Longitud que resulta tener la isla Seypan por Sol-Luna 151º52'20"

En la carta y padron de Espinosa es 151º57'

Por el nº 257 del propio artista 153º9'

[Promedio de estos dos:] 152º33'00"

y la isla al O 24º30'

Longitud asignada á la isla Seypan por los cronometros 152º08'30"

Diferencia con la de la carta 3º50'

Entre la situacion por Sol-Luna, y la de los cron. es la diferencia 16'10"

...
Conclui el dia 9 de Diciembre à los 80 dias de viage bordeando en la boca grande de la bahia de Manila tener el buque la longitud

<i>de por el n° 114</i>	<i>126°09'</i>
<i>de por el n° 257</i>	<i>127°38'</i>
<i>[Promedio]</i>	<i>126°53'30"</i>
<i>Longitud por marcaciones E de Cadiz</i>	<i>126°50'30"</i>

Diferencia de la propia especie que en Seypan 3'00"

...
La latitud de la isla Seypan por la altura meridiana de la Luna al cerrar la base corrida se halló proximamente igual à la de la carta española, y la variacion del compas se observó de 4°30' N.E.

Islas Pagon y Asuncion.

Con la fragata Rita del Comercio de Manila, navegando para San Blas di vista el 23 de Setiembre de 1817 à la isla Pagon, una de las Marianas, aunque à larga distancia. La longitud del buque que señalaba el cronometro de Barraud n° 114 la corregí en la cantidad de 12' de ecuador por el resumen resultante de ocho series sextuplas de Sol-Luna que tomé en el proximo cuadrante lunar y medida una base de 18 millas con N.S. se concluyó

<i>Latitud de la isla Pagon N.</i>	<i>18°44'00"</i>
<i>Longitud E de Cadiz</i>	<i>152°02'00"</i>

Igualmente al otro dia se practicó una base de 46 millas deduciendo el rumbo por las diferencias del meridiano que dió el cronometro y las contraidas por las latitudes observadas formando un triangulo ventajoso por el cual quedó situada la isla Asuncion

<i>en lat. N.</i>	<i>19°43'00"</i>
<i>y Longitud E de Cadiz</i>	<i>151°48'00"</i>

Nota. La situacion de esta ultima isla resulta á mi entender bien determinada, y sale bastante conforme su longitud con la que le asignó la expedicion de la Perouse (151°52') mas bien que con la que tiene en la carta y padron de Espinosa, y de consiguiente las Urracas y el Farallon (punto mas setentrional de las islas Marianas) deben arumbarse con respecto à esta isla, como que de ella dependen sus posiciones que conocemos hasta el dia.

Variacion à la vista de ambas 3°30' N.E.

...

Translation.

Geographic notices of the North Pacific Ocean presented to the Hydrographical Office by Claudio Vila, Chief Pilot of the Run of the Indies. Year of 1819.

Mariana Islands.

On the afternoon of 25 November 1816, I found myself aboard the ship **San Fernando, alias Príncipe de Asturias**, belonging to the Royal Philippine Co., in sight of Saipan Island, and by four series of Sun-Moon [distances] that I observed, and four more the previous day (whose extremes were within 3' from the Equator, when compared with the chronometers), the

Longitude of Saipan was, E. of Cadiz	152°16'50"
At that time, Saipan bore, with Tinian behind it, to S48°W, and, measured by a base, was W. of the ship	- 00°24'30"

Resulting longitude of Saipan Island, by Sun-Moon	151°52'20"
On Espinosa's official chart	151°57'
On Chart n° 257 by the same man	153°9'
[Average of the above two:]	152°33'00"
and the Island to the W	24°30'

Longitude assigned to Saipan Island by the Chronometers	152°08'30"
Difference with that on the chart	3°50'

Difference between position given by Sun-Moon, and Chronometers	16'10"

...

I concluded my voyage on 9 December, after 80 days of navigation, while tacking back and forth in the larger entrance of the Bay of Manila, when the ship's longitude was

as per n° 114	126°09'
as per n° 257	127°38'
[Average] ...	126°53'30"
Longitude E. of Cadiz	126°50'30"

Difference calculated as for Saipan	3'00"

...

The latitude of Saipan, by noon altitude of the Moon, upon closing the base, was found to be approximately the same as on the Spanish chart, and magnetic variation was observed to be 4°30' NE.

Pagan and Asunción Islands.

Aboard the frigate **Rita** belonging to Manila traders, while I was bound to San Blas, on 23 September 1817, I sighted Pagan Island, one of the Marianas, though at a great distance. I then calculated the longitude of the ship, as per Barraud's Chronometer n° 114, which I corrected by the 12' from Equator that was the resultant summary of 8 sextuple series of Sun-Moon distances that I took at the next phase of the Moon, and measured from a base of 18 miles along a N-S heading, and concluded that the

Longitude of the N. point of Pagan was	18°44'00"
Longitude E. of Cadiz	152°02'00" ¹

Similarly the next day I ran a base of 46 miles, deducting the heading from the noon-time differences given by the Chronometer and those given by the observed latitudes, forming a useable triangle, by which the position of Asunción Island was given thus:

Lat. N.	19°43'00"
Long. E. of Cadiz	151°48'00" ²

Note: The position of the latter island has been well determined, I think, and it comes out not too different in longitude than that assigned to it by La Pérouse Expedition (151°52'). It is better than that shown on Espinosa's official chart, and therefore the position of Uracas [rather Maug] and that of the Farallon [i.e. Uracas] (northernmost point of the Mariana Islands) must be measured relative to this Island, because in the past they have been so measured.

Magnetic variation while in sight of both of the above Islands 3°30" NE.

...

[He went on to measure the position of the Volcano or Sulphur Islands, also known as San Dionisio Is. by the Spanish, and northward to the Bonin Islands which he saw on 30 September 1817 and made an excellent chart, reproduced on fol. 78v. He names the main southern island of the group, situated in 26°40' N. Malabrigo Island, and the main northern one with the name of the patroness of his ship, Santa Rita Island, situated in 27°05' N. Both islands were marked with a longitude of approx. 148°30' E. of Cadiz]

1 Ed. note: The exact position of the N. point of Pagan is 18°10' and 145°47'30" E. of Greenwich.
 2 Ed. note: The exact position of the center of Asunción is 19°40'05" and 145°24'30" E. of Greenwich.

Documents 1816F

The Magallanes, the last Manila galleon to visit Mexico

Note: Although this galleon was made ready for her return to Manila at the end of 1816, there was already a Royal decree against this trade (see Doc. 1813A3) and it was enforced by the new Viceroy Apodaca,

F1. Letter from the Commander of San Blas to the Viceroy

Source: AGN Marina 214, fol. 390-390v.

Original text in Spanish.

El Comandante general de San Blas.

*Avisa el arribo à S. Blas de la nao **Magallanes**, y haverlo estrechado à los Compromisarios la superior orden de no desembarcar, sino en Acapulco*

Exmo. Sor.

*El 16 del corriente fondeo en este Puerto procedente de Manila la Nao **Magallanes** que salió de aquella Capital en 12 de Agosto ultimo de la que és Comandante el Teniente de Navio de la Real Armada D. Manuel Solis, y su Maestre D. José Casal, conduciendo tres mil setenta tercios de efectos Asiaticos y de la Costa segun costumbre, cuyo desembarco no se verificará con arreglo à lo mandado por la Superioridad de V.E. en su orden de 13 de Noviembre de 1814 recibida por mano del Administrador de Correos la noche del 21 de Diciembre siguiente, la cual insertè à dicho Maestre y Compromisarios, estrechandoslos á su puntual cumplimiento.*

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

San Blas 21 de Diciembre de 1815.

Exmo. Señor

Marcelo Croquer

[A] Exmo. Sor. Virrey Governador y Captain General de N.E.

Translation.

The Commander of San Blas reports the arrival at San Blas of the galleon **Magallanes**, and his having pressed the supercargoes to obey the superior order not to disembark, except at Acapulco.

Your Excellency.

On the 16th instant there anchored at this port, proceeding from Manila, the galleon **Magallanes** that departed that Capital on 12 August last. Her Commander is Lieutenant Manuel Solis, R.N., and his Master, José Casal, carries 3,070 half-loads of goods from Asia, including from the Coast [of Coromandel], as usual.¹ The unloading of same will not take place, as it is forbidden by the superior order of Y.E. dated 13 November 1814, which was delivered here in the evening of the following 21 December by the Administrator of the mail service. I passed this order to said Master and supercargoes, urging them to obey it promptly.²

May God save Y.E. for many years.

San Blas, 21 December 1815.

Your Excellency

Marcelo Croquer

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain.

F2. Letter from the Manila agent to the Viceroy

Source: AGN Marina 214, fol. 388-388v.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*A las dos de esta tarde llegó un extraordinario que me dirigió el Apoderado del Real Consulado de Manila en Guadalaxara, avisandome con fha 3 del corriente que arribò eal Puerto de S. Blas el 16 de Diziembre anterior el Navio **Magallanes**, que salió de aquellas Yslas el 12 de Agosto con tres mil setenta y ocho Bultos de efectos, cuyo registro asciende à quinientos cincuenta y seis mil seis cientos treinta y seis pesos cinco reales y seis granos; y considerando que V.E. acaso no tendrá esta noticia, logro el honor de comunicarla à su Superioridad, interin por Escrito separado conforme à lo que me indican los compromisarios del **Magallanes**, que tambien me escriben, promuevo à favor de esta expedicion lo que se estima conveniente.*

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

-
- 1 Ed. note: On fol. 424-427, Lieut. Solis has included a summary of his logbook from Cavite to San Blas. This galleon had sailed from Manila and around the north side of Luzon. On 12 September, they sighted a low-lying island in lat. obs. 24°30'31" N. and an estimated longitude of 10°14' E. of Manila. This was Okino-Daito Island.
 - 2 Ed. note: However, this galleon was allowed to unload in San Blas and hold a fair either at Tepic or at Guadalajara.

Mexico 21 de Enero de 1816.

Exmo. Señor

Francisco Alonso Terán

[Al] *Exmo. Sr. Virrey Don Felix Maria Calleja.*

Translation.

Your Excellency.

At 2 p.m., I received an extraordinary mail from the Representative of the Royal Hall of Commerce of Manila in Guadalajara, dated 3rd instant, telling me that on 16 December last, the galleon **Magallanes** had arrived at the port of San Blas. She had left those Islands on 12 August with 3,078 bundles of goods, whose registered value amounts to 556,636 pesos 5 reals and 6 grains; and considering that Y.E. may not have received this news as yet, I have the honor to communicate it to your superior government. In the meantime, as I have also received letters from the supercargos of the **Magallanes**, I wish to advance the case of this voyage, and remain, in expectation of your esteemed decision.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 21 January 1816.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Felix María Calleja.

F3. Letter from the Navy Commander at San Blas, dated San Blas 22 February 1816

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 384-384v.

Original test in Spanish.

Nº 151

*El Comandante de Marina de San Blas incluye á S. Exa. copias de los Documentos relativos al permiso concedido por el Señor Comandante General de esta provincia para la salida á Guadalaxara de la carga de efectos Asiaticos que condujo la Nao **Magallanes**, y manifiesta á S. Exa. que toda ella podra estar en camino en el primer tercio del mes entrante.*

Exmo. Señor

*Los adjuntos Documentos son copias de los que me han sido embiados por el Exmo. Señor Comandante General de esta Provincia para permitir se traslade á Guadalaxara la Carga de efectos Asiaticos que ha conducido á este Puerto el Navio de S.M. nombrado el **Magallanes**, la que todavia no ha comenzado á salir de este Apostadero en razon de no haber finalizado su desembarco y por las dificultades que seme han insinuado en los precios de su conduccion á dicha Ciudad; pero puedo decir á V.E. que si*

no recibo ordenes de su Superioridad que le prohivan, podra ponerse en camino todo ella en el primer tercio del mes entrante. Todo lo que participo à V.E. como es de mi obligacion.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Comandancia de San Blas 22 de Febrero de 1816.

Exmo. Señor

José de Labayen

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Virey Governador y Capitan General de Nueva España*

Translation.

Nº 151. The Naval Commander of San Blas forwards to Y.E. copies of documents relative to the permission granted by the Commander General of this province for the departure for Guadalajara of the cargo of Asian goods that were carried by the galleon **Magallanes**, and he reports to Y.E. that all of it could be on its way during the first third of next month.

Your Excellency.

The enclosed documents are copies of those that I have received from His Excellency the Commander General of this Province, giving permission for the transfer to Guadalajara of the cargo of Asian goods that H.M.'s galleon named **Magallanes** carries. This cargo has not begun to leave this naval station, because the unloading has not been completed yet, and the difficulty I have with the transport costs to said City which I have been quoted; however, I can tell Y.E. that, if I receive no orders from your superior government to the contrary, the whole cargo could be on its way during the first third of next month. All of which I report to Y.E. to comply with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

San Blas Naval Station, 22 February 1816.

Your Excellency.

José de Labayen

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain.

F4. Letter from an Acapulco official, dated 14 June 1816

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 435-436.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*Quedo impuesto de quanto V.E. se há servido resolver en su superior decreto de veinte y nueve de Mayo ultimo, inserto en su orden de la misma fecha, sobre la pronta havilitacion y despacho de la Nao **Magallanes** para el Puerto de San Blas, á fin de que reunida con los demas Buques de aquel Apostadero, puedan defenderse y atacar á los corsarios de Buenos Ayres, conforme se sirvió providenciar el Exmo. Sor. Comandante*

general de Nueva Galicia; cuyas superiores resoluciones de V.E. tendran por parte de este Ministerio el mas puntual y exacto cumplimiento en la parte que corresponde.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Acapulco y Junio 14 de 1816.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

I remain informed of the contents of the superior decree of Y.E. dated 29 May last, enclosed in your order of same date, about making ready and despatching quickly the galleon **Magallanes** to the port of San Blas, for her to join the other ships of that naval station, the better to protect herself against the corsairs from Buenos Aires, and attack them, as per instructions sent to the Commander General of New Galicia. Said superior decision of Y.E. will be carried out promptly and fully by this Ministry, in matters concerning them.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 14 June 1816.

F5. Preparations for the despatch of the Magallanes

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 523-524v.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*Acabo de recibir el Superior oficio de V.E. de ayer en que se sirve prevenirme que á fines del proximo Enero debe dar la vela para Manila el Navio **Magallanes** trasladandose del puerto de Acapulco donde se halla al de San Blas en que ha de recoger los frutos de su expedicion, cuio aviso seme anticipa á efecto de que todo este listo y no se embarase la salida del Buque.*

En la 1ª oportunidad comunicaré á los interesados residentes en Guadalaxara esta Superior prevencion, para que traten de su puntual cumplimiento; pero debo hacer presente á V.E. que solo para que llegue mi aviso á aquella Ciudad ha de pasar un mes y que es enorme la distancia que tienen que vencer hasta trasladarse á San Blas despues de arregladas todas sus atenciones en Guadalaxara. Por otra parte pende mi instancia de 25 del que hoy acaba sobre registro de barras en defecto de moneda, y sobre permiso gracioso de un millon de pesos, cuya resolucion ha de ser previa á la salida del Navio, á menos que V.E. no se sirva determinar que vuelva sin los frutos de su cargamiento, lo que no temo en su feliz y acertado Gobierno.

Y baxo esta confianza propongo respetuosamente á su Superioridad se digne mandar, corran con la mayor posible preferencia los tramites indispensables de mi citada instancia, creyendo que aun de este modo será preciso superar muchas dificultades para que la Nao zarpe en el mes referido; pero tambien me persuado que la bondad de V.E. no olvidará en este ni en ningun caso la proteccion con que se digna distinguir al Comercio de Manila.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Mexico 30 de Noviembre de 1816.

Exmo. Señor.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[Al] *Exmo. Sor. Virey Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.*

Translation.

I have just received the superior letter of Y.E. of yesterday in which you were pleased to let me know that the galleon **Magallanes** must depart for Manila at the end of next January, by first going from the port of Acapulco, where she is presently, to that of San Blas, where she must pick up the profits of her expedition. Said advice was given to me in advance, so that everything be ready and the departure of the ship not impeded.

At the first opportunity I will communicate this superior order to the interested parties in Guadalajara, for them to comply with it promptly. However, I must report to Y.E. that one month will pass before my message reaches that City and that the distance that they have to cover in order to reach San Blas is enormous, once they finish to arrange all their business affairs in Guadalajara. On the other hand, as of today, my request dated 25th instant, is pending, the one regarding the register of [gold] bars instead of cash, and regarding the gratuitous permission for one million pesos; said resolution must come before the departure of the ship, unless Y.E. should decide that the ship should return without the profits from her shipment, something that I do not expect from your successful and skillful administration.

And, based on this my trust, I respectfully propose to Y.E. to be pleased to order that the indispensable transactions about said request of mine be given speedy and preferential treatment. Still, I believe that, in spite of such treatment, there will be many difficulties to overcome before the galleon can sail during the above-said month. However, I am also convinced that the kindness of Y.E. will not forget, in this as in other cases, the protection with which your have favored the trade with Manila.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 30 November 1816.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.



A derelict Spanish galleon. Was this the fate of the Magallanes on the west coast of the Philippines after 1818? (Photo taken from Marryat's *Borneo*, 1848. Courtesy of the Ayala Museum, Manila).

Documents 1816G

The return voyage of the *Victoria*

G1. First letter from her owner and captain, Colonel Felix Ruiz

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol 341-341v.

Original text in Spanish.

Pide licencia para pasar el Buque de su propiedad que refiere, à el Puerto que cita.

Exmo. Señor

*D. Felix Ruiz, Teniente Coronel de Milicia regladas de Granaderos de Luzon, Capitan, Maestre y propietario de la Fragata **Victoria**, procedente de Filipinas, y fondeada en Acapulco; con el debido respeto ante V.E. digo: Que su superioridad, segun hè savido, se sirviò disponer, que la Nao **Magallanes** surta en S. Blas, se buelva en lastre à Manila, y quede en este Reyno mi Fragata, para aprovechar la monzon venidera en Octubre y Noviembre, y llevar à aquellas Yslas el registro de caudales correspondientes à este Buque; como tambien, que los Comisionistas è Interesados en este cargamento, acordaron la detencion de la referida Fragata, para el citado retorno.*

En este supuesto ès de mi obligacion hacer presente à la superioridad de V.E. en beneficio del Comercio de Manila y de los Ynteresados de la expedicion, que mi Fragata no puede permanecer en Acapulco, por el peligro de sus aguas en el Ynvierno, por el clima insalubre que domina, y es capaz de exterminar toda la Tripulacion; y por que demandando una Carena y para la devida seguridad del valor que hà de retornar à su destino y comodidad de Pasajeros y Cargadores, no hay en dicho Puerto la aproportion necesaria para este trabajo; y como en Guayaquil [?] ès à proposito para el efecto, à donde se podrà facilitar esta indispensable recorrida: la bondad de V.E. se hà de servir concederme su Superior permiso, para pasar mi Fragata à dicho Puerto, librandose à el efecto las ordenes oportunas, baxo el concepto de que regresarà à Acapulco con la anticipacion conveniente para dar la vela à Manila.

A V.E. Suplico asi se digne mandarlo: Juro &a.

Mexico 2 de Abril de 1816.

Exmo. Señor

Felix Ruiz.

Translation.

He requests permission for the ship of his property to go to the port that he mentions.

Your Excellency.

I, Felix Ruiz, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regular militia of Grenadiers of Luzon, Master and owner of the frigate **Victoria**, proceeding from the Philippines, and anchored at Acapulco, with due respect appear before Y.E., and declare: that I have learned that Y.E. has been pleased to order that the galleon **Magallanes**, presently at anchor at San Blas, is to return to Manila with ballast, and that my frigate is to remain in this Kingdom, in order to take advantage of the next monsoon in October and November, and carry to those Islands the register of the funds corresponding to this ship; that I have also learned that the supercargos and parties interested in this shipment were in agreement to retain the above-said frigate, for said return voyage.

If this is true, it is my duty to let the superior government of Y.E. know, for the benefit of the Manila traders and those interested in the expedition in question, that my frigate cannot remain at Acapulco, on account of the danger of the rainy there in winter, of the prevailing unhealthy climate there, one that is able to eliminate the whole crew; and because there does not exist in that port the required facilities to careen a ship, when such is necessary to preserve its value and enable it to return home, and no facilities for the comfort of the passengers and freight owners. Now, since such facilities are available for the purpose in Guayaquil [rather Guaymas?] and it will be possible to have the necessary overhaul done there, the kindness of Y.E. should grant me your superior permission to go with my frigate to said port, by issuing your timely orders, under the condition that it will return to Acapulco in sufficient time to sail for Manila.

I beg Y.E. to please do so, etc. I swear, etc.

Mexico, 2 April 1816.

Your Excellency.

Felix Ruiz

G2. Another letter from the captain and master of this ship

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 442-442v.

Original text in Spanish.

*Teniendo redondeados todos mis asuntos y tomadas mis disposiciones para mi tornaviage à Manila en la Fragata de mi propiedad y mando la **Victoria** anclada en Acapulco, à mas tardar saldrè de esta Capital en fines del corriente para dar la vela en todo el venidero Octubre, ò los primeros dias de Noviembre; cuya noticia participo à V.S. suplicandole, la eleve como Apoderado general del Real Tribunal del Consulado y Comercio de Manila al Exmo. Sor. Virey, con el fin de que S.E. se digne mandar, se publique en los terminos acostumbrados para proporcionar la remision de la corre-*

spondencia, y se comuniquen las Superiores Ordenes oportunas que exige la seguridad y feliz retorno de la expedicion.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Mexico 6 de Septiembre de 1816.

Felix Ruiz

[Al] *Sor. Comisario Ordenador D. Francisco Alonso Teràn*

Translation.

As I have finished all of my business and taken my decisions for my return voyage to Manila aboard the frigate of my property and command, the **Victoria** at anchor at Acapulco, I will leave this Capital at the end of this month at the latest, to set sail any-time during next October, or in the first few days of November. I let Your Lordship know about this and beg you, as general Agent for the Royal Tribunal of the Hall of Commerce and the traders of Manila, to report same to His Excellency the Viceroy, so that His Excellency may issue orders for its publication in the usual manner, to facilitate the despatch of correspondence and have timely superior orders issued for the security and successful return of the expedition.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Mexico, 6 September 1816.

Felix Ruiz

[To] Commissioner Director, Don Francisco Alonso Terán.

G3. Order issued by the Viceroy

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 448.

Original text in Spanish.

*El dia 6 del proximo mes de Octubre deben salir de esta Capital para el Puerto de Acapulco 300 mulas con caudales y efectos para el retorno à Manila de la Fragata **Victoria**; y habiendo determinado que la tropa que haga de escoltar estos intereses sea la misma que proxicamente ha de llegar con el conboy de Cuernavaca, prevengo à V.M. disponga su cumplimiento entendiendose su escolta hasta mismo punto de Cuernavaca donde serà relevada de la tropa por la que al efecto prevendrá el Comandante de aquel punto para que siga las cargas à su destino.*

Dios &a.

Septiembre 30/816

[Al] *Sr. Sargento mayor de la Plaza.*

Translation.

On the 6th of October next, there must leave this Capital for the port of Acapulco a pack of 300 mules with the funds and goods for the return to Manila of the frigate **Victoria**, And, having determined that the soldiers who will escort these interests are the

same ones who will arrive shortly with the convoy from Cuernavaca, I ask Your Grace to arrange for its execution, with the understanding that this escort will be as far as the same post of Cuernavaca, where it will be relieved by soldiers to be appointed by the Commander of that post, who will follow the mules to their destination.

May God, etc.

30 September 1816.

[To] Sergeant-Major of the Garrison.

G4. Last letter of Colonel Ruiz, dated Mexico 8 October 1816

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 465-466.

Original text in Spanish.

Suplica respetuosamente se tomen las Superiores providencias que propone para la seguridad y feliz pronto retorno que refiere.

Exmo. Señor

*El Teniente Coronel Don Felix Ruiz propietario Capitan y Maestre de la Fragata mercante **Victoria** surta en Acapulco con el debido respeto ante V.E. digo: Que por mi oficio de 5 del que rige tuve el honor de participar à su Superioridad la causa que hacía imposible mi salida de esta Capital el dia 6 que V.E. habia señalado al efecto, ofreciendo que superadas las dificultades que entonces ocurrían, avisaria el dia fixo en que podría emprender mi marcha para aquel Puerto; y V.E. tuvò la bondad de contestarme, quedar enterado de todo.*

Ya llegò el caso de estar todos los interesados expeditos para salir el dia 12 que es el menor plazo à que podemos demorarnos, atendidos los gastos considerables que las Mulas ajustadas ya nos estan causando; pero, aunque parece excusado representar à tan digno Gefè lo que importa la seguridad de nuestro viage hasta à aquel Puerto, el tiempo dificil en que nos hallamos y los gravisimos malos que en esta lamentable època ha sufrido el Comercio de Manila por las multiplicadas desgracias de sus expediciones, nos obligan à tocar este punto.

Cerca de 400 mulas son las fletadas para llevar nuestra carga que entre plata y efectos aborda à millon y medio de pesos, valor que por si solo basta à excitar la codicia de los rebeldes, y que exagerado por su miseria es capaz de hacerlos arrostrar qualquier peligro para robar y extraviar quanto queda en la esfera de sus alcances. Con menos motivo aventura su barbaridad los mas desesperados esfuerzos: luego ahora son justamente temibles los que recelamos, y en precaucion de ellos nos prometemos que la superioridad de V.E. se dignarà mandar, se nos proporcione la escolta competente, que nos ponga á cubierto de tan sensible resulta.

Como esta escolta se ha de ir variando en todos los puntos del transito para Acapulco, esperamos tambien de la bondad de V.E. se servirá mandar se libren las superiores ordenes oportunas con anticipacion, previniendo se encarguen de convoyarnos sin di-

lacion alguna los Comandantes mas honrados y expertos con la tropa necesaria no solo para la importancia de nuestra carga, sino para la exigencia particular del parage en que nos hallamos, pues bien puede suceder, que uno sean mayores y mas osadas las gavillas de bandidos que en otro, y por consiguiente que sea preciso mayor escolta para escapar este mas terrible peligro.

Nada puede añadir mi recomendacion à lo que V.E. por sus mismas sobresalientes luces conoce de interes en estas providencias, que envuelven el bien general del Estado, el de todas las Yslas Filipinas, y el Comercio que con relacion à ellas tiene este Reyno. Se va à evitar un golpe que mejoraria mucho el abatido despecho de los rebeldes. Y se hará memoria del acertado Gobierno de V.E., entre otros motivos que ya cuenta, y con que en lo venidero espero lisonjearse este Continente por haber logrado un Buque de Manila su pronto feliz retorno, à pesar de los riesgos que ofrecen los caminos, y de las angustias y executivas atenciones que rodean y molestan el grande animo de V.E. En cuyo supuesto

A V.E. Suplico provea como propongo en que recibiré con toda la expedicion la mas señalada merced. Juro &a.

Mexico 8 de Octubre de 1816.

Exmo. Señor

Felix Ruiz

Translation.

He respectfully requests that some superior measures that he recommends be taken for the security and successful return that he mentions.

Your Excellency.

I, Lieutenant-Colonel Felix Ruiz, owner, Captain and Master of the merchant frigate **Victoria** at anchor at Acapulco, with due respect, appear before Y.E. and declare: That, in my letter of the 5th instant,¹ I had the honor of reporting to Y.E. the reason why it was impossible for me to leave this Capital on the 6th, date selected by Y.E. for the purpose, and I offered to advise Y.E. later of the exact date when I would be able to begin my journey back to that port, once the difficulties were solved, and Y.E. was kind enough to answer me, saying that you concurred.

Finally, all the interested parties are agreed to leave on the 12th, which is the shortest delay that we can suffer, given the considerable expenses that the mules are costing us; however, although it seems superfluous to represent to such a worthy Superior person as yourself, the need for the security of our voyage as far as that port, the difficult times in which we live and the very serious setbacks that the Manila trade has suffered in this lamentable period, on account of the many misfortunes of their expeditions, do oblige me to bring up the following point.

¹ Ed. note: Reproduced in the same file, fol. 453-454v.

About 400 mules have been hired to take our cargo which, counting the silver as well as the goods, amounts to one million and a half pesos, a value that, of itself, is sufficient to excite the greed of the rebels who, pushed by their misery, are willing to take any risk to steal anything that strays within their reach. Their barbarity pushes them to make the most desperate efforts for lesser motives. Our fears are therefore quite justified, and to allay them, we rely on the superior government of Y.E. to order an appropriate escort for us, one that would save us from such a fearful catastrophe.

As this escort must vary in all the posts along the road to Acapulco, we also expect from the kindness of Y.E. that superior orders will be issued on time, so that the most honorable and expert officers will be entrusted with convoying us, with the necessary troop, not only for the importance of our cargo, but also for the particular circumstances of the neighborhood where we will find ourselves. Indeed, it can happen that the gangs of bandits may be more daring at one place than at another, and therefore, a greater escort may then be required to escape this more terrible danger.

I have no more recommendation to make to Y.E. who, thanks to your outstanding intelligence, already knows how important such measures are, for the general good of the State, that of the Philippine Islands, and the trade that this Kingdom maintains with them. Yet another blow will be inflicted upon the despairing rebels. This victory will be recorded in the annals of the solid government of Y.E., among other incidents already on record, and in future, I hope to flatter myself that this Continent has managed to successfully despatch a ship from Manila, in spite of the dangers lurking along the roads, and the worries and executive attention that they imply, and bother the great spirit of Y.E. Based on this assumption,

I beg Y.E. to please take the course of actions I recommend, by which I, and the whole expedition, will receive this most singular favor. I swear, etc.

Mexico, 8 October 1816.

Your Excellency.

Felix Ruiz

G5. Letter from Supercargo Zuñiga, dated Mexico 11 October 1816

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 469-469v.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*En Junta que el día de ayer celebraron en casa del Sr. Apoderado D. Francisco Alonso de Teran los cargadores y consignatarios de la Fragata **Victoria**, se acordó avisar à V.E. haberse fixado para la salida del comboy a Acapulco el quinze del corriente; por cuyo motivo, como compromisario de dicha Fragata y representante del Comercio de Manila doy à V.E. las mas expresivas gracias por la exactitud y esmero con que desde su ingreso à este Gobierno se dedicó à distinguir y favorecer à aquel Cuerpo, asi como el permiso gracioso de quinientos mil pesos como con las demas providencias que su*

Superior acreditada actividad hà tomado para evitar los quebrantos y perjuicios que de lo contrario sin duda alguna se hubieran resentido.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Mexico 11 de octubre de 1816.

Exmo. Señor

Ramon de Zuñiga

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Virrey Don Juan Ruiz Apodaca.*

Translation.

Your Excellency.

In a meeting held yesterday in the residence of Agent Francisco Alonso de Terán, the freight owners and consignatories of the frigate **Victoria**, it was decided that Y.E. should be advised that a fixed date, to wit the 15th instant, has been chosen for the departure of the convoy to Acapulco. For said reason, as commissioner of said Frigate and representative of the Manila traders, I give the most expressive thanks to Y.E. for the thorough and brilliant manner with which, since your ascendance to this Government, you have dedicated yourself and favored that commerce, as well as for the gratuitous permission for 500,000 pesos and for the other measures that your recognized activity has taken to avoid the heavy losses and prejudices that would certainly have occurred otherwise.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 11 October 1816.

Your Excellency.

Ramón de Zuñiga

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

G6. Mission band of Recollects aboard the Victoria

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 477-478.

Original text in Spanish.

Pide a la superioridad de V.E. se sirva conceder su permiso y necesario pasaporte á los ocho Religiosos de Mision, que expresa, para su viage a Filipinas con cuyo destino vinieron de la Peninsula: quedando uno solamente por enfermo y ser necesario aqui á la Provincia.

Exmo. Sor.

Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña, Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas de esta Capital, de Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos de la Provincia de Filipinas, como mejor proceda digo: que deben hacer viage à aquellas Yslas para desempeñar el destino de Misioneros con que vinieron de España, siete Religiosos sacerdotes que se hallan en este Hospicio y son:

Fr. Domingo de San Blas;

*Fr. Juan de San Nicolas;
Fr. Vicente de San Francisco Xavier;
Fr. Manuel de la Ascension;
Fr. Mariano de los Dolores;
Fr. Valerio de San Sebastian, y
Fr. Basil de la Concepcion; con
Fr. Santiago de la Virgen del Carmen, lego, quedando aqui unicamente de los que
vinieron de la Peninsula:*

*Fr. José de la Virgen del Carmen, asi por habituales indisposiciones de salud, como
por necesitarse para las atenciones de este Hospicio, segun las disposiciones de mi Pro-
vincia. En cuyo concepto, y no debiendo perderse la primera ocasion, que se presenta-
ra pronto, de comboy para Acapulco: ocurro a la Superioridad de V.E. suplicandole se
sirva conceder su permiso y necesario pasaporte a los ocho expresados Religiosos para
que puedan emprender su viage y no se les ponga en su embarque impedimento algu-
no, sirviendo para ello el mismo superior decreto original.*

A V.E. suplico asi se sirva hacer &c^a

Fr. Agustin de la Virgen de la Peña

Translation.

He requests that the superior government of Y.E. to please issue your permission and the necessary passports for the 8 Missionaries herein mentioned, for their voyage to the Philippines, reason for which they came from the Peninsula, one only remaining here on account of illness and because he is wanted here by the Province.

Your Excellency.

I, Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña, President of the Hospice of San Nicolas of this Capital, of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers of the Province of the Philippines, as best I can, do declare: that the following seven Religious priests have come from Spain and are bound to those Islands to exercise their ministry as Missionaries and must make their voyage. They are presently in this Hospice. Their names are:

Fr. Domingo de San Blas;

Fr. Vicente de San Francisco Xavier;

Fr. Manuel de la Ascensión;

Fr. Mariano de los Dolores;

Fr. Valerio de San Sebastián;

Fr. Basil de la Concepción; along with

Fr. Santiago de la Virgen del Carmen, lay brother, who remains here, the only one among those who came from the Peninsula; also

Fr. José de la Virgen del Carmen who, on account of sickliness, and for being required by this Hospice, will remain here, in accordance with the decisions taken by my Province. For this purpose, and so as not to lose the first occasion that will present itself, to travel to Acapulco with the convoy, I appeal to the superior government of Y.E.

to please grant permission and the necessary passport to the eight aforesaid Religious to let them undertake their voyage without any hindrance whatever, the latter point being part of the original decree.

I beg Y.E. to please do as I request, etc.

Fr. Agustín de la Virgen de la Peña¹

G7. The mule train made it to Acapulco without incident

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 542-542v.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Hoi ha llegado à este punto la mulada que condujo al Puerto de Acapulco el cargamento de caudales destinados à Manila, conduciendo en retorno cacao, y otros frutos para diversos lugares de este territorio, y esa Capital, sin haver hasta ahora tenido novedad alguna. Lo aviso à V.E. para su superior conocimiento.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Tixtla Diziembre 19 de 1816.

Exmo. Sor.

José Gabriel de Armijo

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Virey D. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.*

Translation.

Your Excellency.

Today has arrived the mule train carrying the shipment of funds destined to Manila to the port of Acapulco. It will carry back a cargo of cacao, and other products for various places within this territory, and for that Capital, So far, there have not been any untoward incidents. I so advise Y.E. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Tixtla,² 19 December 1816.

Your Excellency.

José Gabriel de Armijo

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Although none of the above Recollects disembarked in Guam, this mission band was possibly the last to transit through New Spain on their way to the Philippines. From then on, they travelled aboard Spanish ships by way of the Indian Ocean.
 - 2 Ed. note: Tixtla lies close to Chilpancingo. The date indicated that the mule train had reached the half-way point on the return journey.

G8. The Victoria departed Acapulco on 27 November 1816

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 544-545.

Original text in Spanish.

N. 58.

Exmo. Sor.

*En la mañana de hoy há salido de este Puerto para el de Manila, la Fragata mercante nombrada la **Victoria** Manileña, su Capitan y Maestre Don Felix Ruiz, Teniente Coronel de aquellas Milicias, conduciendo en partida de registro los caudales y efectos que por menor se expresa de la nota que acompaño á V.E. para su superior conocimiento.*

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Acapulco 27 de Noviembre de 1816.

Exmo. Señor.

Ramon Rionda

[A] Exmo. Sor. Virey Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Nota del cargamento de la Fragata mercante la Victoria, que salió en este dia para el Puerto de Manila, á cargo de su Capitan y Maestre Don Felix Ruiz.

695,599 pesos 6 r. 4 gr.	<i>De Permiso Ordinario</i>
500,000 2. 7.	<i>De Permiso Gracioso</i>
671 0. 0.	<i>En Plata Labrada</i>
103,064 1. 10.	<i>En Frutos y Efectos.</i>

1,299,331 p. 2 r. 9 gr. y

*21 Caxones y tercios de Medicinas para el Hospital Real de Manila.
Tesorería de Real Hacienda de Acapulco 27 de Diciembre de 1816.
Rionda.*

Translation.

N° 58.

Your Excellency.

This morning the merchant frigate named **Victoria** [alias] Manileña left this port for that of Manila, under the command of its Captain and Master, Don Felix Ruiz, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia overthere, and carrying on its manifest the funds and goods that are shown in detail on the note that I enclose for Y.E., for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 27 November 1816.

Your Excellency.

Ramón Rionda

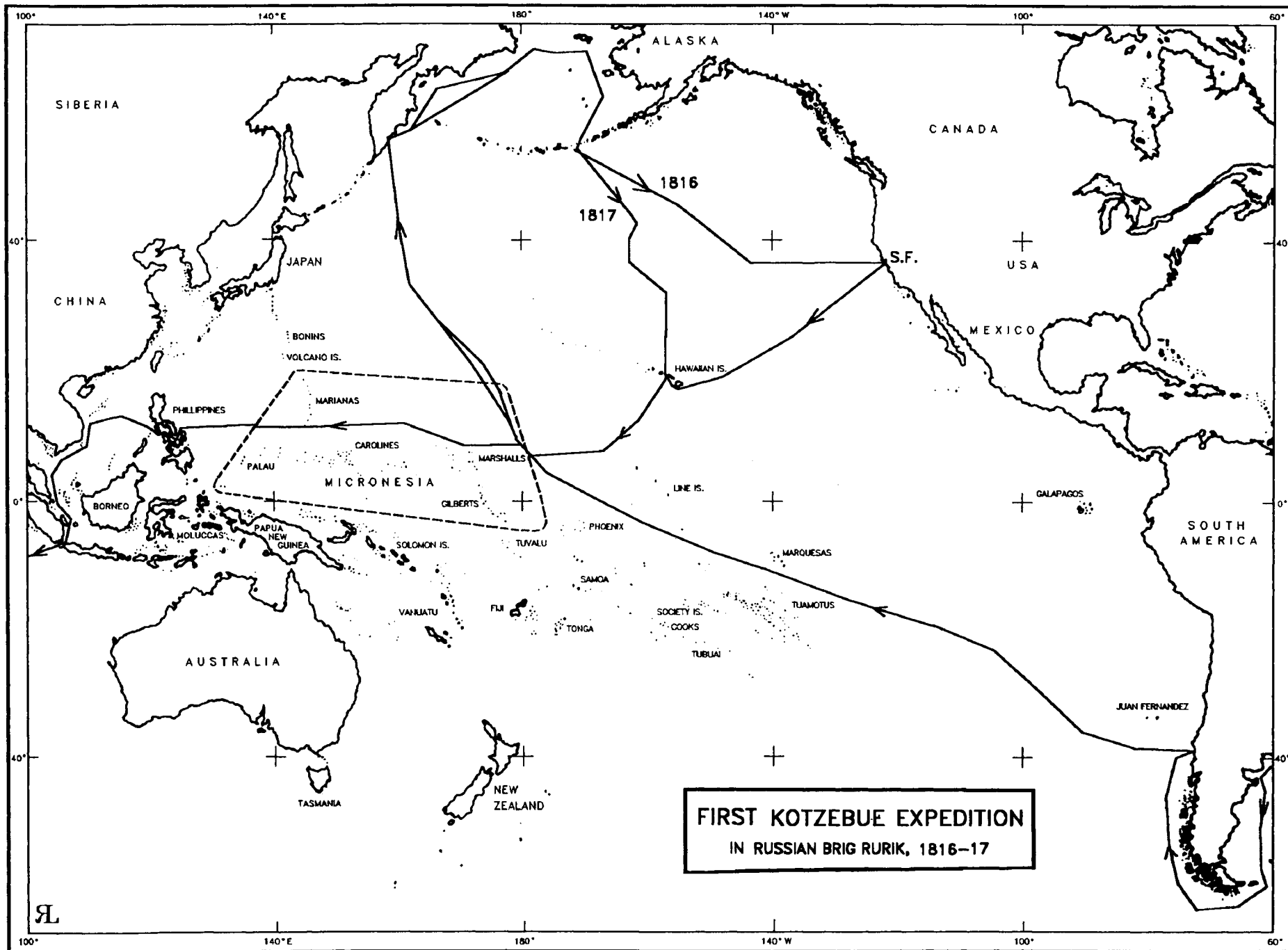
[To] His Excellency Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Note of the cargo aboard the merchant frigate Victoria, which left today for the port of Manila, under the command of its Captain and Master Felix Ruiz.

695,599 pesos 6 r. 4 gr.	Of the regular permission.
500,000 2. 7.	Of the gratuitous permission.
671 0. 0.	In wrought silver.
103,064 1. 10.	In products and goods.

1,299,331 p. 2 r. 9 gr. y

21 Crates and half-loads of Medicines for the Royal Hospital of Manila.
Treasury of the Royal Finance of Acapulco, 27 December 1816.
Rionda.



Document 1817A

The Russian scientific expedition of Captain Kotzebue—Narrative of Captain Kotzebue

Notes: Although the Russians used the old Christian calendar whose dates were 12 days behind the Gregorian calendar, the English translation that follows seems to have made the proper corrections already, but not always. However, not so for proper names, which still retain their German spellings.

Background of the voyage.

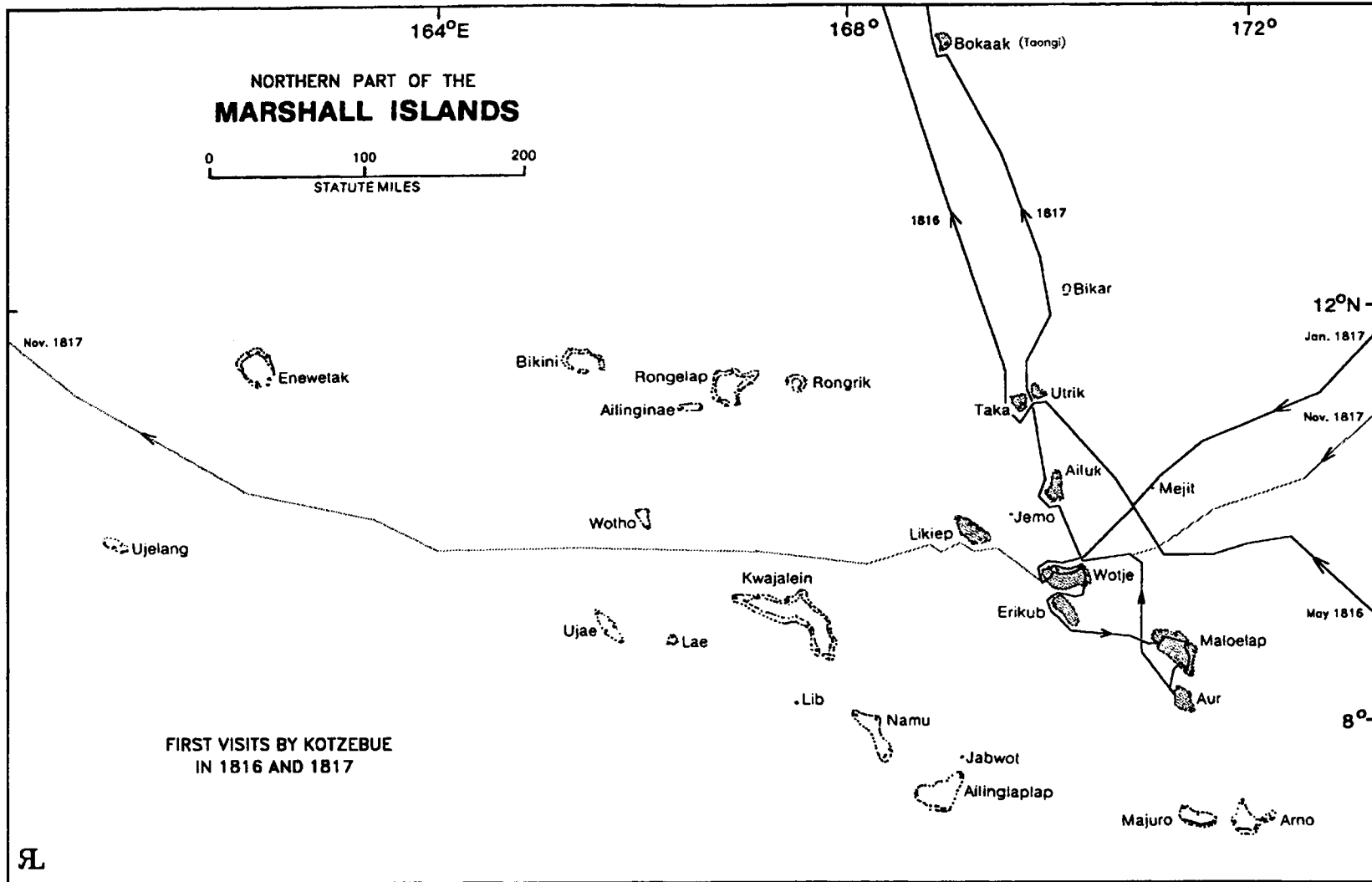
This second Russian voyage around the world has been known as the Romanzov expedition, because it was designed by Nikolai Petrovich Romiantsev (Romanzov, as it was then transliterated into English). He was a nobleman who wanted to find the Northwest Passage. Consequently, he proposed to pay the expenses of an official expedition that made use of a Russian navy brig



Otto von Kotzebue (1787-1846).

named **Rurik**, captained by Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue. Kotzebue had been a cadet officer aboard the first Russian circumnavigation led by Krusenstern. He was only 28 years old when the **Rurik** left Kronstadt in July 1815.

The early track of the voyage went by way of Denmark, England, the Canary Islands, the Cape Verde Islands, Brazil, Cape Horn, and Chile. The brig went up to Kamchatka by way of the Marshalls in 1816, visited the Behring Strait, down to San Francisco, then to Hawaii, and back to the Marshall Islands for a long stay in early 1817. After another trip to Kamchatka, the **Rurik** returned to the Marshalls in November that same year, before proceeding to Guam, on the return voyage, by way of Manila, Cape Town, St. Helena, England and home to Russia.



The narrative of Captain Otto von Kotzebue

Source: Captain Otto von Kotzebue. A Voyage of Discovery... in the Years 1815-1818, ... in the Ship Rurick (3 vols., London, 1821).

Vol. I, Chapter VI.—From Conception Bay to Kamtschatka.

...

[European discovery of Utirik and Taka, in the northern Marshall Islands]

May the 8th [1816]: latitude $3^{\circ}14'34''$ S., longitude $168^{\circ}25'33''$ W [of Greenwich]. Yesterday, and still more to-day, we observed a number of sea-fowls, of different kinds, which, after sun-set, directed their flight to the S.W. In the evening, two of them came on board, and suffered themselves to be caught; and a third had the boldness to fly directly into my hands. After having tied to the neck of the two first a piece of parchment, with the name of the ship and the date of the year marked on it, we set them at liberty; the third was sacrificed for our collection of natural history. These birds are of the species of sea-swallows;¹ they are about the size of pigeons, and entirely black, with the exception of a white spot on the head. I did not doubt, from the great numbers of sea-fowls, but we were in the neighbourhood of many uninhabited islands and rocks; and, if time had permitted, I should have followed the flight of these fowls, and steered S.E.; but the current, which set N.W., carried us in that direction, daily, from thirty-three to forty-five miles, and continued so till we had crossed the equator, on the 11th, in longitude $175^{\circ}27'55''$. After several observations, we found the variation of the magnetic needle $8^{\circ}4'$ E. On the 12th of May, in latitude $1^{\circ}17'46''$ N., longitude $177^{\circ}5'$, besides numerous sea-fowls, we observed one land-bird; but as land could not even be descried from the mast-head, it is to be presumed, that it must lie very low. The thermometer stood, for several days and nights, at 23° ; a heat which is very oppressive, particularly in a calm. I considered myself very fortunate in not having one man sick on board. In the night, a dolphin, seven feet long, the first on our voyage, was harpooned. We made a trial to eat its flesh, which we found to be very well tasted, much resembling beef, and relished it the more, as we had had nothing but salt-meat on our table for a long time.

May 19th: latitude $8^{\circ}42'$ north, longitude $187^{\circ}19'$. I had calculated my course to Kamtschatka, so as to cross the northern part of Mulgrave islands, as they were scarcely known at all, and appeared to me worth an examination. To be certain of not missing them, we sailed two days between the parallels of 8° and 9° , as, according to Arrowsmith's² chart, we could not, in this latitude, pass through the chain without seeing land. At three o'clock in the afternoon, we crossed the chain, according to our calculation, in latitude $8^{\circ}45'52''$ north, without perceiving the least spot of land. Our longitude, by our chronometer, which was compared with observations only the day

1 Ed. note: Frigate birds, rather than terns, I think. Frigate birds were tame, at least at Nauru..

2 On my return, I became acquainted in London with this celebrated geographer, who assured me, that he had laid Mulgrave's chain down in his chart, after some very uncertain statements of several merchantmen. Even Captain Gilbert's map contains nothing particular.

before, and whose accuracy we could not doubt, amounted to $187^{\circ}47'14''$. After we had in vain looked round for land, I steered directly to the west, supposing that the longitude of the island was, perhaps, incorrect on the map; but when we had sailed fifteen miles in this direction also, without seeing land, I turned the ship towards the north, for fear of losing the chain entirely, if we proceeded further. On another very accurate investigation of the chart, it appeared to me very little to be depended upon; the opening between 8° and 9° must be larger than is marked on it, as we could otherwise in no case cross the chain without seeing land. We sailed towards the north till sunset, and tacked during the night, that we might not be wrecked in the dark on the coral reefs. The night was uncommonly gloomy, violent gusts of wind incommoded us; and one of them, while the N.E. monsoon¹ was blowing, struck the **Rurick** so violently on the opposite side, that all the sails, which could not be shifted quick enough, were dashed against the masts. This accident, which might easily prove dangerous, had no worse effect for us, than to tear some of the sails, and one of the ropes, broken by the fury of the wind, gave me a blow on the forehead, which struck me senseless to the ground; in a quarter of an hour, I indeed came to myself, but remained for a whole hour after in a state bordering on madness, and it was only towards morning that I entirely recovered by the assistance of our skilful physician.

May 20th. We continued our course to the N.N.W. with a faint N.E. wind, and found by a good meridional observation, the latitude to be $9^{\circ}26'21''$ north, longitude $180^{\circ}19'6''$ West. I now gave up sailing further to the north, and steered directly to the west; because, to judge by the chart, it still appeared probable that the islands might be found in this parallel. I persevered in this course till six o'clock in the evening, when we had thirty-five miles, but again to no purpose; we discovered nothing. As time would not permit me to remain here any longer, I now bent my course to Kamtschatka, and put off my further examination of these parts till my return from Beering's Straits. In spite of the dangers of these parts, and the very dark night, I resolved, in order to lose no time to hasten forwards, and steered to the N.N.W. under full sail. It was not till the following year that we discovered the dangers which we so wonderfully escaped in this night, having happily passed between low groups of islands at a very small distance.

On the 21st, land to the N.W. was descried from the mast-head, which consisted of several coral islands, and resembled Rurick's chain. At two o'clock, when we were still a mile and a half distant from the south point, we saw, to our great joy, columns of smoke rise between the cocoa-nut trees; and as we sailed northward, round the N.E. side of the chain, we observed a number of people on the shore, who were admiring the **Rurick** with the greatest astonishment. The sailor at the mast-head observed breakers, and I found a long and dangerous coral reef, which was connected with the islands, and stretched far into the sea. If we had had the misfortune to run in the night upon this reef, which is scarcely visible above the surface, our destruction would have been inevitable. We now doubled the N.E. point, and were soon in the high sea, and calm water, and

1 Ed. note: In every case, the translator used the word monsoon to mean tradewind.

sailed up to the small island in the S.W., while, though only two hundred fathoms from the reef, we tried in vain to reach the bottom with our lead. It was already getting dark, when we were near the small island, and observed people there also. We were obliged to postpone till the morning the examination of this, as well as of a second group of islands in the south, which was just descried from the mast-head. The situation of all these islands is correctly stated in our map.

On the 22d of May, at day-break, we continued our course to the shore, but were not able to reach the point at which we were yesterday, till nine o'clock, the current having carried us far to the west in the night. On the island, at the north of which there is a charming grove of cocoa-trees, we observed people, and a large boat on the beach, which we soon after saw advancing towards us under full sail. I immediately ordered to lay-to, admired the ingenious construction of it; and the surprising skill with which it was managed, increased our curiosity still more, and made us believe that we had to do with a people only half savage. The boat approached the **Rurick** within a hundred fathoms, where it remained stationary. We counted nine islanders, who showed us fruit, and called aloud to us, and gave us to understand, by signs, that we might follow them to the shore, where they would provide us with fruit. The modest and agreeable manners of these islanders, which differed so entirely from the savage behaviour of those of the Penrhyns,¹ astonished us greatly, as we could not expect to find this in the South Sea, in an island that had never been visited.² They were all unarmed, and the strictest subordination was evident: the chief sat on the left side with his legs under him, on an elevation, placed on the outrigger, which was ornamented with coloured mats, having his head adorned with flowers and shell-wreaths. They admired the ship with curiosity and astonishment, pointing with their fingers at objects which struck them particularly, and talking with great eagerness. As I perceived that all my endeavours to entice them on board were useless, I ordered the boat to be launched, in the hope that they would be less fearful of a small vessel; and, observing every motion of ours, they loudly expressed their surprise, when they saw the boat hauled out of the **Rurick**. I dispatched Lieutenant Schischmareff, Mr. Chamisso, and M. Choris, the artist, in order to gain the confidence of our savages by presents. They, however, were thrown into the greatest alarm by the arrival of the boat, and, while they were warmly debating whether they should remain, or fly, our people had already come up to them, and tried to insinuate themselves into their favour by friendly gestures and small presents, which the savages readily accepted. Lieutenant Schischmareff, who thought he had already established a friendly intercourse, attempted to get into their boat, to admire the neat work closer; an attempt which quite confounded them; they hastily threw some pandanus fruit, and a handsome mat, which was probably intended as a present in return, into

1 Ed. note: Tongareva, first discovered by the ship **Lady Penrhyn** in 1788.

2 Ed. note: It is true that the Spanish never discovered these two atolls (by the way, Andrew Sharp was wrong when he assigned their discovery to Saavedra), but Captains Gilbert and Marshall had seen them on 30 July 1788 and called the two islands of Taka-Utirik by the name of Button Islands.

our boat, and then sailed off as quick as possible. We did not succeed in having any further intercourse with them, though they always sailed about the ship, making many signs to invite us to come on shore. But I could not venture to accept their invitation, the island being entirely surrounded by coral reefs, which occasioned a violent surf, and it would have cost me too much time to look for a tolerable landing-place. We admired the rapidity with which their **boats** sailed close to the wind: it had only one disproportionately large sail, of fine woven mats, which was in the shape of an acute-angled triangle, the acute angle being undermost. The skill and quickness with which they put about their boat in tacking, deserved the admiration of every seaman.

These islanders were of a black colour, pretty tall, and slender; their straight black hair was tastefully interwoven with wreaths of flowers; their neck and ears singularly ornamented. Their clothing consisted of two curiously-woven coloured mats, tied to the waist; one before, and the other behind, descending to the knee: the other part of the body was naked. One could read the expression of obligingness and good-nature on their countenance; and yet they have some resemblance to the Malays.

Having stayed here till noon, finished the survey of the islands, and had a good observation, I had the sails hoisted, and turned to the south, to examine the second group of islands [i.e. Taka], which appeared in that direction. The savages sailed round us, and called to us, beckoning us with both hands, and holding fruits up in the air. I lay to a second time, in the hope that they might, perhaps, pay us a visit now, but was again deceived in my expectation. They lay still, and rejoiced at every movement on board the ship; but the loudest, when suddenly a large sail was shifted, which probably appeared to them a work of magic, as they could not see the ropes by which the sails were managed. We made them friendly signs to come on board; but as they only answered by pointing to the land, I gave up all my attempts to open an intercourse with them, and proceeded on my voyage.

We soon had a very clear view of the second group, which likewise consisted of small islands, joined together by coral reefs, and seemed to contain deep water in the middle. This group is separated from the other, by a channel of three miles and a half in length, through which I determined to sail; a mate, furnished with a good telescope, was to sit at the mast-head, to warn us in time of every danger. We found the channel free from rocks, and of unfathomable depth. At four o'clock in the afternoon we had already sailed round the south point of the group, and had reached the N.W. part, which ended with a long and dangerous reef. This island appears uninhabited; and though it is thickly covered with trees, not a single palm-tree was to be seen. The population of the other group [i.e. Utirik] too, cannot be numerous, as we saw only two boats, and very few people on the shore; at least it cannot be compared to the numerous population of the Penrhyns. I called the first group Kutusoff, and the second Suwaroff, and I felt myself inexpressibly happy, in being the first who had erected an eternal monument in the South Sea to these two men, who had so highly deserved of their country. Both these groups together, took up a space of twenty-five miles and a half from north to south: their situation is marked on the chart. By a very good observation, we found the latitude of the

channel 11°11'20" N.; longitude, according to the chronometer, which exactly agreed with that lately observed by us, 190°9'23".¹ The variation of the magnetic needle, 11°18' east.

At six o'clock in the evening, we were again in the open sea; and, with the intention of revisiting these parts in the following year, I now directed my course to the N.N.W. to go to Kamtschatka.

...

Vol. II, Chapter XI.—From the Sandwich Islands to Radack.

The 17th of December [1816], latitude 19°44', longitude 160°7'. Since we left the island of Woahoo, we have always had either calm, or a very faint wind from S.E.; besides this, the strong current from S.W. has carried us in three days 45 miles to N.E.; but it has now taken its direction to S.W.

...

[They passed in the vicinity of Johnston Island, and looked for it, but could only see birds.]

...

The 29th, latitude 9°52', longitude 186°34'. That we might be certain not to sail past the chain of Mulgrave islands, near which we ought to be now, I tacked during night under few sails, and continued our course in the morning towards the W.

The 30th, latitude 9°48', longitude 187°9'. We had a fresh wind from N., and extremely high waves from N.W. The current had carried us since yesterday 27 miles to W.: we saw more birds than usual.

The 31st, latitude 9°49'57", longitude, according to the ship's reckoning, deduced from the chronometers, 188°33'. During the whole day we had gloomy weather with drizzling rain, which is not usual in the tropics; the wind varied from N. to N.N.E. and N.N.W. This changeable weather gave me great hopes that land was near; I however looked for it in vain. At three o'clock in the afternoon, we were exactly N., 15 miles distant from our course in the preceding year, and had now sailed, for the second time, through the chain of the Mulgrave islands, without having seen them. I now directed my course as much north as the wind permitted, to sail to Kutusoff's islands, which I have promised to examine more closely; and we tacked during the night under few sails, that we might neither run aground, nor pass the islands.

[Visit to Mejit]

The 1st of January, 1817, latitude 10°10', longitude, calculated according to the chronometers on the 2d of January, 189°54'. A faint wind, which changed from N.N.W. to N.N.E., with drizzling rain. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the weather cleared up, and it was announced from the mast-head that land was seen to the N.N.W., exactly

1 Ed. note: West of Greenwich, which is the same as 169°50'32" East of Greenwich, an error of less than one degree from true.

in the direction of our course. It was a low, woody island, the length of which, from N. to S., is three miles, and its breadth three-quarters of a mile. As no single islands are known in this part, I concluded it to be a new discovery, and called it New Year's Island, it having been first seen on New Year's Day.¹ The faint wind did not permit us to make any further examination this day; a countless number of fish sported round the **Rurick**: we saw fewer birds, from which I concluded the island was inhabited. We tacked during the night; the weather was uncommonly fine; the full moon looked magnificently in the starry heavens, and guarded us against every danger.

The 2d, at break of day, the island lay distant from us five miles, W. by N. As on the north side a very long reef extended to the north, I directed my course to the south, where we saw no surf, and where we hoped to be able to effect a landing. We had very fine weather, but only a faint breeze from E.N.E. The lovely verdure of the island had a very pleasing look, and the rising columns of smoke had in our eyes something very inviting. When we were distant but two miles from the south point, we were surprised by seven canoes, each rowed by five or six men, which came directly up to us. Their construction was the same as we had observed the preceding year in the Kutusoff's group; but they were considerably smaller, and entirely made of very small boards. This way of patching the boats together, proved a want of timber; they have this inconvenience, that the water which runs in is obliged to be constantly baled out; and as they can only leave the island in a perfect calm, they have neither masts nor sails. After much difficulty, they approached us within 100 fathoms, and then almost lay on their oars to admire the ship with attention. Their behaviour was sensible; we observed neither the cries nor grotesque movements with which savages generally distinguish themselves on their first meeting with Europeans: their whole attention was engaged with the ship, which they surveyed with astonishment, from the mast-head down to the water. We did not look upon these savages with less curiosity, who all appeared to me tall and well-shaped; the naturally dark colour of their bodies appeared black at a small distance, because they are tattooed; they do not tattoo their faces. A high forehead, an aquiline nose, and sparkling brown eyes, advantageously distinguish the natives of New Year's Island from the rest of the South Sea islanders. They rub their long black hair with cocoa oil, tie it together above the forehead, and adorn it with flowers and wreaths made of shells; round their neck they wear ornaments of red shells. Their dress was different; some had a couple of fine mats tied round the body; others wore a braided belt, from which the fibres of grass hung down to the feet, and covered them entirely. We were most struck by their ear-holes, which measure more than three inches in diameter, in which they wore green leaves rolled together: some had placed in them such rolls of tortoise-shell. Each boat had a commander, who was easily recognised, as he did not row, and merely gave orders. He is always seated on one side of the boat, with his legs

1 Ed. note: First of all, the exact Gregorian date was 13 January. Secondly, this island was later identified by Kotzebue himself as Miadi, i.e. Mejit. It was first seen by the Spanish in 1565 (see HM2:83).

under him, on a raised seat, where he appears with much decorum. One of these chiefs, a tall, handsome man, with a thick beard, was more tattooed than the rest; he held in his hand a large shell, from which he often produced a loud and hollow sound. I do not know what was his motive for doing this; but I remember to have observed such shells in the Marquesas islands, which were never used but in war.

After repeated signs of invitation, and showing them some iron, they consented to approach the ship, but none of them would venture on board. An animated barter began; for small pieces of old iron hoops, they readily gave the most laborious and skilful of their works; and the leader even gave his beautiful shell horn for a piece of old iron, which he concealed in his belt, after having looked at it with rapture. They dealt with great honesty; and their character seemed to me lively and witty. Their miserable arms, which were carelessly-made lances, prove that they are no warriors. Their other utensils are more elegant than I have seen elsewhere, and they observed the utmost cleanliness in their persons. The island seems to produce but very little fruit and other provisions; at least they had nothing with them except a few grains of pandanus, which they constantly chewed. As far as we could trust the casual view which we had taken of the inhabitants of the Kutusoff's islands, they seemed to belong to the same race.

As no breeze agitated the sea, we were enabled to make very excellent observations. The S.W. point of the island lay distant from us three miles to the north, according to the true compass; we found the latitude of the middle of the island $10^{\circ}8'27''$ N.; the longitude, corrected after the latest lunar distance, $189^{\circ}4'46''$ W. I took advantage of the calm, and sent Lieutenant Schischmareff, accompanied by our scientific gentlemen, in two armed boats, to effect a landing, if possible. They returned in a few hours, without being able to accomplish their object. The observations of Lieutenant Schischmareff on his attempt, resemble those made by D'Entrecasteaux on Vendola, one of the Admiralty islands, and are as follows:

Report of Lieutenant Schischmareff.

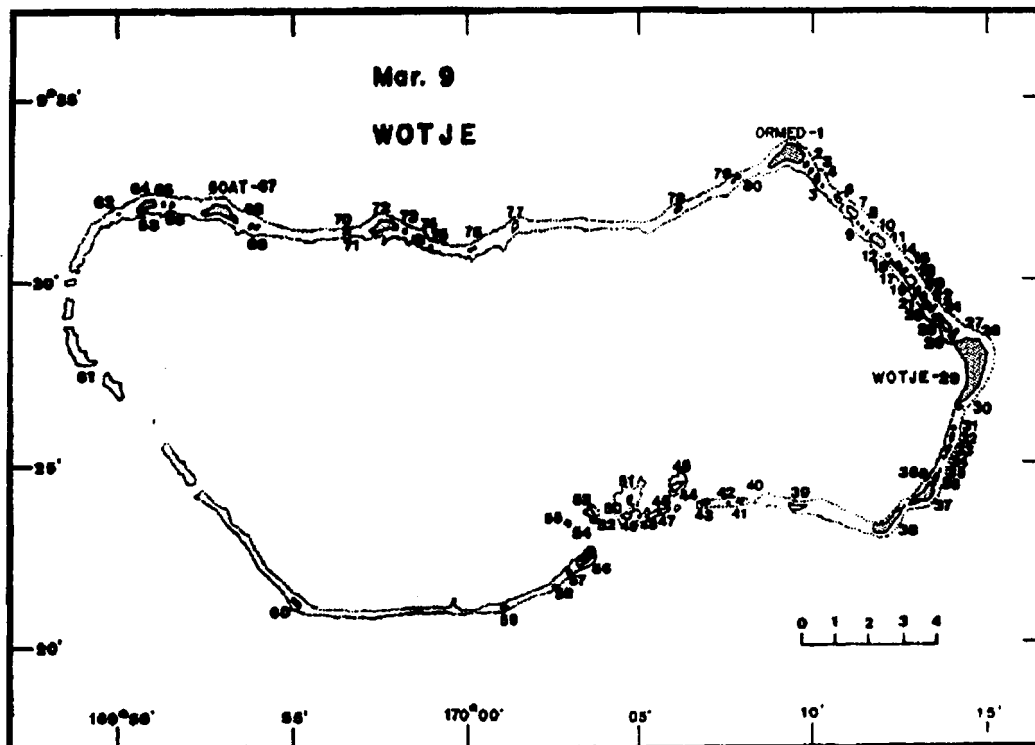
When the islanders, who were in the boats near the ship, saw that we left them and rowed towards the island, they immediately followed us; we approached a place which seemed convenient for landing; the surf was not violent, and we might have landed, had not the islanders prevented us. A great number of them had assembled on the shore, armed with lances, on which barbed heads were fastened; others surrounded our boats with theirs, and I therefore determined to begin a barter with them on the water near to the shore: they threw themselves in crowds into the water, swam up to us, and brought us mats, necklaces made of shells, cocoa nuts, pandanus fruit, and fresh water in cocoa shells; they also offered us their lances in exchange, as well as two small bows of boards, which they had made into a weapon by means of sharks' teeth, they were a foot and a half in length, and about two inches broad. The number of islanders swimming about continued to increase, and the **boats** had formed a complete circle round us; but we would not suffer any of them to come too near to ours. They became bold, and even impudent, and offered us cocoa shells filled with sea-water; an old man would abso-

lutely get into the boat in which I was sitting. I struck him on the hands, threatened him with my sabre; but he would not desist from his purpose, till I gave him a blow with the fist on his head; upon which he left me, and swam on shore. Another old man wanted to take possession of the rudder of the Baydare,¹ at which the pilot was so enraged that he was going to shoot him, had he not been prevented by the gentlemen on board of her; and to avoid disagreeable consequences, I determined to return to the ship. The island is surrounded with red coral reefs; at the place in which we were, the water was not more than a foot in depth. At the reef the depth is five fathoms; and about fifteen fathoms from the shore, we could not reach the bottom; the islanders had assembled on this reef, on which account we could not have landed without danger. There were about eighteen boats which surrounded us, none held more than six men; several only one or two; and they were all without masts. The number of islanders in the boats, and on the shore, amounted to about two hundred; we saw but a few women among them, and no children. The island is very woody, and we saw a great many pandanus, but only a very few and low cocoa trees. The islanders were all tattooed, like those that came to the ship, and likewise had rolled leaves in their ears.

That we had begun the new year with a discovery, seemed to us a good omen, and gave us all much pleasure. I now changed my plan of sailing to the Kutusof's group, and, as it might be conjectured that there were several other groups near New Year's Island, I steered, by the aid of a faint N. wind, to the S.W., to come again into the parallel of 10°, and then to take a westerly course. The parallel 10° in the longitude of 189° in Arrowsmith's map, is strewed with such a great number of islands that I could not miss them, even if the tenth part of them existed. When the sun set, we lost sight of New Year's Island, though we were distant from it only a few miles, and tacked during the night under few sails, to keep the ship on one point.

The 3d of January.—Latitude 0°59'47" N., longitude 189°38' [W]. We continued our course to W., saw a number of snipes, but no land, and were soon, according to the ship's reckoning, in latitude 10°2', longitude 189°40'. I now thought it unnecessary to go further to W., being convinced that the islands marked on Arrowsmith's map are not to be found here, and therefore ordered the ship to tack to S.E., to try my luck in that direction. After we had followed this course till seven o'clock in the evening, we were in latitude 9°37', seven miles west of the course of the preceding year, without being able to descry land from the mast-head. Immediately before sun set, we punished a pelican for its tenacity in flying so close over our heads that we might have caught it with our hands; a shot brought it down into the sea, and I sent out a boat, notwithstanding the high waves, to fetch this prize for our collection of natural history. During the night we kept our station under a few sails; a serene horizon is very rare in these parts, a thick fog always seems to rest on it.

1 Ed. note: An Eskimo canoe brought from the Aleutian Islands.



Wotje atoll, Ratak chain, Marshall Islands. (*Adapted from Edwin H. Bryan, Jr.'s Guide to Place Names.*)

[Re-discovery of Wotje]¹

The 4th. Latitude $9^{\circ}43'$, longitude $189^{\circ}53'$. I intended to remain only for to-day in these parts: at break of day I caused all the sails to be set to follow the course to W. by S. till noon, and then tack to S.E. A fresh wind from N.N.E. favoured our course; the **Rurick** ran seven knots; it was near noon, and our hope had almost sunk, when we suddenly heard the joyful news from the mast-head that land was seen to the S. by W. At one o'clock, we could already see from the quarter-deck, at a distance of six miles, a chain of small woody islands, the spaces between which were filled up by reefs; they extended as far as the eye could reach, and I had now counted above twenty. I followed the chain at a distance of two miles, and saw the surf furiously raging between the spaces, and the water at the other side of the chain quite smooth. At four o'clock in the afternoon we reached the western point of the group; here the islands ended, but a long reef, which appeared a little above the water, extended to S.W., and then took its direction to S.E. further than the eye could reach. As soon as we had sailed round the western

¹ Ed. note: Wotje had already been discovered by the Villalobos expedition on Christmas Day 1542 (see HM1:581).

point of the reef, we were under the wind in very still water, and as I hoped to be able to discover a passage between the reefs, I approached them within 200 fathoms, and sailed along them at the same distance. I knew from experience that the depth between such coral reefs is always considerable, and I therefore approached nearer, braving the danger which threatened us; besides this, it is the only way to examine them, as, even at the distance of half a mile, the passage is no longer visible. D'Entrecasteaux, who, in surveying the coast of New California [sic = Caledonia?], likewise hoped to find a passage between the reefs, says he only approached them within three miles, and therefore could not possibly make the desired discoveries. Such a dangerous navigation always requires the greatest precaution; the sailor must never quit the mast-head, a second must be on the bowsprit, a third on the fore part of the ship (the gin), and the mate, provided with a good telescope, must sit in the round top [i.e. crow's nest] to give timely warning of every danger. Captain Flinders, with justice, says, in his Voyage, when he was examining Torres Strait, which is likewise strewed over with countless reefs, "He who has no strong nerves ought to leave such an attempt alone." Mine allowed me to face the danger, though every sudden change of the wind threatened us with death, because the ship might be immediately wrecked. I and all my companions were on our guard, and the crew was prepared every moment to put the ship about. With these precautions we continued our way very quickly, without missing the least bending or opening of the reef. The chain lay to the north of us, at the distance of six miles; the way thither was saved us by the reef, which was two fathoms broad; upon the other side of it the water was smooth, and the depth appeared considerable. As far as we could see, the reef extended to S.E., and we observed, at the end of it, from the mast-head, a small island lying higher than the rest, and which probably united with the reef. At last, to our great joy, we discovered two passages, through which we hoped to be able to pass with the **Rurick**, though they were very narrow. This discovery, which is important, not only to us, but to every navigator, would certainly have been passed over by us, had we not approached the reef within musket-shot. It was too late to make any examination to-day, and we left our dangerous situation for the night.

The 5th of January. Latitude 9°27'55" N., longitude 190°11'30". The current had carried us so far to N.W. during the night that we could not see any land; we however again got sight of the island at seven o'clock, and at nine were at the same point we left yesterday. I now sent Lieutenant Schischmareff to explore the most northern of the two passages, in which he found a considerable depth, but judged it impossible to force the ship in, as the fair way or channel was seldom more than fifty fathoms broad, made continual turnings, and besides this, the entrance was in such a direction that the monsoon always blew out of it. The other passage, which was four miles more to the south, had now to be explored; we reached it at noon, and were with the **Rurick** 200 fathoms from its entrance, and, while Schischmareff was sounding the channel, we took observations of the latitude and longitude of this strait. We saw Schischmareff get happily between the reefs, upon which he made the signal that the channel itself had no bottom, but at the place where he then was, 100 fathoms, and at the other side of the reef

26 fathoms water, upon a coral bottom: the narrowest pass in the strait he stated at 128 fathoms. This information gave me uncommon satisfaction, as I could now hope to reach it with the ship, and to make this very remarkable discovery. These islands inspire great interest, merely by their nature, as they owe their origin entirely to marine animals; and I determined to hazard a great deal, before I gave up this plan of penetrating this chain of islands. The boat was called back as a fresh wind sprung up, and rendered further examination difficult; our situation was also dangerous as the day was drawing to a close, and my whole attention was bent to find a means to remain during the night in this interesting, but dangerous spot. At length I hit upon one which, hazardous as it was, we however adopted, not to be obliged to leave the place. It was this: Lieutenant Schischmareff went with a stream anchor to the reef, fastened it to it, and when he had given a signal that he had succeeded, I steered thither with the **Rurick**, brought it within 50 fathoms of the place, took in all the sails, and then the ship was fastened to the stream anchor with a cable of 175 fathoms in length. The die was cast, and as long as the monsoon continued to blow from N.E. there was no danger, but had it turned to the S.E., which is frequently the case, our fate would have been inevitable. The **Rurick** now stood in the middle of the ocean, fastened to a coral reef, under the protection of God, in whom I trusted; a strange feeling seized me in this singular situation; a look on the raging sea made me shudder; but when I again turned my eyes towards the channel, the most pleasing hope animated me, to which I willingly resigned myself. The reefs consist principally of dark coral, which is mixed with but a little red; at low water the rocks are visible for about two feet, which was the case when we fixed the stream anchor; but all was soon covered by the rising tide. We had, at a small distance from it, 40 fathoms' depth, but which increased a little further so much, that we could find no bottom. On the east side of the channel a little sandy island has formed itself, but which will certainly extend in time, and when covered with vegetation, will assume the form of the other islands.¹ A number of sharks surrounded us, which devoured every thing thrown overboard; they seemed to keep chiefly about the channel, probably because many fish swim in and out with the regular current. We saw many flying fish rising in the air, I suppose to avoid their enemies. The boat which was sounding the channel was attacked by sharks, which would not be driven away by striking them with the oars; two of them were caught, which was very easy, as they swallowed the hook immediately it was thrown in the water. We had now ended our examinations; a violent gust of wind from E.N.E., which half an hour before would have alarmed us very much, gave us but little uneasiness, as the cable held fast. At midnight we observed the current from the channel, which, when it was most rapid, ran one knot.

The 6th of January, at four o'clock in the morning, when it was still quite dark, the wind changed to E., and soon after to E. by S., which brought the **Rurick** so close to the reef, that it was easy to throw a stone into the breakers; the depth here was 23 fathoms. As no more than another point to the S. would suffice to dash us against the

1 Ed. note: It has since disappeared.

rocks, I was obliged to quit my post, and even to leave the stream anchor behind, which, being deep under water, would have taken too much time. The cable was loosened, the sails hoisted, and we retired from the reef without injury, tacking near it. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, we again directed our course to the entrance, found the wind from E. and E. by S., embraced this moment, as it permitted us to run into the channel without tacking, into which we sailed with all our sails spread. At forty minutes past nine we were in the middle of the channel. A death-like silence prevailed on board the ship; we heard on both sides the roaring of the breakers, and every one was ready at his post. At length, the mate called from the mast-head that we were out of danger, for the water now assumed a dark colour. The **Rurick**, in fact, was sailing over water as smooth as a mirror; we had the breakers behind us, congratulated each other on the success of our hazardous attempt, and looked eagerly at the islands, which we hoped soon to reach. The current, which run two knots in the narrow part, had rapidly carried us past every danger, for we had been only fifteen minutes from the beginning to the end of the strait. We gave the channel the name of Rurick's Strait.¹ The wind allowed us to steer direct to the westernmost island, where we saw, on the 4th,² from W. to E., columns of smoke, and, by means of a telescope, some people also, a sight which heightened our triumph at having penetrated hither. In spite of our desire to become acquainted with the inhabitants of this unknown island, we sailed slowly and with precaution, and often threw out the lead that we might not run aground. Immediately after we left Rurick's Strait, the depth was from 26 to 27 fathoms, over a ground of living coral; but as we approached the island it regularly decreased, and at a distance of two miles we found it 18 fathoms. The ground, which sometimes consisted of fine coral sand, induced us to hope that we should find a good anchoring place near the island, and Lieutenant Schischmareff, who had gone on before with the boat, soon made us a signal, that he had found ten fathoms' depth over fine coral sand, upon which we directed our course thither.³ In the N. lay, at a distance of 200 fathoms, the reef which united the third with the fourth island. At the same distance we were protected to the E. by a coral reef, visible at low water, and we lay in quite smooth water, which was not agitated in this place, even during the most violent wind. Our view was for the present confined in the E. to the chain of islands; in the W. we saw the reef, round the outside of which we had sailed; in the S. we had the clear horizon before us: even from the mast-head, the reef through which we had sailed could not be discovered, and only the small high island which I have mentioned before, was visible. The farther geography of this group of islands was still enveloped in darkness; yet it was to be conjectured that there must be a connection to the east, because no high waves came from that side. We were at first so agreeably occupied with our situation, that we postponed the farther examination. I resolved not to quit the place till I had determined it astronomically by vari-

1 Ed. note: The pass in question appears as n° 61, Mar. 9, in Bryan's Place Names.

2 To avoid mistakes I shall number the islands, counting from W. to E.

3 On the chart drawn by us here, our anchorage, and the situation of the islands, are distinctly marked. Vide Plan of the group of islands Romanzoff.

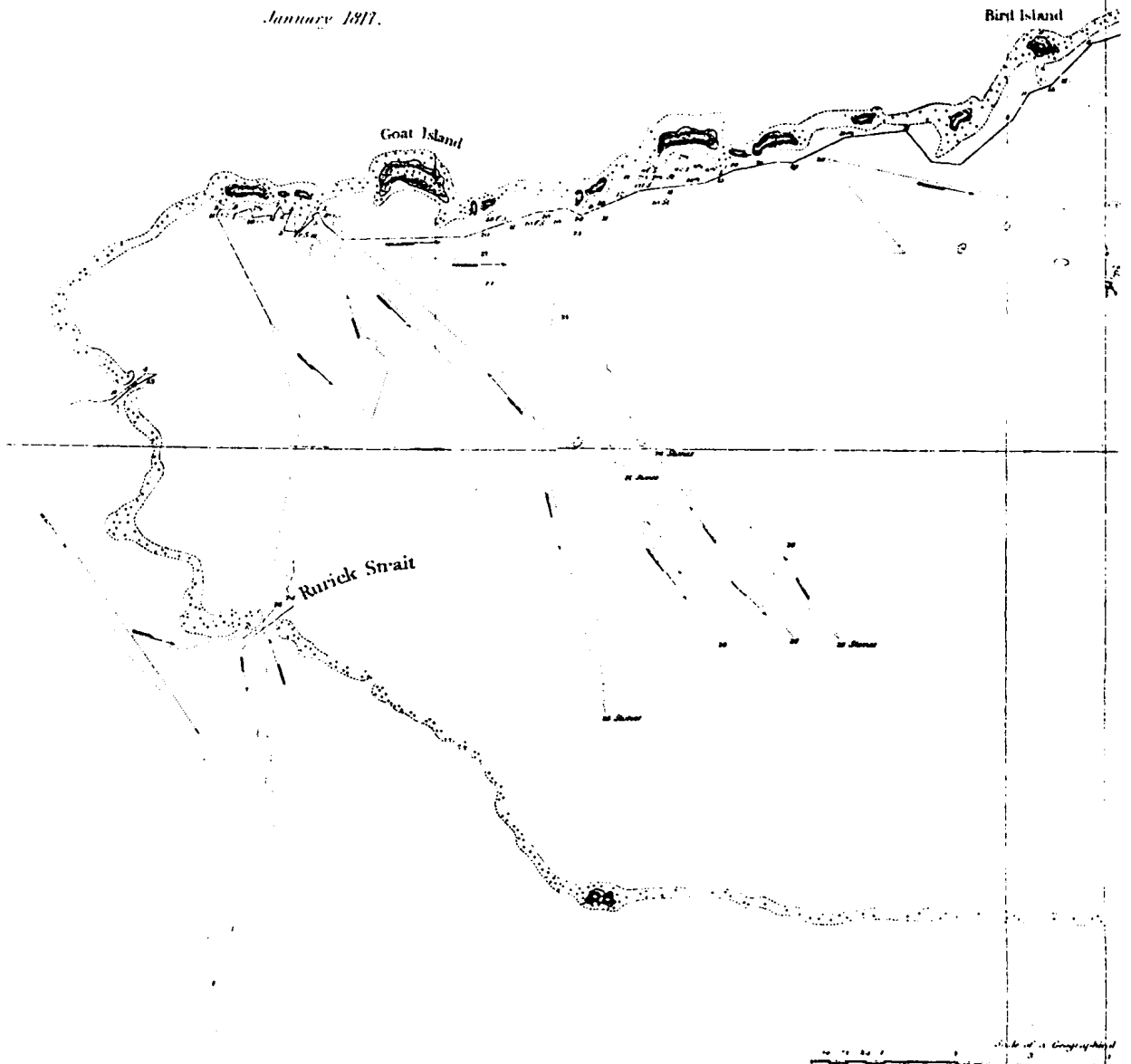
ous observations, tried and regulated my chronometers, and done some work on board the ship, which could not be done in open sea. At our anchoring place we found the water so transparent, that we could see the bottom at a depth of from 10 to 12 fathoms; at the same time we had the most beautiful weather. Our naturalists, who had made an excursion into the third island, returned in the evening with shells and plants, much satisfied with their success. The islands 1, 2, and 3, we found uninhabited, though we everywhere discovered traces of human beings. At three o'clock in the afternoon, we saw a boat under sail, coming from the E., which stopped at the fourth island, landed something there, and then directed its course to us. From the large sail, and the skilful manœuvring we observed, that it entirely resembled that of the Kutusof's group. It approached the **Rurick** within 50 fathoms, the sail was taken in, and an old man at the helm, probably the commander, showed us some fruit, speaking a great deal. The many times repeated word, *Aidara*,¹ reminded us of New Year's Island, where we had also heard it. We did not succeed in enticing them nearer to the ship; they always contrived to keep at a certain distance from us by tacking; they looked at the ship with much curiosity, but they took no notice of us. At length I sent off a little boat to them, but as soon as they saw it put off, they retired, and when our people overtook them, they, terrified at their approach, threw into it bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and pandanus; some pieces of iron, however, which were shown them lessened their fear, and they joyfully accepted them. They now talked a great deal without our being able to understand one another, and at length the savages left us, taking their course to the fourth island, to which they invited us by signs.² From this first meeting it was to be concluded, that we had to deal with a very kind-hearted people. The manner of their tattooing and dressing is the same as on New Year's Island, and it is highly probable that it is the same race. We found ourselves very happy in being in this secure place, as the weather was gloomy, and the wind very high.

Early on the 7th of January, I sent the long-boat and the Baydare for the stream-anchor which we had left behind, and which they safely brought on board in the afternoon. To-day our new acquaintance manœuvred round our ship, all adorned with wreaths of flowers, and in the highest state. I sent Lieutenant Schischmareff and Mr. Chamisso to the fourth island, to try to conciliate the confidence of the inhabitants, who would on no account approach us; and as soon as the old man perceived that our boat was going that way, he did not stay a moment, but followed her with the loudest expressions of joy. We saw both boats put on shore, and Lieutenant Schischmareff will give an account of what happened there.

1 Ed. note: Meaning "friend", says Kotzebue below. "[I'm] your friend" is now "am jera."

2 Ed. note: Named Goat Island by the expedition; it is n° 67 in Bryan.

Plan
of the Group called
ROXALANDER'S ISLANDS,
the north of which is 17° 20' 47" North Lat.
and 159° 57' 13" West Long
of Greenwich.
Declination of the Needle 11° 38' East.
January 1817.





(Previous two pages:) **Plan of the Group called Romanzoff's Islands**, the middle of which is 9°26'47" North Lat. and 189°57'13" West Long. of Greenwich. One can admire the courage of the 30-year-old commander of the brig **Rurik** when he insisted upon penetrating Otdia, i.e. Wotje, Atoll in January 1817. Thus, he and his crew soon learned to appreciate the depth of water in the lagoon by the color of the water. Many scientific observations enabled them to fix the position of individual islets very accurately. They observed that Wotje had been re-colonized only recently, as there were hardly any coconut trees. Later on, they found out that an ambitious local chief, named Lamary, had recently conquered the northern half of the Radak, or Ratak, Chain.

Report of Lieutenant Schischmareff.

"In consequence of your command I have been to Goat Island, in order to become acquainted with its inhabitants. I steered directly up to a place which appeared to me convenient to land, and the islanders also stood for it in their boats. On landing, I observed several people walking about their huts, who immediately fled into the woods on seeing us. I landed near a hut, and as I found nobody in it, I did not proceed farther, but waited for the islanders who had not been able to land where I did, but had been obliged to steer to a spot a quarter of a mile lower down. I left my men in the boat, and went up to them alone; six men got out of the boat; some of the fugitives came up to them, but soon withdrew, as well as three of those who had just landed; the other three came up to me. I did not understand what drove them into the woods, whether fear, or a plan for a surprise; but which did not appear dangerous to me, as I had two pistols about me, and had my armed men at hand; but when they approached me, I saw that they were without any arms, and that all three appeared afraid of me. They kept at a distance of twenty paces from me; an elderly man held something white in his hand, on leaves, which he seemed to design for me, but would not venture to come nearer; meantime he broke off the bough of a tree, probably as an emblem of peace: I immediately did the same, and went up to him. The man at first timidly drew back, but he at last offered his present, always repeating the word *Aidara*. I received the present; and, though I did not know the meaning of it, I also said after him, *Aidara*. I have learnt, in the sequel, that *Aidara* means Friend.¹ Upon this, the woman who was with him, and who was probably his wife, gave me a pandanus branch; and the third person, a young man of about twenty years of age, who had no present ready for me, presented me with his own necklace, with which I adorned my hat; the old man then took a wreath of flowers from his head, which I directly put on mine. This, it seems, gave them courage, and we went together to the huts, where we were joined by our naturalist, whom they in the same manner presented with a necklace and wreath. I had now the iron brought, with which I returned their presents; the rest from the woods now came up, and also received

1 Ed. note: However, Chamisso (see Doc. 1817C) says, wrongly, that *Eidara* means Good.

iron; they were much rejoiced at it, and expressed their gratitude and joy by repeated exclamations, and friendly behaviour. We were now surrounded by all the islanders, thirteen in number; they shewed themselves open and friendly, but always a little shy: they were all unarmed. The company consisted of a man of about forty years of age, two elderly and one young woman, and three young men of twenty years' old, and some children from nine to fifteen; one of them was but three years' old, and was still in arms; the oldest man had a short black beard, short black hair, and wore a short mat; the others had no beard: the young men also wore mats, but the children were quite naked. The women were wrapped in mats from the hips to the feet; they were all of a pretty dark colour, but slender and slightly built. They all seemed very clean; the men were painted with different squares of a dark blue colour, like those on New Year's Island; the women had not much of this painting on their neck and bosom: they all wore rolled leaves in their ear-holes; the neck was adorned with a row of shells, and they wore wreaths of flowers on their heads. They have a great resemblance with the natives of New Year's Island; their countenance expressed much good nature. I should here observe, that we had one family before us of which the elderly man was the head. Our naturalist gave to the father some seeds of water-melons, and showed him how to plant them; and I enquired, as well as I was able, whence they procured the water which I found with them in cocoa shells. They understood me, and conducted me to a place almost in the middle of the island, where the rain-water collects in a pool from the higher grounds. We now went to the shore, where we met with some large trees which had been drifted there by the sea, and resembled our oaks. Coming up again to the huts, the chief invited us to enter his, which consisted of a roof resting on four poles; two mats were laid down in the inside, on which we were invited to sit. A woman dressed a pandanus fruit, which she bruised with a stone; the man then pressed the juice into a shell; and though all this was done with the hands, it was done with the greatest cleanliness; and as he was presenting us with the juice, and something fell into it, he did not take it out with his fingers, but with a chip. During this time our sailors were entertained in another hut, I made the chief a present of two knives and some pieces of iron, and Mr. Chamisso of some fishing-hooks. We invited him to come to our ships and he seemed much pleased with us. We had thus formed a new acquaintance, and the word *Aidara* was often exchanged between us. Our new friends also accompanied us to the shore, and assisted us in getting our boat into the water."

The small number of people whom Schischmareff met with, leads me to suppose that they must have their proper abode elsewhere, and only visit the island at times. A white lump was brought me, resembling white chalk, the use of which I did not learn till I had become more acquainted with the islanders. A plant grows here, called by the natives

mogomuk, and its root, which resembles a small potatoe, is dried in the sun, and rubbed to powder; it produces a fine flour, which, when pressed into lumps, may be kept a long time without spoiling.¹ When it is to be eaten, a little is broken off one of these lumps, mixed with water in a cocoa-shell, and boiled till it becomes a thick pap; its taste is not amiss, and has a great resemblance to our potatoes: this plant grows wild.

Early on the 8th we saw the boat with our friends sailing to the E., where it soon vanished. They probably went to distant islands to carry the news of the arrival of the large ship with the white men. At noon, I went on shore, in the hope of meeting with some people; but they were all gone; which I regretted the more, as I had provided myself with useful presents; six goats,² a cock and a hen, and various kinds of seeds, and yams, were all objects not to be expected here, and with which I hoped to enrich them for the future. We landed opposite the hut where Schischmareff had been yesterday so kindly received. The goats received their liberty, and immediately fell to upon the fine grass, which, after their long voyage, they found growing beside the huts; the cock, with his hen, immediately mounted on the roof of it, and proclaimed, by loud crowing, that he had taken possession of it, while he tenderly divided with his consort a lizard which he had caught. I planted the yams in the neighbourhood of the habitations, and, in a walk which we made into the interior of the island, Mr. Chamisso sowed in various places the seeds which we had brought with us.

After a slight observation, we found that this island, like all the others, consisted of fragments of coral. The animal builds upwards from the bottom of the sea, and dies as soon as it reaches the surface; from this edifice there is then formed, by the constant washing of the sea, a grey calcareous stone, which seems to be the basis in all the islands, and, being gradually covered with sand, becomes a sandy island, which increases in the course of time, and, by the seeds³ which the sea washes up, is covered with plants, which, by the falling off of the leaves, at length produce a black fruitful earth. I cannot enter into a detailed explanation of the origin of the Coral islands; they belong to the department of the naturalist, from whom the reader must expect further information.⁴ The island was covered in many places with an impenetrable wood, where the pandanus, which diffuses an agreeable aromatic smell, is the most frequent kind of tree; the bread-fruit tree, which arrives here to an immense thickness and height, is also very frequent: the time of the fruits seemed to be past. Cocoa trees are very rare; we, however,

1 Ed. note: *Mogemog* is a Carolinian word for arrowroot. This may not be a Marshallese word, as their best informant (whom they were to meet soon) was a Carolinian man from the Central Carolines by the name of Kadu, who had drifted to the Marshalls.

2 Ed. note: Hence, the name of Goat Islands for this islet of Wotje.

3 This seed is of such a nature, that it can be drifted about the sea for years together without spoiling, as it lies concealed in a thick shell. It probably comes from the coasts of America, where it is carried by the rivers into the sea, and, by the strong current which, between the tropics, generally go from E. to W. is at last brought to these islands. To be convinced of the possibility of this, we may remember the Japanese ship which was carried by the current from E. to W. [rather from W to E] in 17 months from the coast of Japan to California.

4 Ed. note: See Doc. 1817C by Chamisso.

found some young trees of this species, which had been lately planted. Of animals, we have only seen rats of a middling size, and lizards; the former are so bold, that they run about us without showing the least fear. We did not see any land birds. In a square pit, in a low part of the island, we found clear water, of so pure a taste, that I sent for some every day. When we left the island, which I called Goat's Island, we saw the goats, with the cock and hen, in their old place. The inhabitants will certainly be much surprised at their new guests, but, as I also left a piece of iron behind, they will, at the same time, be convinced, that we came here only with good intentions.

The evening and the following night we had a violent squall of wind and rain from E. by N.; and the 9th we spent the morning in various works, and in vain expectation of the inhabitants. In the afternoon I sent a boat for water, and at the same time the mate Chramtschenko was charged to draw a base line, and to take angles. The boat returned in the evening with the news, that people had been found there who had probably arrived in the night. The mate told me that they had received him very kindly, obliged him to take some ornaments which he had refused to accept, treated him with pandanus' juice, and, besides, did not let him want for entertainment. He farther observed, that he had seen neither women nor children, but a very old man whom he had not known before. Chramtschenko found the presents we had brought thither, the buck and the goats having taken for their night's lodging a small hut near the principal habitation. The islanders ventured to cast only stolen glances upon these animals, and were ready to run away every time they moved. It may easily be supposed what an impression such a strange animal with horns and a long beard must have made on the savages, and it is not surprising that they run in all directions with loud cries, on an attempt being made to bring one nearer to them. This description of their fright put me in mind of Robinson's Friday, who had likewise been in the greatest alarm on seeing a goat. The mate tried to make them understand that the goats were a present from us, and intended for their support; which they at length seemed to understand, as they often repeated the word *Aidara*, by which they meant to express their gratitude and friendly intentions. The fowls were known to them; they called the cock *kahu*, and the hen *lia-lia-kahu*. A piece of stuff, which we had yesterday left in the hut, and which was still lying in the same place, gave them indescribable joy when the mate divided it. We considered this great honesty; but, on a nearer acquaintance, found them to be errant thieves, and that their reserve was only owing to their fear. During our stay here we made several observations, and took a number of [lunar] distances.

January 10.—After the longitude and latitude of our anchoring-place had been carefully observed, I resolved to follow the chain of islands farther to the east, and, therefore, dispatched Lieutenant Schischmareff, at five o'clock in the morning, with the long-boat, to look for an anchoring-place, which we might reach in one day from the place where we now were; for as the wind here generally blows from the east, and fresh during the day, no great progress can be made in this direction; which, however, could not divert me from my plan. In the morning we had fine weather, but in the afternoon a violent storm arose, which compelled the long-boat to return to the ship. Lieutenant

Schischmareff had proceeded seven miles without finding a safe anchorage; though the nature of the bottom and the depth allowed of anchoring in some places, yet there was no where any protection against the waves from the east, which cause the ship to reel, and the cables are exposed to the danger of being cut by the coral rocks. On his way, he remarked several coral banks which lay southwards from the chain of islands; close to the reefs which connect the islands, the bottom consists of fine sand; but opposite the islands, of living corals. When Schischmareff was passing by Goat Island, he saw men on the intermediate reefs, who were taking advantage of the ebb, to pass from one island to another; all the other islands appeared to him to be uninhabited.

January 11.—As by Schischmareff's account, the examination with the long-boat was exposed to difficulties, partly because the strong wind would not permit it to make much progress, partly because the waves continually dashed over it, I resolved, with the first fair weather, to make an attempt with the **Rurick** itself. The weather to-day was not favourable to the attempt; I therefore remained at anchor, and went in the afternoon to Goat Island, to make observations with the dipping needle. I saw no men there, but plenty of rats, which often interrupted me in my work, as I was obliged to drive them away. I found one of the goats dead, probably of indigestion from change of food. I have given our anchoring-place the name of "Christmas Harbour," because we passed that holiday there, according to the old style.¹

The 12th, the wind blew violently from E. by N., and seemed not favourable to my undertaking; however, we were under sail as early as six o'clock in the morning, because I hoped that the weather would become fine at sun-rise, as had often happened. At first we tacked with good success, but this pleasure did not continue long; the wind grew more and more violent, the air so dark that the land was hidden from us; it was necessary at last to reef the top-sails, by which the sheets were often torn, and much time lost. All these inconveniencies we had borne courageously, but when now the sun, by a single beam, enlightened the surrounding objects, the man at the mast-head, and the mate at the top, cried out, "We are surrounded by shallows; we are in the midst of coral reefs." In an instant the ship was turned against the wind; and it was high time, for we were just on the point of running upon a shoal which the cloudy weather had concealed from us; but we had scarcely time to perceive our critical situation, when the sun was again involved in clouds, and we were again in danger. Most of these banks hardly reach the surface of the sea, are of small extent, and rise perpendicularly from the bottom. In clear weather they may be seen at a considerable distance, as every shoal is marked by a dark spot on the water; but in gloomy weather the whole surface of the sea is of a dark colour, and the danger is not perceived till there is scarcely time to avoid it. This was our case; for as soon as the ship was under weigh we perceived a shoal; we tacked, and tacked again; and at last came rain, which enveloped us in darkness, and

1 Ed. note: The 4th island, i.e. N° 63, Mar. 9, in Bryan's Place Names. According to Christian orthodox customs, Christmas falls on 6 January, which coincides with our Feast-day of the Epiphany, or of the Three Kings, by the Roman calendar.

gusts of wind which again tore the main-top sheets. I now gave up the idea of proceeding farther, and only thought of carrying our ship back safe to our harbour. After innumerable tackings between coral banks and shoals, we, in fact, succeeded in regaining our anchoring-place, but exhausted with fatigue, having passed three hours in truly painful exertions. In this unsuccessful expedition we had penetrated seven miles to the east, and had descried from the mast-head land in that direction, whence we conjectured that we were in the midst of an archipelago of islands.

We had bad weather, not only this day, but the 13th, one gust of wind followed another, and some were so violent that I was in fear for the cable: after a heavy torrent of rain it was calmer. In the afternoon I sent a boat to Goat Island to fetch water, which we did daily, in order to spare the stock of water which we had brought from the Sandwich islands. The rain-water which is caught is unfit for keeping, as it becomes putrid in six days. Meantime we saw a boat, coming from the eastward, land at Goat Island, and the subaltern officer informed me that he had found people there, who had received him in a friendly manner; some of the women even endeavouring to entertain him by singing and dancing. We solemnized New Year's day (old style) by repose, and I busied myself with a plan for making an excursion in boats, as soon as the weather should become more favourable.

On the 14th, in the morning, we again saw a boat from the east, under sail, which landed on Goat Island; it was the second of the kind, and I now confidently hoped that the abode of these savages must be on the eastern part of the group of islands. The mate, whom I had sent on business to the island, returned with the news, that he had found strange islanders; that he had been treated with boiled fish and baked bread-fruit, and likewise entertained by the women with singing and dancing. Every meeting that we had yet had with the natives proved their gentle dispositions. The goats were still objects of terror to them, and one of them had to-day in particular thrown them into great alarm: the mate advancing to the huts, the oldest man held out a nosegay to him, as a sign of peace; the he-goat ran up to his old companion, and as he ran by, snatched the nosegay with such violence from the hand of the terrified savage, that the latter received a blow with the horns; of course he and all his companions ran off with loud cries, and the mate had a great deal of trouble to entice them back to their habitations, after he had driven the goats into the bushes.

The weather was to-day uncommonly fine, and favourable for our enterprise; no time was lost in making every thing ready, and at one o'clock in the afternoon I left the **Rurick**, accompanied by our scientific gentlemen, Lieutenant Schischmareff, and several sailors, in two well-armed boats. We were, in all, nineteen persons, and had taken provisions for five days. At three in the afternoon we reached the fifth island,¹ where I resolved to stay for the night, and to continue our voyage to the east at day-break. I purposely made so short a way to-day, that my people, who were obliged to row incessantly, might not be too much fatigued; besides, we all wished to satisfy our curiosity

1 Ed. note: Anewod, N° 68 in Bryan's Place Names.

here by examining the corals, as well on the island as on the reef. It happened that we arrived just when the tide was at the highest, and were therefore able conveniently to bring the boats into a channel between the fifth and sixth islands; at the ebb they were indeed left dry, so that we had to take care to get them afloat again at high water, twelve hours afterwards. We pitched our tent on a pleasant meadow, under the shade of a pandanus tree; and, while a fire was lighting to make tea, I strolled about the island with my gun, and our naturalists busied themselves with the corals. I had soon traversed the island in all directions, it being only half a mile in circumference. The interior of it consists of large dead blocks of coral, which are covered with a layer of mould not more than two inches deep at the most, whereas on Goat Island it is in many places at least three feet deep. This difference proves how much more recently this little island has arisen; and, on the whole chain, the remark was subsequently confirmed, that the smaller islands, in comparison with the larger ones, were much behind, and the vegetation but poor, because they are destitute of earth, which is produced only in a long series of years by the falling off and rotting of the old leaves.

The spot on which I stood filled me with astonishment, and I adored in silent admiration the omnipotence of God, who had given even to these minute animals the power to construct such a work. My thoughts were confounded when I consider the immense series of years that must elapse, before such an island can rise from the fathomless abyss of the ocean, and become visible on the surface. At a future period they will assume another shape; all the islands will join and form a circular slip of earth, with a pond or lake in the circle; and this form will again change, as these animals continue building, till they reach the surface, and then the water will one day vanish, and only one great island be visible. It is a strange feeling to walk about on a living island, where all below is actively at work. And to what corner of the earth can we penetrate, where human beings are not already to be found? In the remotest regions of the north, amidst mountains of ice, under the burning sun of the equator, nay, even in the middle of the ocean, on islands which have been formed by animals, they are met with!

I visited also the sixth island,¹ to which, at the ebb, I could pass without wetting my feet, and found it exactly like the fifth. On the shores, which are exposed to the open sea, the breakers rage in a dreadful manner, the foaming spray dashes many fathoms into the air, and long blocks of coral, probably rent from the reef during violent storms, and thrown on shore, lay scattered all around; the shore is covered with a quantity of shells of various kinds, and fragments of coral. After looking in vain for a bird worth adding to our collections, I returned to our resting-place, where we all assembled cheerfully round the tea-kettle, and heartily rejoiced at being on so remarkable an island, which we had ourselves discovered. Chamisso and Eschscholz returned with a quantity of rare corals and marine animals; their conversation upon them was instructive, and we listened with attention, till the rats and lizards disturbed us by stealing our biscuit. Chamisso and Eschscholz affirmed that these rats and lizards were not different from

1 Ed. note: Anemwaan, N° 69 in Bryan's Place Names.

those of Europe; the question was started, whence did they come? And this problem can only be solved,—by the shipwreck of a vessel on these islands. The same question arose, when our common flies here pestered us incessantly. We saw many crabs, (*Muschelkrebse, cancer parasiticus,*) which always carry their dwelling about with them.¹ Thus the evening came on, amidst various interesting researches and observations; and our repast, which consisted of English patent meat, and which we found excellent, filled us with gratitude towards the inventor.

I had a fire kept up during the night; and two sentinels, with their guns loaded, were stationed on both sides of our resting-place, to give the alarm by a shot, if necessary; we also slept in our clothes, with our arms by us. Though these precautions were almost too great among so mild a people, I did not like to depart even here, from the rule which I had laid down, never to neglect the greatest caution. We passed the night undisturbed; but I could not sleep for thinking of the discoveries I expected to make. The fire in the wood in the darkness of the night, the calling of the watch, the wild songs of the savages in Goat Island, the hollow roaring of the surf, the entire strangeness of the place in which I was, produced in me a most singular emotion, which kept me awake, and I almost envied my companions, who were all buried in peaceful sleep.

At three o'clock in the morning, according to my calculation, the water must have reached its height; I hastened to our boats, and found, to my vexation, that there was not water sufficient to get them out; which compelled us to wait to-day for the tide by which we landed. We employed ourselves meantime, as the weather was delightful, in examining the corals, and when the water rose, I ordered the long-boat to be loaded. Just as we were ready to set out upon our voyage, the sailor who kept watch, called out that he saw two **boats**, one of which was very large, coming from the east; they had observed us, and came directly towards the island. I resolved to wait for the boats, ordered the arms to be placed in readiness, and stood myself, with Schischmareff and our naturalists unarmed, and with eager expectation on the shore. Both soon anchored at a short distance, and the dexterity with which they brought their canoes under the wind, and took in the sails, proved to us that they were very experienced seamen, and gave us great pleasure. Their sails consisted of very finely braided mat, and were shaped with so much art, that even the closest sidewind could not fail to catch them. The large boat, on board of which we counted five and twenty men, was thirty feet long, had on the outriggers a small hut, and a number of ropes hung down from the very high mast.

[Description of Rarick]

After they had, amidst much noise, finished their manœuvres, four men leaped into the water, and swam towards us. One of them led the way, bearing a large shell-horn; the others followed with cocoa-nuts and pandanus fruit; and those who had remained behind, awaited in silence the success of their embassy, which advanced towards us with much confidence. The leader, with the horn, was advantageously distinguished by his

1 Ed. note: Commonly known as the Hermit crab.

whole appearance: he was a tall, well-made man, of thirty; his black hair, which was elegantly bound together upon his head, was ornamented with a wreath of white flowers, in the form of a crown. In his ear-lobes, which were remarkably large, he wore rolls of tortoise-shell, ornamented with flowers; round his neck hung various gay ornaments: he was differently tattooed, and much more than the others, which gave him the appearance of a man in armour: his face, animated by a pair of most expressive eyes, was adorned with whiskers. Astonishment, fear, and curiosity, alternated in his countenance; but, overcoming his feelings, he advanced towards me with a majestic step, and repeatedly uttering the word *Aidara!* presented to me his shell-horn.¹

His companions laid the fruit at my feet, looked at us with constrained friendliness, but trembled very much, particularly one of them, who had really convulsive contractions. We tried to inspire the embassy with courage, in which we succeeded pretty well, except with this one; and they seemed much surprised at our friendly behaviour. I had a red cloth spread on the shore, invited the chief to sit down, and sat down myself next to him, while the others, standing, formed a circle round us. He sat with much dignity after the Asiatic fashion, became more and more animated, and asked us many questions, sometimes pointing to the sea, sometimes to the sun, and then to the sky. I at last conceived that he wished to have it explained whether we came from the sky or the sea; and when I gave him to understand that I did not comprehend his language, he was vexed with himself, and talked always louder and quicker, while his looks viewed, without intermission, all the new objects around him, but without interrupting his conversation. When he was particularly pleased with any thing, he could not refrain from laying hold of it to inquire after its use; if we could make him comprehend it, he expressed his astonishment by a loud prolonged *O—h!* His companions, who otherwise did not utter a sound, repeated it; and the third echo of the long *O—h!* resounded from the canoes. He cried aloud to them what he had seen, again repeated his *O—h!* and continued his conversation till a new object attracted his attention. Among other things, he laid hold of a tin box, which he examined



Rarik, a chief of Wotje. *After a sketch by Louis Choris.*

¹ I have learnt that the leader makes use of this horn in war, and presents it only to his conqueror. They probably took us for supernatural beings, and consequently thought themselves already vanquished.

on all sides with much curiosity, and, when I opened the lid, started back with a loud *O—h!* He immediately announced the wonderful circumstance to the people in the canoes, and when I opened several boxes he was quite beside himself with astonishment, and there was no end of his monotonous exclamation. I shall call this inquisitive man Rarick, for so he was called by his companions, and I was delighted that his name differed from that of our ship in only a single letter. After I had long entertained myself with this amiable Rarick, and he had forced me to accept shell-wreaths, and several others of his elegantly wrought ornaments, I sent to the boats for some knives, scissors, and iron, and scarcely did the latter, which consisted of pieces of old hoops three inches long, strike their view, when they again repeated their astonishment by a loud *O—h!* and the desire to possess this treasure was evident in their ardent looks. *Möll! Möll!* (so they called the iron)¹ was now re-echoed from mouth to mouth; a terrible cry was set up in the boats, and six men, who could not resist the attractive charm, leaped into the water, and came to us to look at the iron; we could hear nothing but *Möll! Möll!* I presented Rarick with some pieces of iron, a knife, and scissors: he held his treasure with both hands, pressed it closely to his breast, as if he was afraid of losing it, and could scarcely persuade himself to believe that he possessed such an invaluable treasure, which the others devoured with greedy looks; but when their turn came, their envious countenance cleared up; the rejoicing was beyond bounds; they all danced about with their iron as if mad, crying, *Möll! Möll!* without intermission. Their comrades in the boats became uneasy; some ventured to swim to shore, and when they likewise received presents, the dreadful noise began anew. The bond of friendship was now concluded; the savages became less reserved, joked, and often embraced us. I tried to make Rarick understand that I intended to go to the east, where I supposed his habitation to be. He understood me, and willingly got into my boat. We set off; Rarick sat next to me, and the savages got their canoe under sail with admirable quickness, in order to put about, as their boats are not made for rowing. But as we were obliged to keep at some distance from them, not to get in each others' way, Rarick's courage failed; to be alone with us appeared dangerous to him, and his fear was evident in all his motions, though he tried to conceal it as much as he could. They often called something out to him from the canoes; the conversation between him and his subjects became more animated, and his anxiety increased with every stroke of the oars: we tried in vain to quiet him. Before we were aware of it, he jumped, with all his treasures, into the water, and swam quickly to his canoe, into which he got, and suddenly turned to Goat Island. It was impossible for us to suppose that they would abandon us, after having made them so many presents; but, probably, they had received tidings respecting the bearded, horned animals, at which they wished to look: and, in fact, my mate, who happened to be there at the time,

1 The use of it is known to these islanders; we found in the sequel several pieces among them, which they had probably procured from the beams of a wrecked vessel. Such beams, which appeared to be of American wood, were afterwards seen by ourselves. Ed. comment: As mentioned below, it had reached the Marshall Islands as flotsam. The word is now written Maal.

confirmed my supposition; they had looked at the goats with much surprise, had ran away in great terror when they bleated, and had then laughed at each other for their apprehension. Our companions left us at three o'clock, and we hastened to examine the ninth island¹ before sun-set, which we reached at seven o'clock, and where we determined to remain for the night, as my sailors had been much exhausted in rowing against the wind. We were now distant from the ship five miles, and still continued to see in the E. the open sea. As soon as we arrived, we crossed the island in all directions, to discover people, but found only traces of them, and some huts which had just been left.

[Description of Marshallese houses]

In the middle of the island stood a house, which entirely resembled that on Goat Island, except that it was considerably larger: it had the form of a Chinese temple; a square roof, very neatly made of rushes, pointed at the top, rested on four pillars, five feet above the ground, which protected it against the scorching rays of the sun, and the wind blew cool between the posts: the floor was paved with coral stones. The interior, from the top of the roof down to the posts, was divided by a handsomely worked lattice, in the middle of which there was a square opening, large enough conveniently to admit a man. The rats have certainly given the islanders the idea of building their huts on posts, for I observed that they had their store-room in the inside of the lattice, to which the rats could not get up the smooth pillars. Their sleeping houses are built on the ground, and consist of a roof, with two entrances: the habitation for the day are so large, that from twenty to thirty people have room in them. The house which we visited was filled with utensils of all kinds; fishing-nets, fish-hooks, lines, vessels of cocoa shells, and the like, lay all in confusion. Its situation made it a pleasant retreat, as it stood in the middle of a small grass-plot, surrounded and shaded by bread-fruit trees, which stood so close together that there was no approach to the house but by a narrow footpath.

This island appeared to us to be older than Goat Island, which we concluded, from the very luxuriant vegetation, and the deep mould. Here, too, cocoa trees were very scarce, but we every where saw young trees of this kind, just planted; it seems as if all the islands had been but lately inhabited. After we had, in vain, looked for inhabitants, we took up our quarters on a green spot, near the shore, and the heat of the day made us all long for the evening. The nights here are uncommonly fine, and have the advantage above those in other warm countries, that no dew falls, as the coral islands send forth no exhalations. You may repose at ease under the starry heavens, refreshed and cooled by the mild monsoon, which blows here, as it is not arrested by any high islands. The kettle with the patent meat assembled us to a cheerful meal, and we then lay down on our grass beds. The azure sky was our canopy; Sirius sparkled brightly over our heads, and a fine warm air breathed around us. The sentinels were placed as in the preceding night, and we had only to defend ourselves against the attacks of the rats. I awoke as the day was dawning, and enjoyed the rising of the sun; never did it appear

1 Ed. note: Nibwung, N° 72 in Bryan's Place Names.

to me to rise more majestically from the ocean, than on this low island: night was still hovering over the deep, a golden mist on the edge of the horizon announced the approach of the "king of day;" in a few seconds, he appeared in all his splendour, and the ocean, reflecting his radiance, afforded a most enchanting prospect.

On the 16th of January, we were already on our way again; at six o'clock in the morning, the faint wind, and the coolness of the morning, permitted us to row briskly. When we reached the ninth island, the nature of the bottom allowed us to anchor, though not so conveniently as in Christmas Harbour. The higher the sun rose, the fresher the wind became, and we did not reach till noon the thirteenth island,¹ having proceeded four miles from our night's quarters. Here we refreshed ourselves by a meal, and my sailors, whom I did not wish to expose to the fatiguing labour in the burning sun, rested for a few hours. The island was only a mile in circumference, and uninhabited; at least we neither discovered huts, nor reservoirs for water. A reef extends to the south, by which a small harbour was formed on the south-west part, which is protected towards the east. We climbed up a tolerably high tree, and saw land to the south-east,² by which I was confirmed in my supposition that we were in a circle of islands. To the N.E. 1-1/2 miles distant from us, lay a small island which appeared higher than any I had hitherto seen.³

After dinner, the sentinels informed us that they had seen three men, who were coming from the westward along the reef; they were favoured in this walk by the tide; and though the water is so deep in some places, that they are obliged to wade through it, the inhabitants, however, make use of this way, with as much confidence, as we do of our roads. By means of a telescope, I recognized Rarick, and his companions; they soon came up, unarmed, and were very happy to see us again. My friend was again uncommonly talkative; and though I did not understand a word at first, yet his eloquence furnished us at length with a store of expressions, which we wrote down, when we thought that we had understood them; thus we learnt that a man is called *Manuan*,⁴ and a woman *Redgini*.⁵ *Tamon* signifies a leader; and such a one was Rarick over the whole group of islands.⁶ With inconceivable vivacity, he addressed himself to me, and no body could understand him; at length he named his companions, then himself, and as he then looked at me with an air of inquiry, we guessed that he wanted to know my name. He was extremely rejoiced when he found that we understood him, called himself by my name, and me by his, endeavouring at the same time to discover whether I was satisfied with it. As I had, on a former occasion, become acquainted with the custom of the South Sea islanders, to exchange names as a token of friendship, I willingly accepted

1 Ed. note: Bwokw, Bok, or Book, N° 76 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: The island of Wotje proper.

3 Ed. note: This was Bird Island, as identified below, N° 77 in Bryan's.

4 Ed. note: This is a typographical error for *Mamuan*, as reported below, and by Chamisso also recorded it as *Mamuan* in his Vocabulary. Now written "mmaan."

5 The *gi* is pronounced as in French. Ed. comment: Chamisso has it as *Gora*, or *Redini*.

6 Ed. note: Later on, Kotzebue will admit that the word "tamon" was a recent import from the Carolines, and that the proper word for chief, in Marshallese, was "Erud," now spelled "Iroj."

the proposal. I was now called Rarick, and he Totabu, as he could not pronounce my name in any other manner. The companion of Totabu, at the same time exchanged names with our scientific gentlemen, and, from that time, our intercourse was more confidential. Totabu's learned researches now re-commenced; my fowling-piece, the use of which I would not venture to show him, occupied him very much; our clothes were an object of their highest curiosity, and our shoes created the most immoderate laughter, particularly as one of them, in his attempt to walk in them, fell down at his full length. But they were above all surprised, when I pulled off my jacket, and uncovered my arm; they were astonished on perceiving it was white, and did not cease to utter their loud *O—h!* All the valuables which I had yesterday given to Rarick, he carefully carried about him, wrapped up in pandanus leaves; and, that he might sometimes enjoy himself with looking at them, and quickly to cut something with his scissors, would unwrap them, but immediately concealed them again in his girdle. A small looking-glass was never out of his hands; he looked at himself in it without ceasing; and his companions, to whom he sometimes allowed a look in it, seized upon it to catch a glimpse of their own portraits, which afforded them all much amusement. Rarick's boats now anchored at our island; he begged me to accompany him to his home, pointing to the east, and we resolved that he should go on before, and we follow in our boats. It was four o'clock when we embarked, and I directed my course to the high island to the N.E., which I determined to explore, because its height, compared with the others, appeared to us remarkable. We reached it in an hour, but it was a long time before we could find a landing-place, as it was surrounded by reefs, and, to satisfy our curiosity, we were obliged to wade more than knee deep through the water. The island was about the same size as the one we had left, had scarcely any mould, but was covered with immense blocks of coral, which lay irregularly one over the other, and seemed to have been dashed on shore, which may have been done by a violent storm from the north. In spite of the little earth, trees were already growing between the large blocks, which resembled in height and thickness our largest oaks, and had nearly the same appearance. A number of birds, of the sea-swallow species, which had their nests in these trees, on seeing us, set up a most hideous cry.

As there were likewise very good anchoring-places for a ship at this island, I altered my plan of visiting Rarick in his dwelling. I hoped to come with the **Rurick** to the end of the group; and, to lose no time, immediately returned, having previously given this high island the name of Bird Island. A long reef extended from it to N.E., at the end of which we descried land;¹ we had observed but few coral banks in our tour. Rarick had, in the meantime, got so much a-head with his boats, which sailed very close to the wind, that he was scarcely visible on the horizon; we also spread our sails, and happily reached our ship in the evening with a fair wind.

The 17th we spent in making the necessary preparations for our approaching voyage; in the evening the wind changed, for the first time, during our stay here, to the N.N.E.,

1 Ed. note: Ormed Island in the NE corner of Wotje atoll.

and we only wished that it would continue so the following day, as it would considerably facilitate our progress to the east.

Observations made in Christmas Harbour.

Latitude of our anchoring place, the mean of daily observations	9°32'36" N.
Longitude, by sun-moon distances, the mean of a great number of observations made on different days	190°6'50" W. ¹
Variation of the magnetic needle	11°00' E.
Dip of the magnetic needle	17°55'

On the 6th of January, the day we reached our anchoring-place, our chronometers gave the following longitude, corrected by the latest lunar distance.

Barraud's chronometer	190°13'30" W.
Hardy's chronometer	190°06'43" W.

According to Barraud's chronometer, the longitude of Christmas Island has been determined, which differed only seven miles from the true. I made this correction afterwards in laying down the chart.

¹ Ed. note: That is, 159°53'10" East, which is the exact longitude of Goat Island actually, an error of about 2 miles.

The 18th of January the wind blew moderately from N.N.E.; we weighed anchor, and were already under sail at six o'clock in the morning. As the wind allowed us today to take a course parallel with the island, we fortunately avoided the coral banks, which had caused us so much terror in our first attempt. In about three hours, when we were near the eleventh island, the wind veered from N.E., and obliged us to tack; the dangerous navigation began at the thirteenth island; we were again surrounded by coral banks, but we had fair weather, and as we were now more accustomed to the sight of these dangerous rocks, and had besides always timely warning from the mast-head, the constant tacking of the ship was, it is true, very fatiguing, but we were amply rewarded by the prospect of executing our plan, and were already, at noon, opposite Bird Island. The greatest depth which we found on approaching the middle point of the circle, was thirty-one fathoms; the bottom consisted of living coral, small pieces of which were brought up by the lead; near a reef, the depth was from ten to twelve fathoms, and the bottom consisted of fine coral sand. At four o'clock we reached the seventeenth island, which forms the north point of the whole group,¹ and were distant from it three-fourths of a mile, and cast anchor in fifteen fathoms, upon a bottom of fine coral sand.

We lay here as secure as in the finest harbour, as the ship was quite covered from the N. and E., and the water as smooth as a mirror. We overlooked the whole eastern part of the group, which consisted of small islands, lying very close together, and from the seventh [rather seventeenth] took a direction to the S.E. Our labour was rewarded, for we had attained our object; for it could not be difficult for us now to explore the chain with a S.E. course. The seventeenth island, which is larger than Goat Island, afforded us a pleasing prospect by its luxuriant vegetation and large trees, among which there were a great number of cocoa trees. We saw many huts; some people were walking on the shore, and seemed to be admiring our ship; some boats were sailing to S.E.; others coming from thence, and it appeared to us that we were now, for the first time, in the inhabited part of the group. A boat under sail came to visit us, and one of Rarick's companions, whom I immediately recognized, presented me with some cocoa nuts, repeatedly exclaiming *Rarick! Totabu! Aidara!* His joy was increased, on my giving him some iron; but neither he nor his companion would venture on board, though we begged them very much. I had a boat got ready, that our naturalists might have an opportunity of examining the island, and the savages immediately sailed off with them. I intended to remain in the anchoring-place for to-morrow, to be able to determine it more exactly by astronomical observations. This place is twenty miles from Christmas Harbour, in a straight line.² In the evening, the gentlemen returned, very much pleased at the friendly reception of the islanders, of whom they saw about thirty; an old man, who, to judge from his ornaments, was a chief, had offered Mr. Chamisso, as a proof of his

1 Ed. note: Its name is Ormed, or Orned, or Anejobwa, N° 1 in Bryan's.

2 Ed. note: Quite correct.

good intentions, a meal, made of a mixture of pressed pandanus and bread-fruit, which did not taste amiss; the others had collected round the white men, whom they regarded with much astonishment.

When we inquired for Rarick, they pointed to the S.E.; consequently he resided there, and we might hope that we should meet with more inhabitants than we had hitherto done. We learnt that they called the seventeenth island, Ormed, and an island in general, Enns.¹

The 19th: our friend from Goat Island arrived here to-day, but did not venture nearer than twenty fathoms from the ship, and, after showing us cocoa-nuts, and speaking a great deal, hastened to the island of Ormed. This man, who had no reason to complain, as he had received many presents, could not conquer his fear. They admired the ship very much at a distance, gesticulated, and spoke with vehemence, and repeated particularly often, *Ellip Oa!* (large boat).² I have observed that the inhabitants of this group advantageously distinguish themselves from those of Easter and Penrhyn's Islands [i.e. Polynesians], by their mature consideration and reflection, with which the others do not trouble themselves. After I had determined the situation of the place, I went on shore in the afternoon: my friend of the Goat Island had already introduced me as the *Tamon Oa Ellip* (commander of the great boat); and they all ran to the shore to meet me. A very old man, with a venerable countenance, and a long grey beard, whom, from his look, I took for the chief, said, *Aidara!* presented me with some cocoa nuts, and invited us to go to his hut which was just by, where elegant mats were spread out between four posts, in the middle of which I was invited to sit down. The rest of the company, men, and some very pretty women, with children in their arms, formed a circle round us; all looked at me with the greatest attention, and the most solemn silence prevailed; suddenly it was interrupted; they all sprung up with a loud cry, and ran away, as if they had seen an evil genius, all except the old man, who remained trembling by my side. This confusion had been caused by a dog, which we had brought from the coast of Chili, and as he never quitted me, he had jumped unawares into my boat. To come up to me he was obliged to leap over the shoulder of one of the savages, who were seated in a close circle, when this unexpected circumstance gave occasion to the ludicrous scene, which became still more comic, when the dog, who is generally fearful, encouraged by the cowardice of his opponents, forced them, by his barking, to seek refuge in the trees, which they climbed with the agility of monkeys. I succeeded, with great trouble, in convincing the old man of the harmlessness of the animal, upon which he called his subjects together, who gradually ventured to approach, without taking their eyes from the object of their fear, whose least motion caused them to start. As they are not acquainted with any quadruped except the rat, which is by them called *Didirick*, they named the

1 Ed. note: This appears to be a typographical error for Enni, as recorded below, and given by Chamisso.

2 Ed. note: Better written *Olap wa*, I think.

dog *Didirick Ellip*.¹ It was not till I had sent the evil genius into the boat that their countenance brightened up, and the old man presented me with cocoa-nuts and cakes of a very agreeable taste, prepared from pandanus juice, and which they called *Nagan*.² I had my presents now brought; a large hatchet and two knives delighted the old man very much, as he had never seen such a large piece of iron, and after I had split a piece of wood with it, the often heard *O—h!* re-echoed in the whole circle. As they are principally employed in ship-building, and make their boats without any other tools but coral stones and shells, it may be easily imagined how invaluable they must have considered the hatchet. If I had afforded the men pleasure by giving them knives, I made the women still more happy with beads and looking-glasses; they did not cease admiring the charming things. They at length were easy respecting their treasures, and they all directed their attention to me; but only the old man ventured to touch me. He told his people a great deal, who listened to him with open mouths; I was likewise obliged to uncover my arm here, which they touched, to convince themselves that it was skin, and not any kind of stuff. I observed, for the first time, a certain modesty in the women, to which the other women of the South Sea Islands are total strangers. The men in vain persuaded their wives to touch my arm; they refused it with much decorum. I have likewise observed in the sequel, the native modesty of these women. After they had sufficiently examined every thing, I resolved to treat them with another sight, and held my watch to the old man's ear, who started back with surprise at the ticking of it; they all listened to it, the gold gave them much pleasure, and the motion of the second-hand astonished them very much; but when I made the watch repeat, my conjuration almost terrified them; they retired, and long and seriously discussed this important subject, till I enticed them to me by some presents. It was now their turn to give me presents; the women gave me their elegantly wrought shell-wreaths, which they took off their heads and placed on mine; the men took off their necklaces, laboriously made of red coral, and gave them to me; the old man gave me a pretty large mat, giving me to understand that I might sleep on it; and, at last, the men and women joined in a song which was addressed to me, and probably expressed their gratitude. On a tour which I made through the island, several of them accompanied me, and one went on before to show me the best way. I was unarmed, for I felt myself quite secure among these kind-hearted children of nature, who, to amuse me, would play and dance on before me. This island appeared to me to be older than any we had seen; I saw here pandanus and bread-fruit trees of uncommon height and thickness; the cocoa tree is met with but seldom, and generally only just planted. Near the houses I observed a plant with beautiful blossoms which they cultivate merely to adorn themselves with the flowers; and this trait alone proves that this people are not entirely in so rude a state as the other savage tribes, and I am convinced that sensible Europeans might raise them to a state of real civilization. On passing a cocoa-tree, I observed a stone tied to a branch of it; I asked my compan-

1 Ed. note: Meaning "big rat."

2 Ed. note: Rather *Mogan*, as written below. It is now spelled "Mokwan."

ion why it was done, and received for answer, *tabui*, at the same time giving me to understand that the fruit was not allowed to be eaten. The word *tabui* has much resemblance with the *taboo* of the South Sea islanders, and seems to have the same meaning, but I have never heard it since. It would be remarkable to find words here which could prove, by their similitude, that the inhabitants of this group have perhaps come from the east; but of all the words which we have hitherto marked down, not a single one, except this, indicates such a circumstance. On the shore we met with a plain tomb, consisting of a square built of coral stones; it appeared to me that the inhabitants were not allowed to enter it, and I have since learnt, that only the chiefs are buried, but that all the other corpses are thrown into the sea. It was evening; I was obliged to put an end to my walk, and took leave of my friends, who accompanied me to the boat, where they perceived a fowling-piece, the use of which they insisted on knowing. I gave them to understand that it produced a loud noise, but they misunderstood me, and thought that I used it as they do the shell-horn. The old man gave me some cocoa-nuts on parting, and called me his *Aidara*.

On the 20th of January, early, we were under sail; a stormy wind from N.N.E. favoured our S.E. course parallel with the chain of islands.

We found the latitude of our anchoring-place to be 9°33'16" N.
 Longitude, according to the chronometers 189°49'16" N.¹
 Variation of the magnetic needle 12°14' E.

After an hour's brisk sailing, without being detained by any coral banks, we saw an island in the S.E., which exceeded all the others in height.² I steered directly up to it; and was more and more convinced that we were in a circle, as we now also perceived land in the S. At nine o'clock, we cast anchor a quarter of a mile from this large island, in eight fathoms' water, over fine sand; and we were in a very fine harbour, of the calmest water. A boat, which left Ormed at the same time with us, sailed, to our great astonishment, as fast as the **Rurick**. Being uncertain whether this was Rarick's residence or not, as soon as we had cast anchor, I sent Mr. Chamisso on shore, to gain information respecting it. In an hour, he returned with the news, that Rarick was here, and would immediately visit me on board; that there was nothing to distinguish it as the residence of a chief; every thing was exactly the same as on Ormed island, even the population scanty, which, of men, women, and children together, consisted of sixty persons.

In the afternoon, a boat put off from the island, and we soon recognized Rarick, who, while still at a distance, called out to us *Aidara!* He was very richly adorned to-day with flowers, and shell-wreaths; he wore various ornaments round his neck, and his body was wrapped in a new mat. His boat approached our ship, into which he got without hesitating, to our great astonishment, and two of his companions, encouraged

1 Ed. note: Equivalent to 170°10'58" East, an excellent result, with an error of just one minute.

2 Ed. note: This was Wotje proper, the largest islet of the atoll (with less than one square mile of land) and the easternmost, N° 29 in Bryan's Place Names.

by his example, followed him. It would be vain for me to attempt to describe the first moment they got on board; they stood as if petrified, their sparkling eyes wandering on all the objects around them: they would not have moved a step had not I taken hold of Rarick by the hand, and led him about. He recovered by degrees from his astonishment, and was as if re-animated; so active, so inquisitive, and childish, as I had never seen him before. He ran from one object to another, felt it with both his hands, asked its use, never waited for an answer, but flew to something else. He did not dwell a moment on one subject; too many things attracted his attention; curiosity and fear alternated in his features. He leaped about on the deck like a madman, sometimes laughed with all his might; full of astonishment, he would sometimes call out *O—h!* and when he was particularly struck with any thing, cried out *Errio! Errio* (a word which I often heard on such occasion). His companions, likewise, took a lively interest in every thing, but did not venture to express themselves so loudly in the presence of their chief as he did. I had almost frightened away my friends by my own fault; we had still a couple of hogs left, of our whole stock, which I determined to leave on this island. To learn whether they were acquainted with these animals, I had them brought out; this, however, produced a very great confusion, because they entered squeaking terribly. My guests were thrown into the greatest alarm. Rarick threw both arms round me; he trembled in every limb, and cried out louder than the hogs; and I hastened to send them back. The islanders stared around them with bewildered looks, and even my presents did not avail to restore the good humour with which they came on board. I invited Rarick to come into my cabin, but he cautiously sent his companions on before, who listened with visible anxiety, and slowly descended the stairs; but they had scarcely entered, when their astonishment was without bounds; the many shining things gave them inconceivable pleasure, which they expressed by calling *Errio! Errio!* and covered their faces with both hands. A glimpse into the [looking-] glass at first terrified them: they contemplated each other in silence, and then again looked into the glass. But when they recognized each other in it, they embraced, made all kind of comical motions, and laughed immoderately. Rarick, who heard it from above, could contain himself no longer. In one leap he was close to us, and his delight was boundless. I was as if surrounded by romping children, though the very grey beard of one of them showed his advanced age. But I have often observed, that, in this people, age does not suppress childish cheerfulness; and some who could scarcely move for the infirmities of age, took a share in every thing with youthful vivacity; and I never saw them out of temper. Their fine climate, and their diet, consisting of fruits, may be the reason of this circumstance, which is so rare among us: and it is probably also owing to their vegetable diet, that this whole people is tall and very slender. Their bones are as delicate as those of women: their hands and feet uncommonly small. They have very little laborious work to do: their only employment is to build **boats**, which they now cannot do without; these are long and narrow, and lie deep, on which account they can sail against the wind; the sails and cords are made by the women, with great ingenuity, out of cocoa bark. The people are mild and timid, but appear to be sometimes engaged in war, as they have wooden lances which are badly



The interior of a Marshallese house in 1817. *Food and other supplies were stored in the attic, away from the reach of rats. On the floor on the right can be seen some pandanus fruits.*

made, provided at the top with barbs or sharks' teeth, which must certainly inflict very bad wounds. After my friends had been sufficiently entertained in the cabin, I accompanied them on deck, where some more islanders had come, and who heard from their countrymen long accounts of what they had seen. I again gave all of them presents, and delighted Rarick very much by a red apron, which I tied round his hips; upon which he immediately sent for a number of cocoa-nuts from his canoe. When he was going on shore, he invited me to accompany him in his canoe, which I accepted, while our scientific gentlemen followed us in a boat. Rarick conducted us to his habitation, which was distinguished from the rest by its spaciousness, and treated us with a beverage made from pandanus juice, and which had a sweet and spicy taste.

[Marshallese canoe-building]

One of our gentlemen affirmed he had seen a piece of iron which had not come from us; and when I repaired to the place, where a canoe was just then building, I really found a piece, four inches long, and two broad, made use of by the builder instead of an axe. I exerted all my skill in pantomime to discover whence they had it. They understood me, and told me, that a large beam had swum there from N.E., round the middle of which there had been an iron band, which they took off, broke into several pieces, and divided among them. The keel for the new boat, which was hollowed out by means of the little piece of iron, with infinite expense of time, was laid, and it will take at least a

year before a boat of twenty feet is finished. The keel is generally made of the bread-fruit tree, and they would be glad to make a whole boat of it, if its fruit did not form part of their food; at present they are obliged to content themselves with wood which is drifted from the east, from distant islands, or from the coast of America, and is sometimes very hard to work. As they cannot make long boards with their miserable instruments, they use for the exterior covering of the boats small pieces of wood, which they bind together with strings of cocoa bark. Their boats, at first sight, appear to be old and patched; but they know so well how to stop up all the holes and spaces, that but very little water can penetrate; perhaps their boats will succeed better in future, by the assistance of the hatchet and axe which I gave them, and in the use of which I instructed them.

Rarick and several islanders accompanied us in a walk through the island, which is five miles and a half in circumference. There was no want of excellent mould here, which, in many places, even formed small hills. Bread-fruit and pandanus are in great numbers, and the latter have a very singular look, as the naked roots, several feet above the ground, give the trunk the appearance of standing on legs. On our return, we passed a hut, in which we saw an old woman certainly above a hundred years old; she looked as dry and shrivelled as a mummy: the weight of years had bent her, but by no means palsied her tongue; her talkativeness was indescribable; at the same time her toothless mouth poured forth a number of witty conceits, at which my companions laughed heartily. We saw many children; and this made the scanty population still more inexplicable, and, like the young plantations of cocoa-trees, indicated an entirely new settlement of inhabitants in these islands. One of my companions, an elderly man, who seemed to possess much natural understanding, pleased me very much by his behaviour. Lagediack was the name of my friend and teacher, for I really learnt more words from him in a few hours, than from others in several days. I had gained his confidence by some presents, and tried to learn from him many things respecting these islands, as he always knew how to make himself understood; he told me, for example, that this island is called *Otdia*, and the whole group is named after it.¹ I found it easier every day to understand the language, because, as I soon observed, it is entirely destitute of connective particles. I invited my friend to visit me the next day, on board, using the following words: *Idiu, Lagediack, Waedack, Oa* (morrow Lagediack come ship):² he understood me perfectly well, answered *inga* (yes), and embraced me out of joy that I understood his language; but I believe that my joy exceeded his, particularly when I observed that I gained the confidence of the savages by my docility. I resolved to remain several weeks at Otdia, partly to explore by boats from hence the southern group of islands, and partly to make myself acquainted more closely with the language and customs of this remarkable people; for I think it very interesting, on discovering a country or an island, to study

1 Ed. note: Now written Wotje, but it must have had the same pronuntiation then.

2 Ed. note: *Waedack* is written "Waidok" by Chamisso.

likewise the inhabitants, their manners and customs; besides this, I have had no cause, in the sequel, to regret the loss of time, as it was the very means of enabling me to make new discoveries.

On the 21st, I sent for water, which collects in Otdia in several pits, and is very good. In the afternoon we were visited by two boats, in one of which, was Rarick and his suite, and in the other the chief of Egmedio,¹ a small island south of Otdia, which is distinguished by a grove of old cocoa-trees, situated in the middle of the island, and rising much higher than all the other trees. This, the high Bird island, and another south of our anchoring-place, are three fixed points which present themselves to the navigator when he reaches the southern point of the group. The numerous old cocoa-trees on Egmedio, make it still more inexplicable to me why they have but just begun to plant them in the other islands, when it might have been done so long before.

Rarick introduced to me the chief of the island Egmedio, whose name was Langin; he was above thirty-six years of age, of a middle stature, and very delicate; his whole body was tattooed, his dress tasteful, his behaviour modest, but I found him unreasonably timid. My friend Lagediack, according to his promise, came on board with Rarick, who had the courage to go to-day to the pig-sty, to examine the animals more closely, but was ready for flight at the slightest grunting. Langin, the most fearful of all, would not venture so near, but climbed along the ropes up the mast, and so looked down upon them. They were already so familiar with my little dog, Valet, that they began to play with him; but if, in his play, he began to bark, their friendship was at an end, and all my guests were in an instant in the shrouds, and they could not accustom themselves to his liveliness during my stay there. They were more pleased with another dog on account of his phlegmatic temper, which I had purchased in Beering's Straits; it was of the kind used in Kamtschatka, for drawing sledges; his coat resembled that of an ice-bear; being born in a cold country, he could not support the heat, and died of convulsions. After the eyes of the savages were in some degree satisfied with objects of luxury, the iron attracted their attention; a piece, for example, as large as an anchor or a cannon, seemed to them a prodigious treasure, and, with the constant cry of *Möll! Möll!* examined every thing with the greatest attention. I gave them all presents to their satisfaction, but particularly, besides the two chiefs, to Lagediack, to insinuate myself more and more into his friendship. He was obliged to sit next to me, and I called up all my knowledge of the language to ask him, whether, besides this group of islands, he was acquainted with any others. My speaking and pantomime were long in vain: at length, however, he understood me, pointed with his hand to the south, saying, *inga eni cef cef*, yes, islands there); and my joy was the greater, as I owed the discovery of an unknown group to my knowledge of the language. I now ordered the azimuth compass to be set up; all of them immediately crowded round the instrument, which they regarded with much attention; Lagediack, in particular, could not take his eyes from the magnetic needle, which turned without being touched, and he repeatedly asked me, how that

1 Ed. note: N° 37 in Bryan's Place Names.

could be? But how could I give him an explanation of the compass, even if he had been perfectly master of my language? how give him light in a thing respecting which I myself desired to be informed? That the box was to be turned while the needle kept the same position, he easily comprehended, as he directly discovered that the needle turned to N. and S. I begged him again to show me the situation of the unknown group of islands; he immediately took the compass, and, turning it upon the foot till the sights were directed to the part required, made me understand that the islands lay in that direction. The direction of the compass was S.W., which I immediately marked down on the tables. The writing was a new discovery, which excited their attention as well as reflection. I tried to make Lagediack understand that all we spoke was written down on the tables; wrote his name down, and said, that is Lagediack. He was greatly frightened to see himself represented by such singular figures, and seemed to fear that he would be obliged, by magic, to assume such a shape; the others laughed heartily at the comical Lagediack on the tables, while he himself stood in great uneasiness, expecting the terrible metamorphosis. I soon relieved him from his painful situation by effacing [i.e. erasing] his name; he embraced me full of gratitude, and begged me to transfer Langin to the table; but the latter, who had looked at my conjurations timidly at a distance, on hearing this proposal, ran, with loud cries, to the other side of the ship, where he concealed himself; his comrades laughed at him, and my conjurations were finished for today. I tried to explain to Lagediack, that I wanted him to draw the whole island group of Otdia on the table. He took a pencil, and drew the group in a circle, under the lee of which he marked five channels, which he called *Tier*; he then turned the sights of the compass to the high island, in S.W., saying, *ef, ef, ruo Tier* (there two passages). This news rejoiced me the more as we should not be obliged to go the same way back; and, perhaps, nearer to us we might meet with a passage more convenient and secure than Rurick Straits. I then made Lagediack draw the other group of islands, which he called Enegup;¹ and he again made a circle of seventeen islands, with several channels to the leeward, then pointed to the E., and gave me to understand, that if we left here at the rising of the sun, we could be there already at its setting. According to this description it must lie at a small distance from Otdia, and I did not doubt but that we should discover it without difficulty. My friend further told me that pandanus (*Bob*), bread-fruit (*Mia*),² and Cocoa (*Ni*), grew at Enegup; of the population he gave me but a poor idea, assuring me that there were only an old man and three women. The old man was therefore only a chief over his wives, or perhaps himself subject to a threefold dominion. When our guests left the ship, I made Lagediack a present of an axe, which Rarick almost envied him, and we parted on more friendly terms than we had hitherto done. Some of our gentlemen had been obliged to exchange names; Langin, who had conceived a particular friendship for Lieutenant Schischmareff, called himself after his

1 Ed. note: No doubt a misprint for Eregup. This corresponds to Erikub, which lies immediately south of Wotje atoll (SW of Wotje islet), and now has only 15 islets.

2 Ed. note: Recorded as "Wog," and "Mä" by Chamisso. The latter sound is very close to the Rima(y) of other Micronesian languages.

name, Timaro; and Chamisso's friend was called Tamiso. They were not able to pronounce the names in any other manner.

I intended to wait for a day, when the wind should blow fresh, to explore the strait to the S.W., and as I had long had the plan of making a garden at Otdia, where I could sow the seeds from the Sandwich islands in the presence of the inhabitants, I went on shore at noon, accompanied by Mr. Chamisso, to select a piece of ground for this purpose. Near Rarick's habitation, we found an open place, in the vicinity of a reservoir of water, which seemed to answer the purpose; the earth was very fine, and I intended to work at it the next day. On our return, we saw another grave, resembling exactly that on the island of Ormed, planted all round with cocoa-trees, and we were informed that a Tamon was buried there.

The 22d, in the morning, we were visited by several canoes, which presented us with cocoa-nuts; on every visit, I tried to lessen their fear for the hogs, as I intended soon to bring them on shore. Immediately after dinner I went to the island with Mr. Chamisso, and several sailors, with shovels, to set about the work, that we might be able to finish the new garden before our departure. Rarick, Lagediack, and many inhabitants regarded us with looks of curiosity; the shovels excited their astonishment, but I strove in vain to make them comprehend my intention. As soon, however, as our work was so far advanced that we produced the seeds, light seemed to break in upon them. While some sailors were employed in rubbing the earth small, and digging it, others made a fence, at which Lagediack himself assisted, without being asked. By degrees, all the inhabitants of Otdia assembled round us, and gazed chiefly at the fence, with the use of which, these happy islanders were not acquainted. After a part of the garden had been worked on, and some seeds sown, we gave Lagediack to understand that they might expect from it plants and eatable fruits; and his leaping with joy convinced us that he comprehended us. He then declared aloud, our intention among the people; they all listened to him with the utmost attention, and when he had concluded his long-winded explanation, the joy was general. For to-day we concluded our work after a few hours, not to make it tedious to the spectators, and explained to Lagediack, that the garden belonged only to him and to Rarick, and that the fence was intended to prevent others from coming that way. He made this likewise immediately known; felt himself highly honoured by this distinction, and tied two different knots¹ of pandanus leaves, which signified his and Rarick's marks; they were hung to the fence, to show that both were possessors of the garden. During our work we had our tea-things brought on shore, and then went to Rarick's hut, where the kettle was already on the fire, round which the inhabitants assembled, looking at the boiling water, which they considered to be alive. Under the shade of a palm-tree the napkin was spread on the ground, and they all joined in the loud *O—h!* at this new wonder; but when we began to make the tea, there was no end of their talking and laughing, and they attentively observed all our

1 With these knots of pandanus leaves they distinguish their property; the owner is recognized by its make: we found them most frequently hanging on the trees.

motions. The tea was ready, and their curiosity was without bounds, when they saw us drink it. I offered Rarick a very sweet cup, which he did not venture to take to his lips till after a great deal of persuasion. Unfortunately, the tea was very hot; he burned his mouth, and I but just saved my cup, which he was going to throw from him. The fright spread like an electric shock, and they were all prepared to run off. Rarick, at length, determined to taste it; the others looked at him with much astonishment, and when he found the tea agreeable, they all wanted to have some, and expressed, by a loud smacking, that they liked it; they were likewise fond of eating biscuits with it, but the sugar carried off the prize. All the islanders are great lovers of sweet things; and their chief food, which they draw from the sweet pandanus fruit, is probably the reason, that even children of ten years old have not good teeth, and that they have generally lost them all in the prime of life. This was the first time that the islanders had resolved to taste our food; a proof how much their confidence had increased; but, unhappily, their propensity to stealing showed itself at the same time, and Rarick himself was the first to give this bad example. The bright silver spoons caught his eye so much, that he attempted to conceal one in his girdle; but, when we observed it, he was prevented by a joke. A copper measure, which the sailors used in drinking water, was missed, and was found, after a long search, carefully hid in the bushes. As we had not hitherto lost any thing, I was convinced that this vice was foreign to the islanders; the more disagreeable was my surprise on this occasion. I expressed my dissatisfaction to those present, and ordered my people to be more careful for the future, that our friends might not be led into temptation.

On the 23d, in the forenoon, we were visited by Rarick and Langin, with a numerous train; they brought us cocoa-nuts, and were received with as much friendship as usual. They walked about quite unconstrained, but the cannons still attracted their attention, and they were of opinion that they served us in the place of shell-horns, without thinking what a dreadful engine of death they had before them. One of Langin's attendants, having stolen a knife in the cabin, was obliged to return it: he was very much ashamed; Langin was very angry, and left us to go to his island, to which he invited us. In the afternoon we went on shore to finish the garden, and were struck at first sight by the devastation which the rats had made; even our presence did not seem to disturb them; some were rooting out the seeds, and others run away with their booty. I made Lagediack comprehend that the garden would be entirely destroyed if they did not place sentinels; and the thieves were soon driven out with stone and sticks. We repaired the damage that had been done, and planted the remaining part with water-melons, melons, maize, beans, peas, lemons, and yams. Lagediack soon perceived that all was good for eating, and the manner of preparing it had still to be explained to him. Having a baked yam-root still by me, I distributed it; and they found its taste so pleasant, that it very much increased their interest in the garden. We likewise distributed a number of seeds, which they might sow at pleasure. Mr. Chamisso was indefatigable here, as well as on all the other islands at which we touched, in sowing various kinds of seeds, and I am convinced that his labour will not have been fruitless. After having concluded our

work, we returned to the ship with the consciousness of having done a useful act, and our trifling labour was rewarded by the gratitude of the islanders, who become more and more attached to us.

[Marshallese food]

The food of the islanders of this group consists, at this season of the year, solely of pandanus fruit; and they consider cocoa-nuts, which are here very scarce, as dainties. But as the pandanus contains very little nourishment, and is by no means in abundance, an idea of their frugal fare may easily be formed, which seems to agree with them, for they enjoy extraordinary health, and attain to an advanced and cheerful old age. A threefold increase of the population must produce a famine, which we may hope that our seeds will be the means of preventing. It is remarkable, that they almost totally neglect fishing; only a very few times, during our stay there, we saw the people on the reefs, angling for a species of small fish. A cock and a hen, the only remains of our poultry, I made a present of to Lagediack, whose joy compensated us for the loss of a dish.

The 24th of January. To-day, the forge was put up on land, as several iron articles required repair. The novelty of the scene attracted all the inhabitants, who beheld with astonishment the setting up of the machine; but, when the bellows began to work, the coals glowed, and the hammered iron threw out fiery sparks, the men seized their wives, the women their children, and all fled. Lagediack was the first to be convinced of his groundless fear; and, to make him acquainted with the use of the forge, a handsome harpoon was made on the spot, of which I made him a present, and caused him the most indescribable pleasure. Holding the harpoon over his head, he called with a loud voice to his comrades, who, encouraged by his example, came again together. I had another harpoon made in their presence for Rarick, and some fishing-hooks for my favourites, and their attachment increased in proportion, as every new specimen of our skill raised us in their eyes. As some days would elapse before the labours of the forge could be concluded, I left it on shore, under the care of the smith; and Lagediack promised to guard against any thing being stolen in the night. Mr. Chamisso remained also that night in Rarick's hut, to make himself acquainted with some of the customs of the islanders.

The 25th. The night had passed on shore without any one having ventured to approach the forge. In the morning, when the work had begun again, an old man suddenly stepped forward, quickly seized a piece of iron, and was going to run away with it; but his companions, who perceived it, pursued him, crying, *Cabuderi*, (steal)¹ and fetched him back, and were obliged to take his booty from him by force, as he would not resign it willingly. Without the least embarrassment, he resumed his place among them, was in a passion with every body, and immediately attempted to seize another piece, upon which it was found necessary to send him away. This old man, who came

1 Ed. note: *Kabudri* means "to take," says Chamisso.

from another island, could not properly be called a thief, as he committed his depredation openly; for he evidently merely attempted to exercise the right of the strongest.

For some days past we had a continual N.W. wind, with frequent torrents of rain, which prevented me from examining the channel pointed out by Lagediack.

The 26th. To-day, the hogs, to the sight of which, the islanders had become pretty familiar, were sent on shore, as a present to Rarick, near whose dwelling, a small place was fenced in. A sailor was obliged to remain on shore for some days, to instruct them in the management of the animals. From the sow, a speedy increase was to be hoped. Pleased as Rarick was with the present, he would not venture near them when he heard their dreadful grunting [rather squealing] on landing, and the women, who had never been on board, and were acquainted with them only from the accounts of the men, ran away into the woods at the first sight of them. I made an excursion through the island with my fowling-piece, in the hope of shooting a land-bird, but did not find a single one, except a very few wild pigeons. Rarick and Lagediack accompanied me, without suspecting my motive; and, to give them a specimen of it, I showed them a sandpiper, about fifty paces distant from us, on the shore, and shot it; but I immediately had reason to repent of my want of thought, for both of them lay stretched out at my feet, lamenting aloud, and concealing their faces in the grass. After many assurances that they should receive no harm, they rose, trembling very much, and looking fearfully after my piece, which I had put up against a tree. The sight of the bleeding bird was not adapted to make a joke of it; they remained fearful and suspicious, and ran away, in a moment, when they thought themselves unperceived. It cost me much pains to regain their confidence, and I could never venture to show myself with my gun.

On the 28th of January, at seven o'clock in the morning, I left the ship, accompanied by all our scientific gentlemen, in two boats, provided with provisions for three days. We first sailed to Langin's Island, which we reached in about an hour, and were received by him in the most friendly manner. He immediately conducted us to his hut; his wife was obliged to prepare all kinds of things to treat us, and he did not cease expressing his pleasure at our visit. Langin, who showed himself a hospitable and obliging man, surpassed Rarick, who did not answer the first favourable impression; the chief feature in his character, covetousness, being disagreeably prominent. The population consisted only of Langin, his wife, and two men, who seemed to be subject to him. We already knew, from experience, that the whole group had a very scanty population: the southern part of it is entirely uninhabited. No other reason can be assigned for this scanty population, than that either lately a few people had been cast here from distant islands, or that they had, perhaps, voluntarily settled here, from over-populous islands. Langin conducted us about his possession, which is distinguished from the other islands, by the high cocoa-trees already mentioned. When we took our breakfast, in order to reach the place of our destination without delay, Langin was very much astonished to see us use knives and forks, and plates; he perceived that the flies disturbed us in eating, and immediately ordered one of his men to drive them away with a palm branch, an attention which agreeably surprised me in a savage.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, we reached the island, next the high island, the breath at the narrowed part, was a hundred fathoms; its depth was irregular, and decreased from twenty to five, and, in many places, to only three fathoms; the island consisted of pointed coral of various kinds. It was just at the time of ebb; the current ran with considerable violence out of the group; we suffered ourselves to be driven through the passage, into the ocean, and were scarcely through it, when we could no longer reach the bottom with the lead.

To come through her with the **Rurick**, was indeed possible, but very dangerous. A violent wind, which just then arose, did not permit us to examine the second channel, which according to Lagediack's description, must lie to the west. I deferred it till a more favourable day, called this one Lagediack,¹ and set out on our return, which was rendered very difficult by the contrary wind. It was impossible to reach the **Rurick** this evening, and we saw ourselves obliged to pass the night on the large island, south of Egmedio.² Fortunately, we were here met by one of my favourites, the always friendly Labugar; he brought us cocoa-nuts and pandanus, and informed us, that we had landed on his island, which was inhabited only by his family, and an old man. We took up our quarters on the shore, to prepare our supper; and Labugar, with his old friend, entertained us till sunset. When we opened our eyes in the morning, Labugar sat with his family at our feet, patiently waiting till we should awake, to make us a present of cleaned cocoa-nuts. This tender attention moved and pleased me. In a walk, I found a piece of wood, clearly a part of a ship, in which there were still some old rusty nails. We reached the **Rurick** towards noon.

The 30th of January.—To-day, I sent a part of the crew on shore to fell wood, of which we should want a large stock, as we should not be able to procure any, either in Oonalashka, or Beering's Straits. When I came on shore, they told me, that a pail with iron hoops had been stolen.³ To prevent a second attempt of the kind, I resolved this time to be severe; I therefore seriously desired Rarick immediately to produce the thief and his booty; and he, astonished at my countenance, which he had never seen so angry before, assured me, that he had already heard of the circumstance, and had sent for the thief, who had fled to another island. I was satisfied with this explanation, but have since had cause to believe, that he was concerned in it.

The 31st.—I was much displeased to-day, on hearing that the pail had not yet been delivered. Rarick, who was employed with his men in building a boat, seemed confused on my inquiring for the thief; he turned angrily to one of his people, who, at the end of a very long conversation, sprung up, and ran into the bushes. "This is the thief," said Rarick; "he will immediately fetch the pail." I observed with great joy the expression of disapprobation on the faces of all present, and particularly Lagediack. In ten minutes, the thief returned with his prize, and though his obstinate physiognomy displeased me, he was excused from punishment. After declaring that every future theft should be se-

1 Ed. note: Lagediack Pass, or Strait, is N° 40 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: This islet is named Enejiltak, or Anejiltak, N° 38 in Bryan's Place Names.

3 Ed. note: A pail with iron hoops was then a regular wooden bucket, like a miniature barrel, held together with iron hoops.

verely punished, I returned to the **Rurick**, where we were just sitting down to table, when Labugar and Rarick, with a very talkative old woman, who belonged to his family, came on board. She, the most unamiable of her sex, was the first woman of these islands who had ventured on board. We invited our guests to dinner. The two men readily went into the cabin, but the old woman took her seat on the quarter-deck by the window, through which she looked down upon us. The merry Labugar ate every thing that was given him, and at every different dish, asked, What is that? but had swallowed it before he could be answered, and took care to promote digestion by laughing heartily; even the salt meat, which we told him was of such animals as the two they had on land, pleased his palate. Rarick was at first moderate; but when he saw how much Labugar relished it, he took care to eat heartily. The old woman carefully preserved every thing that was handed to her through the window, opening her mouth wide, to show us that she had no teeth; if this want prevented her chewing, her mouth was the more active in talking. Labugar relished wine extremely; he was pleased to feel how it came down into his stomach, which he held, that it might not run out: after having drank two glasses, he played the most foolish tricks. To treat our guests very highly, we had a concert after dinner. Three sailors, all novices in their art, came into the cabin with a violin, flute, and tambourine; it seemed, however, to our savages, as if the immortals had descended to afford poor mortals a pleasure. The violin excited the greatest astonishment; they would not believe, that the sound was produced by the bow, and took care not to come too near to the magic instrument. After they had received some presents, they left the ship in high spirits. In the afternoon, we rowed on shore, and I saw, to my great joy, that some of the seeds were already springing up in the garden. Chamisso pointed out to me the small gardens which the inhabitants had made in several places. We could say, in the literal sense of the word, that the seed had fallen in good ground, and promised fine fruits for the future.

The 2d of February.—After we had had a strong east wind with rain, it cleared up towards evening, and I took advantage of the fine weather to visit my friend Lagediack, from whom I wished to obtain the geographical situation of the group of islands, called Eregup. He really invented a very clever method of giving me a correct idea of it: he drew on the sand a circle, nearly in the form of the group Otdia, placed round the edge of it large and small stones, which represented the islands; and after having marked the channels, he said, “That is Otdia.” The island-group of Eregup, which he explained to me in the same sensible manner, I might reach, he thought, in a day’s voyage to the south-west. I have in the sequel found his information to be perfectly correct. I then endeavoured to learn from him, whether we should meet with islands on sailing N. E., S., or W. To my great joy, he understood me, fetched a number of stones, and began to mark north of Otdia three somewhat smaller groups; the intervals were all one day’s voyage; but the last, two: he called these Ailu, Udirick, and Bigar.¹ At the distance of

1 Ed. note: Now written Ailuk, Utirik, and Bikar.

a day's voyage, he marked another to the north-west, which he called Ligieb.¹ When he had described those to the north, he went to the south, and marked there five groups; the spaces between which were likewise from one to two days' voyage, and called them Kawen, A-ur, Mediuro, Arno, and Mille.² To learn more of these groups was beyond the reach of my scanty knowledge of the language; but this information was very welcome to me, and procured Lagediack many presents: I therefore determined to leave Otdia as soon as possible, to pursue our discoveries. According to our calculation, Kutusof's and Suwarof's islands lay in nearly the same longitude as Otdia; the latitude was only 1-1/2° different, and I made no doubt that they were among the groups marked in the north.³

On the 3d, at six o'clock in the morning, I dispatched Lieutenant Schischmareff in the long-boat to examine the second passage: he came back in the evening, with the news that the channel was very safe, and at the narrowest part 150 fathoms broad; he had found the middle to be unfathomable, and near the reef 11 fathoms deep. Highly pleased at this information, I ordered the **Rurick** to be ready to sail in a few days from Otdia.

A very disagreeable circumstance occurred to-day at dinner: Lagediack was our guest at table; his companion (he who stole the pail) was refused admittance into the cabin, and he was obliged to sit on the quarter-deck at the window, and content himself with looking on. Full of compassion, Lagediack reached him several pieces; but the bright knives pleased him more than all the food; he begged to have one to look at, and hid it in his girdle. As we purposely pretended not to observe it, in the hope that he would return it, I remained silent; but when Lagediack was going on shore, and the thief about to leap into the canoe, I gave the signal agreed upon; four sailors seized him, and after having taken away the knife, they laid him down and severely punished him. Lagediack, greatly astonished, entreated for his friend, repeatedly exclaiming, *Cabuderi emo aida-ro*, (steal not good); the latter, after his punishment, got into the canoe, and seemed to regret having been deprived of the knife. This circumstance was much laughed at on shore, and Rarick and Lagediack visited me again in the afternoon, bringing presents of cocoa-nuts and roasted fish, as a proof that they did not disapprove of what I had done. I now told my friends that we should soon leave them, which seemed to cause a disagreeable surprise. Lagediack insisted on knowing where we were going, and whether we would soon return. My answer, that we were first going to sail to Eregup and Kawen, to give the people iron, and then entirely leave their islands, affected them all very much. Lagediack particularly testified his affection by repeatedly embracing me; he infected me with his feeling, and I felt as if I were parting from an old friend when he left us with Rarick after sunset.

1 Ed. note: Now written Likiep.

2 Ed. note: Now written Kaben (the largest islet in Maloelap), Aur, Majuro, Arno, and Mili.

3 Ed. note: Indeed, Kutusof was the same as Utirik, which they had visited in 1816.

The 6th of February.—The news of our departure, which was speedily circulated, brought us a number of farewell visits. To-day, being the last of our stay, my best friends did not quit the ship, and I delighted Rarick and Langin with a piece of sail-cloth for their new boats. In the afternoon I was visited by the venerable old chief of the island of Ormed; we were all very partial to this old man, and he received many presents; an old coat with bright buttons, which we gave him, he put on the instant he received it. For the last time, I to-day enjoyed, on shore, the sight of our garden, where every thing thrived admirably; and Rarick and Lagediack left us after sunset, with tears in their eyes.

Observations made on the island of Otdia.

The mean of our daily observations gave, for the latitude of our anchoring place	9°28'9" N.
The mean of 300 distances of the sun and moon, taken on different days, gave for its longitude	189°43'45" W. ¹
Variation of the magnetic needle	11°38'30"
The mean height of the thermometer	82° Fahrenheit.
The mean height of the barometer, which during our whole stay varied but a few lines	29.7 inches [Hg].

As the low land here has no influence on the atmosphere, the barometer falls and rises as uniformly as it generally does between the tropics. The mean of our observations at Otdia gave for the time of high water, at the new and full moon, two hours thirty minutes: the greatest difference in the height of the water was seven feet.

To this group, which consists of sixty-five islands, I gave the name of Romanzoff.²

1 Ed. note: Equivalent to 170°16'15" East, a good result, with only 1-1/2 minutes off.

2 Ed. note: This is the modern name that Kotzebue gave to Wotje, though he had also named another group by the name of Romanzoff, at 15° South latitude, the previous year.

Chap. XII. From Radack to the St. Lawrence Islands.

The 7th, at day-break, we weighed anchor to leave the beloved Otdia, where we had passed so many happy days among the uncorrupted children of nature. The sails were spread, the weather serene, the wind favourable, and the friendly islanders, who were assembled on the shore, cried to us their last adieu. I now took my course to Schischmareff Strait: we were not endangered by any banks, of which we only saw two at some distance. A canoe followed us from the island of Ormed. At eight o'clock we reached Schischmareff Strait, which is in every respect preferable to Rurick's Strait, as it is much broader, and permits the mariner to sail in and out, with the usual monsoon, without even being obliged to tack; Rurick Strait, likewise, is not so easily found, as nothing is seen there but a continued reef, which is always alike; here, on the contrary, the passage between the two islands is to be seen, even at a distance. In the middle of the strait, the sailor at the mast-head cried out, Land! In S. by W. we saw two small islands; the group of Eregup was there also visible.

I immediately took some altitudes of the sun, and found the longitude, according to the chronometers, $189^{\circ}50'$. The latitude, according to the ship's reckoning, deduced from our anchorage, was $9^{\circ}24'57''$ N.

We had not at all expected to come so soon in sight of the group of islands; it proved that Lagediack's day's voyage was no standard for us; and we concluded that the other groups were nearer than he had fixed. As we saw Eregup before we lost sight of Otdia, it was easy so to unite by angles both the groups, that Eregup had its exact position assigned it on the chart.

At ten o'clock we had reached the northern point of the group of Eregup, which consisted only of coral reefs, and directed our course to the west, and sailed through the channel formed between Eregup and Otdia, to get under the lee of the former. The current in the channel caused a loud roaring; the waves towered like breakers over a shoal; I had the lead thrown, but did not reach the bottom at one hundred fathoms. At noon we had sailed round the northern point of Eregup; we were under the lee in calm water, and sailed along the western side, at the distance of a mile, our course always directed to S.E., where the group took this turning. After a good observation, we found ourselves to be in latitude $9^{\circ}9'6''$ N., longitude, according to the chronometers, $190^{\circ}2'47''$ [W]. The wind had now turned to the E., and we were obliged to tack to reach the southern point of the group. We were soon enabled plainly to overlook it, and found it considerably smaller than Otdia. Its length is twenty-four and its breadth four miles. The whole circle consists of one reef, and contains but very few islands, which are clearly laid down in the chart.¹ At four o'clock we were near the southern point of the group,

¹ Vide Chart of the chain of islands of Radack and Ralick (See p. 282)..

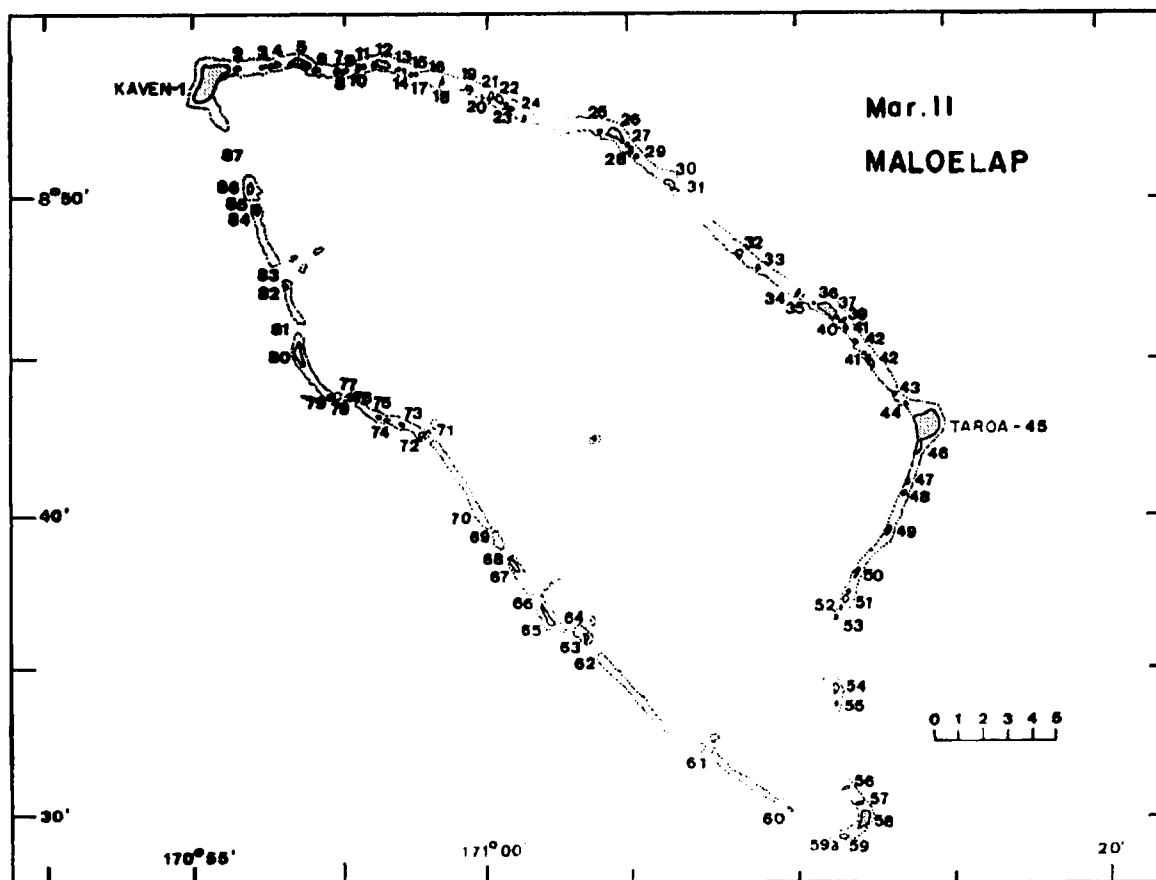
which closes with the largest island; and this, probably, bears the name of Eregup;¹ at least it was the only one on which we saw cocoa-trees and inhabitants. I could not now avoid giving credit to the assertion of Lagediack, that it was inhabited by only three people, as even the appearance of our ship did not attract more to the shore. I dispatched Lieutenant Schischmareff to examine a passage near to us; but he soon returned with the news, that it might perhaps be navigable, but dangerous, on account of the numerous turnings, and could not be passed, except with a west wind. On this information, I gave up the further examination of this group, which seemed to me not worth spending much time upon: the survey was concluded, and at seven o'clock we sailed round the southern point. We now tried to get the weather gauge to the N., to sail with a S.E. course direct to the island group of Kawen, which, according to Lagediack's statement, must lie to the E. We could not find the strait on the north point of Eregup, which he marked.² I called this group after our former minister of the navy, Tschitschagof.³ At sunset we stood off from land, and tacked during the whole night under few sails, with fine weather, and a moderate wind from E.N.E.

The 8th of February.—The south-east part of the group Eregup lay before us at day-break in N.W.; we had to combat with a current from N. during the night; all the sails were spread; the wind allowed a northern course, and, at seven o'clock in the evening, we saw to the N. the high islands of the group of Otdia, near which is Lagediack Strait: at the distance of three miles to the left of us lay the group of Eregup. A good observation at noon gave us the latitude $9^{\circ}9'49''$ N., longitude, according to the chronometers, $189^{\circ}51'14''$. We found that the current had carried us, since yesterday evening, six miles and three quarters to the S. The whole day and night were spent in tacking.

On the 9th, we lost sight of Otdia; the weather was serene, and we constantly tacked. In the forenoon, the moon appeared, and we immediately took a number of distances between her and the sun, from which the longitude was calculated, and reduced from noon, and gave $189^{\circ}20'20''$. The chronometers gave for noon $189^{\circ}26'43''$; the latitude, according to observation, was $8^{\circ}53'16''$. The current had carried us since yesterday at noon, nine and a half miles to S.E. 28° , and on this account we had not been able to reach the point from which I hoped to make the island group of Kawen by a S.E. course. The wind was violent, and we tacked during the night.

On the 10th, at six o'clock in the morning, we reached the point which we so much wished for; all the sails that the high wind permitted us to carry, were spread; we advanced rapidly, and hoped every moment to descry land, while the high irregular waves kept the **Rurick** in violent motion. At noon we were in latitude $8^{\circ}55'52''$ N.; longitude, according to the chronometers, $189^{\circ}20'13''$ W. The current had carried us, in twenty-four hours, twelve miles and a quarter to S.W. 88° . We had scarcely laid our instruments

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- 1 Ed. note: Erikub, N° 13, Mar. 10, in Bryan's Place Names is not exactly the southernmost islet of the group, but it is the largest, with 1/10th of a square mile in area.
 - 2 Ed. note: The only entrance is, in fact, more on the east, than the north, side of the atoll.
 - 3 Ed. note: It had already been discovered by the Spanish in 1566, and re-discovered and named Chatham Islands, in 1788.



Maloelap Atoll, formerly named Kaben. (Bryan's Place Names).

aside after the observation, when land was descried from the mast-head in the E., at a distance of ten miles. Some of our gentlemen had already given up the hope of finding the group, in the existence of which they had begun to doubt. Lagediack had laid down its situation pretty accurately; it was forty-five miles distant from Otdia. We quickly advanced towards the group, which, with its islands, covered with high palm-trees, afforded a more pleasing prospect than Eregup. When we were off the W. point, we saw in S. and S.E. a chain of islands which extended so far that it seemed to be lost in the horizon. On the western point is the largest island of the group, which we afterwards learnt was called Kawen.¹ At four o'clock in the afternoon, we were under the lee of the group, which protected us from the waves of the high sea, and enabled us to follow up the chain at a distance of half a mile to S. After we had sailed along it nine miles, and the sun was near setting, I gave up further examination for to-day; the ship was put about, and we sailed back the same way by which we came. We had seen two channels between the reefs; the larger one near to the island of Kawen, and the second a little

¹ Ed. note: Kaven, or Kaben, is the largest, in the NW corner, but still under one square mile in area.

more south; and I determined, if possible, to penetrate into the group next day. On our voyage back, we saw a great number of people on Kawen, who were admiring our ship; we therefore hoped to meet here with a more numerous population.

On the 11th, at break of day, the wind became violent, but the weather remained serene; I therefore did not abandon my determination of penetrating the group. At six o'clock we saw the island of Kawen, and at half-past seven were in smooth water before the strait; which lies close to this island. The wind was now so violent that the top-sails ought to have been double-reefed; but as the direction of the passage made it impossible to enter, except by tacking, I did not dare to carry little sail, and gave orders to take in only the top-gallant sails. We had, however, in the mean time, approached the entrance within a fathom, and could clearly see whether there was enough depth for our ship. It must appear strange to the mariner, that we should attempt to measure the depth of the water by our eyes; however, as I have said before, the water between the coral groups was so transparent, that even when sailing we could see the bottom at eight fathoms, and besides, our eye was so practised in this respect, that we could know the depth of it by its colour. When we approached the strait, we did not find it so broad as it had appeared at a distance. Two shoals concealed under the water, between which we should be obliged to tack, formed a channel of less than a quarter of a mile, and though the undertaking was dangerous, with such a high wind, we determined boldly to brave the danger. While we were examining the channel, two boats, notwithstanding the high wind, each manned with seven islanders, put off from the eastern part of the group, and sailed towards us, but remained at a distance of two hundred fathoms, and tacked as we did. We were just admiring their skilful manœuvring, and the possibility of carrying such a large sail in this wind, when a sudden gust upset one of the boats. We saw all the people swimming about; one part of them, who appeared to be women, quickly got upon the keel, the others tied cords round their bodies, and swimming, towed the boat on shore. Meantime the other canoe, unconcerned at the misfortune of its comrade, sailed directly before the wind to E., where it landed. Soon after this two larger boats came up to us from the island of Kawen, and kept constant under sail, the people making all kinds of movements with their hands, and calling out something to us, which we could neither understand nor hear for the roaring of the wind. There was not the least difference in their boats and costume from those of Otdia, and we could no longer doubt that it was the same nation. They likewise paid no attention to their fellow-islanders in distress, and did not offer to assist them, though they were still half a mile from shore, and had enough to do to reach it. We had now to exert our skill to carry the ship safely through the channel, as we were in danger of being wrecked at every unsuccessful turn; and though a heavy rain sometimes intercepted our view, we had reached, at nine o'clock, the interior of the group, where we had sufficient room to tack, as no coral banks were visible. We found the depth, over a bottom of living coral, in the middle of the channel, twenty-three fathoms, and it regularly decreased to about five fathoms on either side. But we had scarcely entered the basin of the group, which had a depth of from twenty to thirty fathoms, when we were compelled, as the

wind increased in violence, to reef the top-sails; yet we gained much, notwithstanding the few sails, by tacking, as the water was as smooth as a mirror. At three o'clock in the afternoon, we reached the chain of islands lying N. of the strait; Lieutenant Schischmareff, going out on board a yawl, discovered an anchoring-place, and in half an hour we cast anchor, at two hundred fathoms from a small island, and in twenty-three fathoms water, on fine coral sand. The island of Kawen was distant from us five miles in S.W.;¹ the boats of the inhabitants had left us on penetrating the group. Soon after we had anchored, I rowed to the small island, accompanied by some of our gentlemen; it was of the same nature as those of Romanzoff's group, and seemed to be uninhabited: there were only a few small empty huts, which probably served the islanders for their abode when they fished. We also found rats here in great numbers.

The 12th of February.—Though our anchoring-place, with considerable depth of water, and but little protection against the high waves, was not convenient, I resolved to remain here to-day on account of the fine weather, to determine this point astronomically. Towards noon, two large boats from the eastern part of the islands came up so close to us that we could count thirteen men and three women. The word *Aidara*, which we called to them as the best recommendation, had the desired effect; the savages were greatly astonished at it, unanimously repeated the salutation, and made preparations to approach the ship. We now felt the great use of our hardly acquired philological knowledge; for when we invited them to our ship, in their own language, they did not hesitate a moment, and only begged that we would throw them a rope. We immediately complied; the rope fell into the water, and one of the islanders instantly leaped in, seized it, and swam to the boat, to which he fastened it. After this work was finished, during which many compliments passed between us, two savages came on board, one of whom I recognized to be the chief by his distinguished ornaments. His head was adorned with white feathers, besides an enormous wreath of flowers; his neck with several skilfully wrought bones, and his body wrapped up in finely-braided mats. He was a handsome man, tall and robust, and his whole figure was very prepossessing. As soon as he came on board, his first care was to be acquainted with the Tamon: and when I was introduced to him, he came up to me, presented me with a cocoa-nut, and placed his elegant wreath on my head, pronouncing the word *Aidara*, which he frequently repeated. Upon this he told me, that he also was a Tamon of the island of Torua,² lying to the east, where I might visit him. That I might entirely conciliate his confidence, I offered to change names, a proposal which was favourably received; with expression of the greatest joy it was announced, that their Tamon was called *Totabu*, and I *Labadeny*. No friendship can here be permanent without presents: I therefore gave a solid basis to this newly-concluded alliance, by various iron articles, which my name-sake joyfully received, but did not give them to his treasurer till he had sufficient-

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- 1 Ed. note: Probably the islet named Onimak, N° 12 in Bryan's Place Names. However, Kaven bore due west from that spot.
 - 2 Ed. note: N° 45 in Bryan's Place Names, Torua, or Taroa, is the second largest islet of the group.

ly feasted his eyes with them. I have forgot to mention, what I already observed in Otdia, that every Tamon was always accompanied by a treasurer, who took charge of all the presents, and seemed to be at the same time chief favourite. Labadeny's treasurer, a buffalo, was lean, quick in his motions, had a very animated look, spoke a great deal, accompanying every word with violent gesticulations; in short, he was the very reverse of his austere master. The friendly reception inspired our guests with so much courage, that they fearlessly went about on the deck to satisfy their curiosity; the treasurer, in particular, took the most lively interest in every thing, would know the use of every thing, and did not cease exclaiming at the quantity of iron, *Möll! Möll!* He was immediately as familiar with us as if he were among his most intimate friends; if he wished to have an explanation about any thing, and I was near, he ran up to me, seized me, and dragged me away; he communicated all his remarks with great vivacity to Labadeny; and, not satisfied with this, every time he had seen any thing remarkable he sprung on the gallery of the ship, related to his fearful comrades in the boats the wonderful things he had seen, while they listened with open mouths. A barrel of water on the quarter-deck did not remain unnoticed. He asked what it was, and when I told him that the water was for us all to drink, he made the strangest capers, and did not lose a moment to communicate this news to his companions. He certainly did not do this without exaggeration, which I concluded from the astonished faces of his auditors; particularly a lively old woman, who seemed to be of high rank, and quite enraptured with his accounts, as she probably had not for a long time heard so much news as at this moment. Before Labadeny parted I told him that every one should receive iron in exchange for cocoa-nuts; and we separated good friends, after he had again invited us to Torua.

We were now quite convinced that the inhabitants of Kawen and Otdia were one and the same people; their manner of tattooing, of dressing, was perfectly alike, only that a greater degree of luxury evidently prevailed here. The very large rolls in their earlobes were ornamented with tortoise-shell; the mats of their dress were all new, and their necks hung with an extraordinary profusion of ornaments; the white feathers also, which have a very good effect in their black hair, I did not observe in Otdia. Kawen is the largest island of the whole group; it is two miles and a quarter in length, and three-quarters of a mile in breadth. The wind blew violently in the afternoon from E.N.E., and increased to a storm during the night, with frequent rain. It is remarkable that the barometer stood higher in this group than in Otdia; there its greatest height was 30,00, and here it suddenly rose, even in bad weather, to 30,80.

The 13th of February. I could not execute my design to-day of sailing farther to the east, as the wind still continued to blow violently, and the sky was at the same time so gloomy that we could scarcely see the horizon. It was not till the evening that it cleared up, and we hoped to be able to continue our voyage to-morrow.

We found the latitude of our anchoring-place to be	8°54'21" N.
Longitude, according to the chronometers	189°7'59" W.
Variation of the magnetic needle	11°30'00" E.
Longitude of the middle of the island of Kawen	189°11'27" W.

The 14th, at six o'clock in the morning, we were already under sail, with a fair wind and serene weather. Labadeny, who was also unable to sail yesterday, on account of the wind, tacked in his boat in our company to the east. On sailing past the islands we saw them overgrown with palm-trees which are so rare at Otdia. Many people wandered along the shore; columns of smoke every where rose up into the air; boats rowed to and fro; and the whole scene appeared lively and animated, contrasted with the death-like silence which prevailed at Otdia. When we had reached, by tacking, the middle of the basin, we could clearly overlook the chain of islands which forms the southern part of the group. The depth was here thirty-two fathoms: the bottom consists of living coral, and it is only near the islands that a fine coral sand is found: no coral banks here impede the navigation as at Otdia. In the afternoon we reached the little island, called by the natives Tjan,¹ beautifully planted with cocoa-trees, where numerous huts and people indicated great population. We approached it within a couple of hundred fathoms, and found a convenient anchorage covered by a reef towards the east, where we dropped anchor, for the purpose of stopping a day to become acquainted with the inhabitants. Labadeny, who had followed us in his boat, now came on board, and urged me to sail to the island of Torua, lying more to the east, because, though this one also belonged to him, it was not his usual residence. I pacified him by a promise to go there to-morrow for certain, and now proceeded on shore with him. The nature of the coast is such, that you cannot get to it without wetting your feet. Labadeny had the civility to carry me upon his back; and the strange sight of their chief panting for breath under the weight of a white man, drew many islanders to the spot. After he had happily set me down on the shore, he made a long speech to his people, of which I could only understand that he announced me as a mighty *Tamon*; after this he took hold of me, and conducted me into the interior of the island, into a very spacious hut. All the inhabitants collected round us, among them some pretty girls, adorned with flowers; and I observed with pleasure, that they here fulfil their destination; for they were the general ornament of the young girls. Old and young now strove to present us with cocoa-nuts for refreshment; but the treasurer took it upon himself to entertain the company. He had a great deal to relate of all he had seen on board the *Ellip Oa*, (large boat), and what an immense quantity of *Möll! Möll!* there was there. At length he produced the presents which Labadeny had received, to excite his auditors to greater astonishment. The friendly, sensible behaviour of the islanders, made their society very agreeable, particularly as, relying on their numerous population, they are more courageous than the inhabitants of Otdia. Their curiosity was as lively as there, and I willingly fulfilled all their wishes to examine every thing, except undressing myself to please their curiosity. We now made an excursion into the interior of the island, which is, at the utmost, a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth. Considering its small extent, it is very populous; to judge from the number of large huts, from fifteen to twenty families, and that is almost as much as the whole group of Otdia contains. Cultivation has so far ar-

1 Ed. note: Still called Tjan, or Tian, N° 26 in Bryan's Place Names.

rived to a high degree, as only useful trees, such as cocoas, pandanus, and bread-fruit are suffered here; every possessor has surrounded his small grove with a cord from one tree to another, probably not to encroach on a stranger's property. This precaution, which would appear laughable in civilized countries, is here sufficient to protect every man's right. The whole island has the appearance of an English park, here and there winds a path over-shaded by the spreading branches of the large bread-fruit tree; the majestic palm stands close to the pandanus, which rests on its high roots as on feet, and every where the wanderer finds a retreat against the scorching rays of the sun. The huts lie scattered under the shade of the bread-fruit trees, and we did not pass one, without the hostess inviting us to sit down on neat mats, and partake of some refreshments. We looked about in vain, as we had done in Otdia, for an object from which we could form some idea respecting their religious belief, but we could discover no traces; probably they worship an invisible being; for a nation of such good moral conduct, cannot be supposed to be without religion.

Their whole riches, in poultry, consisted of two fowls of a small kind; Labadeny offered them both to me, as a valuable present, but I was far from robbing them of their little treasure, which I was, unfortunately, not able to increase, as I had no more fowls. Chamisso discovered three kinds of *taro*, which had been carefully planted in a damp situation; but the quantity was so small, that these roots cannot serve for ordinary use, but only be regarded as dainties.

When I was going on board, the inhabitants brought us so many cocoa-nuts, that the boat was half filled with them; for which I returned iron. Labadeny again asked me from whence I had come, and where I was going. My answer, that I came from Otdia, and was sailing to Aur, astonished them all very much, as they could not conceive how I should be so well acquainted with their islands.

The bad weather prevented me to-day from leaving Tjan, at which Labadeny, who brought me early in the morning some cocoa-nuts, and a few small baked fishes, was much rejoiced, and begged me to go on shore in his boat. The wind blew hard when we left the ship, and I soon learnt how easily such a canoe upsets, if it is not kept in due balance. One of the savages, in spreading the sail, had stepped too far on the loof;¹ and we should certainly not have come off with only the fright, if the rest had not immediately thrown themselves to the other side. The friendly reception on land compensated for our disagreeable trip; we were conducted to a hut, which sheltered us from the bad weather, where we sat very domestically on neat mats. I met here the old woman, whom I had seen on Labadeny's first visit to the ship, and learnt that she was his mother; she had conceived a very great affection for me, called me only Labadeny, and talked to me continually, which I so far liked, as it accustomed my ear to the pronunciation. I observed, with pleasure, that these islanders are as clean in their persons as in their domestic arrangements; only, that they, like the Otdians, have a very nasty employment. A pretty young woman, who sat opposite to me, laid her husband's head in her lap, to

1 Ed. note: Or luff, i.e. the leeboard of the canoe.

cleanse it from the vermin, and when she found any thing, she immediately bit it, and then swallowed it; it appears, that the women have the exclusive privilege of this chace. The inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands are said to have formerly had this custom; and on the N.W. coast of America, races of people are still found, who continue to practise it.

A fire was lighted before the hut, to prepare the dinner, and I saw, on this occasion, for the first time, how they produce it. A piece of soft wood is rubbed with a piece of hard-pointed wood, till a kind of groove is produced in the first; the dust caused by it supplies the place of tinder; and when the rubbing has increased the heat so as to take fire, they blow it up, and hold dried grass over it. Before the cook prepared the meal, he washed his hands; after he had finished his work, he spread a mat, set before us boiled fish of a good taste, and baked bread-fruit on clean leaves. Labadeny first tasted every thing, made a short speech, of which I did not understand any part, and then gave me the sign to begin. Only he, his old mother, and myself, were allowed to sit at our table; the treasurer, and another man, with whose office I am not acquainted, had permission afterwards to feast on the tails of the fishes eaten by us.

When we went on board, the inhabitants presented us so liberally with cocoa-nuts, that every one of the crew received one daily for a long time.

Since we came into the group of Otdia, our stock of water from Woahoo, has not been diminished; we found here likewise very good water in pits. Mr. Chamisso has distributed seeds among the inhabitants to-day, and sowed some himself.

We found the latitude of our anchorage 8°52'39" N.

Longitude, according to the chronometers 188°58'29" W.

High water sets in, in the new moon, at thirty-five minutes after 4 p.m., and rises to five feet.

The 16th of February. The weather was serene, we spread the sails, keeping close to the chain of islands by a south course. We were delighted at the admiring crowds, who, attracted by the sight of our ship, ran together on all the islands. After we had gone seven miles, a large, well-manned boat put off from one of the islands, which we afterwards learnt was called Olot;¹ they sailed up to us, showed us cocoa-nuts, and when we pursued our course without attending to their signs, they followed us: Labadeny's boat was also visible at a distance. We had now before us a pretty large island, from which the chain took its direction to the S., and I resolved, as the group appeared to end here, to anchor, because I thought it important to determine its situation astronomically. By the bend which the island forms, we lay near it, protected from the wind, and had twelve fathoms' depth. Fortune had just directed us to Labadeny's residence, Torua. The large boat which had followed us from Olot came alongside of us, and the islanders came on board without any hesitation on hearing themselves addressed in their own language. The leader of the canoe, a young man about twenty years old, having first asked for the *Tamon*, presented me timidly, and in a friendly manner, with some fruit, and I soon

1 Ed. note: N° 37 in Bryan's Place Names.

gained his confidence by some small presents. I learnt that his name was Langedju, and that he was chief of the island of Olot; he was more tattooed, and therefore more distinguished than Labadeny; he had likewise a greater profusion of ornaments than he had; his face was animated and full of expression, and his whole behaviour pleased me much. The ship, with the quantity of iron it contained, was again an object of admiration; one of the savages even attempted to possess himself of some of the *möll*, but he was discovered, and the chief with much warmth gave orders not to touch any thing. Langedju proposed to me an exchange of names, which I was obliged to accept, not to affront him, though Labadeny would take it very much amiss; in fact, when he soon after arrived, he instantly perceived the change of names, and could not suppress his rage. Langedju was cunning enough to pretend to take no notice; I tried to conciliate my old friend by presents, but he would have nothing whatever to do with his rival. In the afternoon I went on shore with both chiefs, where we were kindly received by the inhabitants. Torua is twice as large as Tjan, but, in proportion, not so populous, though the island appeared to be very fertile. Immediately on landing, Labadeny left me; Langedju, however, accompanied me, with two of his subjects, in a promenade through the island; he was in a very good humour, laughed a great deal, and made game of Labadeny. After a long walk, in which I did not meet with any thing remarkable, except that some fowls ran about wild, I set myself down on the shore, and embraced the opportunity of extending my knowledge of the geography of this chain of islands. I drew on the sand the groups with which I was made acquainted by Lagediack. Langedju was greatly astonished that I was so well acquainted with their names, but found their situation not quite correct, and drew it himself. He placed himself towards the N., began with the group Bigar, and continued to the S., till the map was finished; in the number of groups it coincided with Lagediack's, but not quite in the direction. He had marked, besides the chain, two single islands, of which I took the one that lay E. of Ai-lu for New Year's Island; the other lay at the distance of a day's voyage to W.; the eastern one he called Miadi,¹ that to the W. Temo.² The map, as was afterwards proved, was very correct; for, as I discovered all these groups, I have accurately copied it in my notebook. On my return, I fell in with a company who were sitting round a fire, and boiling something in cocoa-shells. I accepted their invitation to sit down, and I now saw that they were making into powder rotten cocoa-wood [sic], and boiling it in water to a thick pap; of this they made little cakes baked in leaves, but which I found to be quite tasteless.³ I was more pleased with the tender attention of the parents towards their children, which I remarked here likewise in a very high degree.

I remained on this island till the 19th of February; Langedju scarcely ever left the **Rurick**, and brought me once some taro-root, upon which he set a very high value. We daily received a number of visitors, but Labadeny did not make his appearance. We

1 Ed. note: Indeed, Mejit lies to the east of Ailuk.

2 Ed. note: Indeed, Jemo lies west of Ailuk.

3 Ed. note: I think that the wood may have been that of the sago palm instead, whose scientific name is *Corypha umbraculifera*.

changed iron for cocoa-nuts; the sailor who had this office was held in great esteem by the inhabitants; they embraced and kissed him continually, probably in the hope that their fondness might be taken into the account.

Mean of our observations gave for the latitude of our anchorage ... 8°43'10" N.

Longitude, according to the chronometers 188°50'25" [W]

Variation of the magnetic needle 10°50'00" [E]

Our distance from the island of Kawen was, in a direct line, twenty-four miles.

The 19th of February, at six o'clock in the morning, we were under sail, and ran along the chain, which consists entirely of small islands, to the south. After we had sailed ten miles, it suddenly turned to S.E.; in this direction we discovered a pretty large island, and perceived that we were on the S.E. point of the group Kawen, which here first turns to W. and then to N.W., and thus forms a bay. I directed my course to the largest island, which we afterwards learnt was called Airick,¹ and as we were approaching it, more islands were descried from the mast-head, over the reef to the south, which we soon recognized as the group of Aur.

At nine o'clock we cast anchor sixty fathoms from the island of Airick, in eight fathoms' water, and found this anchoring-place to be in every respect very excellent. Airick is about the size of Torua, but afforded a more beautiful prospect than any of the islands which we had yet visited. The whole shore was thickly planted with palm-trees, under whose shade many habitations were scattered; some boats were under sail, others lying at anchor, as if we were in a much frequented harbour. As we were so near the shore we could observe all the movements of the savages, who assembled in crowds to gaze at the wonderful great *Oa*. While we were putting the ship in order, some of our gentlemen went on shore, and we saw them received with palm branches and cocoa-nuts. Mr. Chamisso soon returned, delighted at his kind reception; he brought with him a youth of eighteen years of age, who was announced as the Tamon, and whom the people followed in several boats, when they saw their young chief rowing from shore. We now had a numerous company, and were presented with cocoa-nuts in abundance, for which old pieces of iron were joyfully received. The Tamon, who was immediately introduced to me, took a lively interest in every object that surrounded him: an old man, who appeared to be his Mentor, did not leave him a moment, and both at last hit upon the idea of measuring the length and breadth of the ship, as well as the height of the mast, with a cord, which was carefully preserved. Seeing two gentlemen fencing on the quarter-deck, he begged us to give him a foil, and showed much aptness in the lesson. In the afternoon the Tamon seated himself next to me in the boat, and we rowed, accompanied by all the canoes, on shore, where the people assembled to look at the Tamon of the ship; but my young friend, who did not quit my side, immediately conducted me to an elderly woman, whom he introduced to me as his mother, and queen of the island; she sat on a mat before a pretty house, surrounded by three very ugly, old and

1 Ed. note: Airik is N° 58 in Bryan's Place Names.



View of the island of Airik, Maloelap Atoll, Marshall Is. N° 58 in Bryan's Place Names.

stately dames. I was obliged to sit next to her, and the people formed a close circle round us. Duly appreciating the place of honour, I exerted all my eloquence, but it was in vain; I obtained no answer; and, diligently as her eyes wandered over me, the royal mother did not deign to speak; and I was at length convinced that her high dignity imposed silence on her, particularly as the ladies of honour, in direct contrast to their mistress, chattered without ceasing. A present which I made the queen was received with a gracious inclination of the head, but she did not touch it; the ladies of honour took charge of it, and after the presents in return, consisting of some cocoa-nuts and two rolls of *mogan* [sic] had been laid at my feet in profound silence, the queen retired to her house, and the audience was at an end. The young Tamon then conducted me to a tolerably large house, supported on four posts, where I found an assemblage of young and profusely ornamented ladies; one of them, the sister of my companion, sat apart; I was invited to sit next to her, and the people again formed a circle round us. In this visit to the princess, there was not so much ceremony as with her august mother; she asserted her right to speak, and was much pleased when I said any thing to her in her own language; the people too were permitted to take a share in the merriment, and to joke. The princess ordered a pantomime, with songs, which is called by the inhabitants *Eb*, to amuse me. Two of her play-mates sat themselves by her, the one beat a drum, and the other joined now and then the solo song of the princess, which resembled screaming. The name *Totabu* was frequently repeated, and I only regret that I could not understand the words. The pantomime would perhaps not have been much amiss if they had not, in the heat of action, distorted the eyes and twisted the neck, and at the same time

gesticulated so furiously, that the foam stood in their mouths. On departing, I presented the princess with a silk handkerchief, and some other trifles; at which she was so delighted that she did me the honour to present me with her own shell wreath. The distinguished chief and his sister were not yet tattooed; probably the operation is not performed so early, as in the Marquesas, in several. Langedju told me, that after tattooing, the body swelled very much, and suffered a great deal of pain: and really this pain must be very considerable; the mate of Captain Krusenstern, a tall, robust man, fainted when he had his arm a little tattooed. I believe that tattooing in these islands is a religious custom; at least they refused it to several of our gentlemen at Otdia, assuring them that it could only be done in Eregup.

In an excursion which I made I have been confirmed in my opinion that this is one of the finest islands; nothing is seen here except fruit-trees and taro plantations. We were told that the island which we had seen in the south belonged to the group of Aur; Kawen and Aur are therefore only ten miles distant from each other.

The 20th of February. The **Rurick** was surrounded by canoes from morning till evening, and filled with inquiring savages; in the afternoon the princess appeared, to whom I sent several presents into her boat, as she would not venture on board. In the west a large boat was seen, on board of which were twenty-two people, men and women; the utensils of all kinds which they had with them made us suppose that they were on a long voyage. When it came up, the chief of the island of Kawen, Labeleoa, a man about seven feet high, came on board, and presented me with a roll of *mogan*. He talked a great deal; and, among other things, he advised us to sail to Aur, where the *Tamon Ellip* (great chief) resided. A great many people had assembled on deck, who, conscious of their superior numbers, behaved rather boldly. We were often obliged to put a stop to the impudence of our guests, who were only deterred by the idea that we were supernatural beings, from making themselves masters, by force, of every thing. It was already dark, and the boat which we had sent for water had not yet returned, when the subaltern officer called from shore, that he missed a sailor. As the savages never appeared armed, I had always sent my people unarmed on shore not to create distrust, for which I now bitterly reproached myself. An armed boat was immediately sent on shore, and I at the same time fired a cannon and threw up a sky-rocket; and this phenomenon, so terrible to the savages, produced the desired effect. Scarcely had the cannon been fired, when a dreadful howling arose in the whole island, which lasted for above a quarter of an hour; in the mean time our boats returned; it was quite dark. The sailor who had been missed candidly confessed that love had led him astray, that the girl would not make him happy till after sun-set, and had till then conducted him to a hut in the interior of the island; here a number of islanders had assembled, who would not let him go; they lighted a fire, and stripped him: all fell on the ground as if struck by lightning when the shot was fired, and my sailor fortunately escaped.

The 21st of February. The fright of last night still operated to-day, so that nobody ventured on board till some of our gentlemen had gone on shore. They had asked a great many questions, what the report and flash were? And when they were told that I

had on that occasion paid a visit to heaven, my consideration was doubled among them, and they behaved with great propriety. As I intended to leave Airick to-morrow, I paid some visits to-day, and was treated with the most distinguished respect. I could not see the old queen, as admittance was refused me by two sentinels armed with lances. To the princess, however, and some of the nobles I was allowed to make as many presents as I liked. Labeleoa prepared a farewell *Eb*; three men and three women seated themselves in a half circle; two drummers sat opposite to them, and, with terrible voices, sang the words, *Totabu, Aidara, Möll!* and every motion had a reference to me.

I saw the heron running tame about the huts, and in a wild state along the shore; besides this, there are here only the sandpiper and a species of pigeons. The rats are so bold, that while the savages are eating they come and help themselves.

The longitude of our anchoring-place, from 50 sun-moon distances	188°52'7" W.
The chronometers gave	188°49'25" W.
Latitude from the mean of three observations	8°31'11" N. ¹
Variation of the magnetic needle	11°11'00" E.

The observation for the time of high water in the new and full moon gave one hour fifty-two minutes; the greatest difference in the height of the water was four feet. In the direction of N.W. and S.E. the length of the island of Kawen is thirty miles; in breadth eleven miles and a half. The survey of Kawen is founded, like that of Otdia, on points astronomically determined, and I may therefore hope that every navigator who visits that part will be satisfied with the determination of the places. The uniformity of the three groups, Suwarof, Kawen, and Otdia, is probably not accidental; but this structure seems to be peculiar to the corals.

The 22d, at day-break, we weighed anchor, and directed our course to the island of Olot, having promised Langedju to visit him there. Labeleoa, who had intended to accompany us to Aur, sailed off with us, but bent his way to his island of Kawen as soon as he saw us sailing to Olot, where we cast anchor at ten o'clock in the morning, in eight fathoms, over coral sand. We had scarcely arrived when we were visited by Langedju, who was highly delighted to see us; soon after the chief of the island of Torua also came, and I succeeded in reconciling the two rivals with each other, and myself with the latter. On Langedju's invitation, I went on shore with our gentlemen; we found Olot less cultivated than Airick, Tjan, &c.: the population also was less. Langedju conducted me to his taro plantations, where he made a great sacrifice by presenting me with some roots; for though his plantation is the largest in these parts, it would not suffice to support one man four weeks. Near the plantations I perceived a banana tree, which was surrounded with a small fence, and carefully attended to, and seemed to have been but lately transplanted. I learnt from Langedju that the taro as well as the tree had been brought from Aur, and I was pleased at the desire of this people to cultivate their islands to the utmost of their power. It may, perhaps, appear to many of my readers use-

¹ Ed. note: His latitude was strangely more than 1 degree off, but his longitude was 15 minutes off.

less to mention such unimportant trifles, but I think by this to furnish the means to those who visit these parts in future, to observe the progress which will certainly take place in the course of time. Mr. Chamisso also distributed seeds, and taught them the process; out of gratitude for his trouble they stole his knife, but were obliged to surrender it on my insisting very seriously on it. After we had walked about the island for a long time, without meeting any thing worth observation, Langedju conducted us to his hut to entertain us. He (what no-one had previously done) sent away, out of mistrust, all his pretty wives, though he, like a perfect courtier, appeared to be my most confidential friend. The meal consisted of sour dough of bread-fruit, of such a very disagreeable taste that we found it difficult to eat any of it. Our host affirmed that he knew Rarick, Langin, and Lagediack; it is therefore to be supposed that the islanders of the different groups keep up an intercourse with each other. Towards evening I went on board, having previously presented Lagedju and Labadeny with some useful utensils.

We found the latitude of the island of Olot 8°46'4" N.
 Longitude, according to the chronometers 188°50'18" W.¹
 The whole group of Kawen consists of sixty-four islands.²

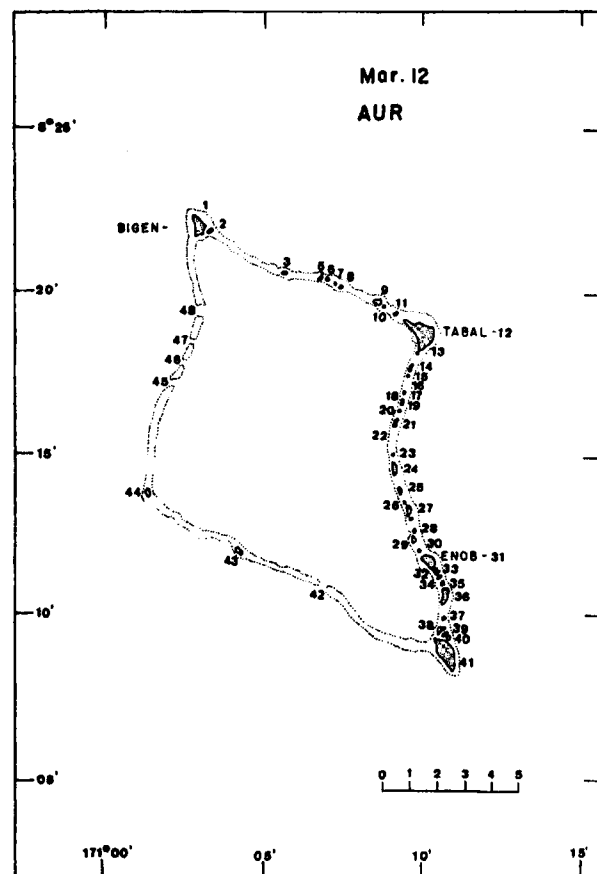
The 23d of February we left the island of Olot, in fine weather and a high wind from E.N.E., and directed our course to the passage through which we had penetrated the group. According to the assertion of the islanders, there is a broad passage between the reefs of Airick, which I have laid down on the chart as it was pointed out to me from the ship. At nine o'clock we had penetrated through the passage by Kawen, and took a S.E. course, at a small distance from the island chain, which forms the lee-side of the group. I called the group of Kawen after our meritorious general, Araktschejef.

On account of the high wind we were obliged to carry the top-sails with one reef. At noon, according to observation, we were in latitude 8°35'40"; longitude, according to the chronometers, 189°3'40". At the same time the sailor on the mast-head discovered in the S.E. an island belonging to the group of Aur, which forms its N.W. point; it is very large, and is called by the savages Pigen.³ At two o'clock, we already had it to the east, were under the lee in calm water, and proceeded at a small distance along the reef to discover a passage. We had scarcely sailed a mile when we found one about fifty fathoms broad, but so inconvenient, that it could not be passed without danger; notwithstanding this, our desire to examine it prevailed over every fear; the wind had abated a little, the weather was favourable, we spread all our sails, and glided through it. We avoided, by skilful steering, some coral banks which we had not previously remarked, and had soon a view of the whole group, which seemed to us the smallest we had seen in these parts. We approached the island which forms the S.E. point of the group, and is called Aur, and cast anchor at five o'clock in the afternoon under its protection. The

1 Ed. note: In error by 19 minutes.

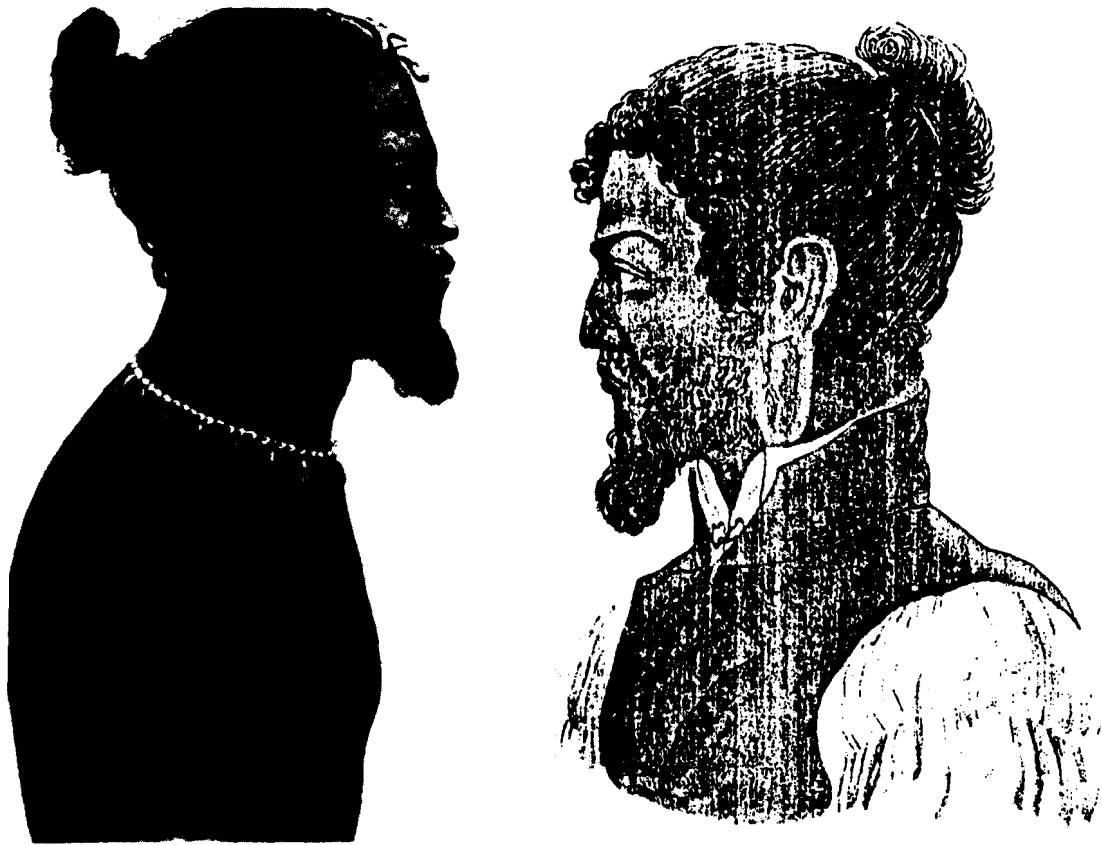
2 Ed. note: According to Bryan's Place Names, there are now 69 islands important enough to have names.

3 Ed. note: Now written Bigen, it is only the third in size, after Tabal and Aur proper.



**Aur Atoll, Ratak Chain, Marshall Is.
(Bryan's Place Names).**

lead was often thrown in the middle of the group; we found the depth from twenty-three to twenty-five fathoms, over a bottom of living coral; at our anchoring-place the depth was eighteen fathoms, though we were distant from shore fifty fathoms. We had scarcely anchored when four large boats put off from Aur, and, approaching us within fifty fathoms, quietly remained in one situation, gazing with astonishment at our ship. We addressed them in their language; immediately their fear vanished, and some even ventured on board, where their surprise equalled that of the other savages. Our acquaintances in Otdia and Kawen, whom we mentioned to them by name, contributed to gain their confidence; and two chiefs, who seemed to be very distinguished, and were much tattooed, on hearing this news, ventured to come on board. Upon the whole, we have found the inhabitants of Kawen more importunate than these.



Two profiles of the Carolinian drifter from Woleai, named Kadu. As sketched by Louis Choris, an artist with the Kotzebue Expedition.

[Carolinians who drifted to the Marshalls]

We remarked two savages who were tattooed differently from the rest, and, as Mr. Chamisso observed, spoke a different language. We enquired whether they were natives of that island? They answered, no; and related to us a long story in their own language, but of which we unfortunately did not understand a word. One of the strangers, a man of about thirty, of a middle size, and an agreeable countenance, pleased me very much; I gave him, after I had made presents to the chiefs, some pieces of iron, which he received with gratitude, though not with the same joy as the other savages. He kept particularly close to me. When the sun was setting, and our guests about to leave us, he took me aside, and, to my great astonishment, expressed a wish to remain with me and never to leave me. I could not suppose that it would last longer than a day, was surprised at the attachment which he had immediately formed for me, and kept him, as the circumstance diverted us all very much. Kadu had scarcely obtained permission, when he turned quickly to his comrades, who were waiting for him, declared to them his intention of remaining on board the ship, and distributed his iron among the chiefs. The astonishment in the boats was beyond description; they tried in vain to shake his resolution; he was immovable. At last his friend Edock came back, spoke long and

seriously to him, and when he found that his persuasion was of no avail, he attempted to drag him by force; but Kadu now used the right of the strongest, he pushed his friend from him, and the boats sailed off. His resolution being inexplicable to me, I conceived a notion that he perhaps intended to steal during the night, and privately to leave the ship, and therefore had the night-watch doubled, and his bed made up close to mine on the deck, where I slept, on account of the heat. Kadu felt greatly honoured to sleep close to the Tamon of the ship; he spoke little, whatever pains we took to amuse him, ate every thing that was offered him, and quietly laid himself down to repose. I will give the reader, in a connected detail, the many things which he told of his fate at different times.

Kadu was born in the island of Ulle [i.e. Woleai], belonging to the Carolinas, which must lie at least 1500 English miles to the west from here, and is known only by name on the chart, because Father Cantara [sic = Cantova], in 1733, was sent from the Lardones [i.e. Marianas], as missionary to the Carolinas. Kadu left Ulle with Edock, and two other savages, in a boat contrived for sailing, with the intention of fishing at a distant island; a violent storm drove these unfortunate men quite out of their course: they drifted about the sea for eight months, finding, but seldom, fish for their food, and at last landed, in the most pitiable situation, on the island of Aur. The most remarkable part of this voyage is, that it was accomplished against the N.E. monsoon, and must be particularly interesting to those who have been hitherto of opinion that the population of the South Sea Islands commenced from west to east. According to Kadu's account, they had their sail spread during their whole voyage, when the wind permitted, and they plied against the N.E. monsoon, thinking they were under the lee of their island; this may account for their at last coming to Aur. They kept their reckoning by the moon, making a knot in a cord, destined for the purpose, at every new moon. As the sea produced abundance of fish, and they were perfectly acquainted with the art of fishing, they suffered less hunger than thirst, for though they did not neglect during every rain to collect a small stock, they were often totally destitute of fresh water, Kadu, who was the best diver, frequently went down to the bottom of the sea, where it is well known that the water is not so salty, with a cocoa-nut, with only a small opening; but even, if this satisfied the want of the moment, it probably contributed to weaken them. When they perceived the island of Aur, the sight of land did not rejoice them. Their sails had long been destroyed, their canoe the sport of the winds and the waves, and they patiently expected death, when the inhabitants of Aur sent several canoes to their assistance, and carried them senseless on shore. A Tamon was present at the moment; the iron utensils which the unfortunate men still possessed dazzled their deliverers, and they were on the point of striking the fatal blow, to divide their spoil, when Tigélien, the Tamon of the island of Aur, fortunately came in time to save their lives. When Kadu afterwards offered all his treasures to the preserver of his life, he was generous enough to refuse them; he took only a trifle, and forbade his people, on pain of death, to do any harm to the poor strangers. Kadu, with his companions went to Tigidien's house, who took paternal care of him, and conceived a particular affection for him, on account

of his natural understanding and kind heart. According to his reckoning, it must be about three or four years since his arrival here. Kadu was engaged in the woods, when the **Rurick** came in sight, and he was speedily sent for, as they expected from him, who had travelled far, and was generally accounted a very sensible man, an explanation of this strange phenomenon. He had often told them of ships, which, though they had visited Ulle during his absence, he had heard of; he even knew the names of two men, Lewis and Marmol, who had come from the great island of Britannia; and he, therefore, by the description, knew our ship.¹ Being very partial to the whites, he urged the islanders to go on board, which they, at first, declined, for, according to tradition, the white men devoured the black. How they came to this opinion was an enigma to us, for, except an ancient tradition, that at a very remote period, a large ship had sailed past Kawen,² they had no other idea of European ships, but such as had been communicated to them by Kadu. His promise to barter some iron for them, at last induced them to come on board, and here he immediately remained with us, as the reader is already informed. The precaution with which we had him watched was quite superfluous; he slept quietly during the night, and awoke with the first dawn of morning, cheerful and happy.

The 24th of February. We had yesterday informed the islanders that we intended to sail to-day to the island of Stobual, which is eight miles distant from Aur, and which forms the N.E. point, because the sharp-pointed coral bottom was dangerous to the cables.³ We found the population on the eastern side of the chain of islands to be more considerable in comparison with the other groups: we did not meet with any coral banks, and at ten o'clock reached the island of Stobual, near which we cast anchor in eight fathoms, on a bottom of fine coral sand. It afforded a most pleasing prospect, and, to judge from the number of boats and huts, must be very populous. The group of Kawen was visible from the mast-head. Five boats, which followed us from Aur, and in which there were three Tamons, Tiuraur, Lebeuliet, and Kadu's benefactor, Tigedien, now came on board. Kadu, who had been presented with a yellow cloak, and red apron, walked proudly in his ludicrous finery, without condescending to notice his companions, who gazed on him with astonishment from their boats, and could not conceive the metamorphosis. In vain they cried "Kadu! Kadu!" He did not deign them a look, but walked proudly about on the deck, always taking care to turn himself in such a manner that they might be able to admire his finery. When I learnt that there were three Tamons in the boats, I commissioned Kadu to invite them, as I could not extend the permission to all the savages on account of their numbers; he felt greatly honoured, conducted himself with much dignity, and, after a short speech, first introduced to me

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- 1 Ed. note: A veiled reference to the visit of the ship *Mary* to Woleai in 1803, with Major Luis de Torres on board and the Englishman who remained behind (see Doc. 1804A).
 - 2 Ed. note: Not a Spanish ship of the 16th century, but rather Captains Marshall and Gilbert in 1788.
 - 3 Ed. note: This islet is better known under the name of Tabal, N° 12, Mar. 11, in Bryan's Place Names. It is the biggest of the group, but only half a square mile in area.

Tigedien on deck, as the most distinguished. This old man, with silver-white hair and beard, had a venerable and pleasing countenance, but his tall, strong body was bent with age. He presented me with some rolls of *mogan*; and, while I was conversing with him, Kadu invited the other chiefs, who were likewise very old, on board. The dress of the Tamons differed but little from that of the other savages; they were only more tattooed, and wore round their necks ornaments of fish-bones, which I afterwards learnt supplied the place of orders. Kadu, to give himself consequence, conducted the guests about the ship, gave them explanations of all the wondrous things which they saw, and knew how to conduct himself so cunningly as to make it appear that he had a perfect idea of every thing he tried to explain; he talked with particular diffuseness on trifling subjects, and generally produced laughter. When they saw a sailor take a pinch of snuff, and questioned him, who had never seen it himself, he was not at all embarrassed; he took up the box, and certainly told them many surprising things respecting it, as they listened to him with the greatest attention; but, when, to make the matter quite plain to them, he took up the snuff to his nose, he threw the box from him, and began to sneeze, and to cry so immoderately, that his astonished auditors ran from him in different directions; but he soon collected himself, and knew how to turn the affair into a joke. Kadu's explanation of the cannon convinced us that he was acquainted with them; for he told them that if the islanders ventured to steal any thing, they would beat down all the cocoa and bread-fruit trees with them; and further related, that Lewis and Marmol, in their visit to Ulle, when the inhabitants had stolen something from the ship, had not ceased shooting down the trees, till the property stolen had been returned. Setting aside this little difference, they must have conducted themselves with much humanity, as Kadu had a very great respect for white men, and liked so much to be with us. The Tamons now attempted to dissuade him from his resolution, but he only shook his head, embraced me and said: I remain with you wherever you go!

We learnt that there was still another chief of the name of Lamary, under whose power the island-groups from Aur to Bigar were subjected, and who was now absent to assemble a military force, with which he intended to seize upon the group of Mediuro [i.e. Majuro], lying to the south of Aur: its inhabitants often make incursions upon Aur, Kawen and Otdia, to seize provisions, of which they are in great want, on account of the numerous population. An incursion of Lamary's island, by which a man lost his life, was now to be punished. Kadu told us that the most shameful pillage was committed upon Otdia; the enemy destroyed every thing they could not carry off: by this information the riddle was solved, why we every where had found newly-planted trees. The people appeared to us unfit for war, and their short, miserable lances confirmed us in this opinion. We now learnt that even the women take a part in the war, loaded with baskets filled with stones, which they throw, as they form the rear-guard, over the heads of their warriors, into the hostile army; they likewise afforded succour to the wounded, and Kadu, who has been in many such battles, assured us that the women were of great service in war. Tigedien, the most distinguished of the three chiefs, supplied the place of Lamary during his absence, and was treated by the people with extra-

ordinary respect. Lebeuliet, the second in rank and dignity, is possessor of the group of Kawen, but resides, in time of peace, in Airick, and the young chief there, as well as the amiable princess, are his children. Tiuraur, the youngest of them, possesses the group of Otdia, and is father to our old friend Rarick; and it afforded him great pleasure that we were able to give him some account of him. The Tamon returned to Stobual, with many presents, whither they also invited me; but as I had still to make observations to determine the situation of this place, I deferred my visit on shore. Kadu wished to accompany the Tamons, which I permitted him to do, though I was firmly convinced, that inconstant and fickle as the South Sea islanders are, he would not return. He was carried off in triumph. All the canoes followed that of Tighedien, where, elevated to the rank of a distinguished man by our favour, he occupied the place of the Tamon.

In the afternoon I went on shore, and immediately took an excursion, accompanied by the active Tamon Tiuraur. The island of Stobual is half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth; the fine mould forms here already considerable hills. The palm and bread-fruit trees thrive extraordinarily, and I was agreeably surprised by a young plantation of twenty banana trees. There is more taro here than on the other islands: they daily brought us some of it. That the root, compared with that of the Sandwich islands, is very small, is probably owing to the want of moisture, though the people assured me that they would thrive very well, if they were not so often destroyed by the inhabitants of Mediuro.

[Kadu's farewell speech]

Very numerous habitations convinced me of the thick population of this island. In my promenade I came up to the habitation of Lebeuliet, the chief, where a considerable number of men and women formed a circle round Kadu, who had been attracted by his new costume; but I was astonished when I saw him make a speech, at which his audience almost melted into tears: one old woman sobbed aloud. Tighedien's eyes were bathed in tears, and it was easy to observe the effort which it cost Kadu himself to suppress his emotion. He frequently mentioned Aur, Ulle, and Totabu. I was not sufficiently master of the language to understand the connection of the speech, but my supposition seemed correct, that he was taking leave of the chief and the people. As much as I could understand from it, he first spoke of his sufferings on his voyage from Ulle to Aur, painted the generous reception of Tighedien, and concluded with the hope that he might, one day, through me, see his native home again. When Tighedien now began to speak, Kadu shed a flood of tears, the people were deeply moved, and an affectionate embrace of Tighedien and Kadu closed this truly affecting scene; Kadu accompanied us on board, and as his determination to remain with us appeared to be immovable, he was received into the cabin among the officers, which flattered him very much, as he easily perceived the difference between us and the sailors, and thought he belonged to the Tamon of the ship. He sat with us at table, accustomed himself with incredible readiness to the use of knives and forks, and, in fact, conducted himself with

as much propriety and good manners as if he had long associated with civilized people. Our gentlemen treated him with so much kindness that he soon became very much attached to them, and they likewise were happy to have him about them, on account of his good qualities. I cherished the hope that when we had learnt better to understand each other, I should obtain from him much information, as well respecting the Carolinas, as the newly-discovered groups of islands.

The 26th of February, the whole day the **Rurick** was surrounded by savages who were acquainted with our intention of leaving them to-morrow, and bartered a great number of cocoa-nuts. They regretted our departure exceedingly, and learnt, on their inquiry, that I was going to visit their great Tamon in Ailu and Udirick, as was in fact my intention. As soon as I was alone with my guests in the cabin, they examined very carefully whether any body could overhear us; they entreated, with an air of mystery, but very earnestly, that I would remain here till their military force was assembled, to kill with them all the inhabitants of Mediuro, and then, laden with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, return to Aur; they would give me for it an *Eb* every day. This proof of their confidence astonished me, but willingly as I would have defended these poor islanders against their foes, and perhaps have even secured them from future attacks, merely by my appearance, the approaching spring would not allow the time. My refusal dejected them very much; but, to assist them as far as lay in my power, I made them a present of some lances and grappling hooks, which made them inexpressibly happy. Every thing was immediately shown to the people in the boats, who unanimously set up a loud *O—h!* Tiuraur danced and sang to it a war-song, showing us how he would throw his enemies down; the people roared for joy, and had their foes appeared at that moment, these valiant men, inspired by martial ardour, would certainly have gained the victory. Highly delighted, the Tamons returned on shore. Edock, the friend and fellow-sufferer of Kadu, remained behind to make a last effort to induce him to relent; but all was in vain: all we had given him during his stay with us he gave to his friend, and wept very much on parting with him, when he tore himself from him after a long conversation. Kadu's resolution became to us more inexplicable, when we saw how much he suffered on parting.

[Edock's map of the Carolines]

We are indebted to Edock for a remarkable chart of the geography of the Carolinas, which he had visited, and with which he was better acquainted than his friend. I sketched it according to his statement, and lay it before my readers. Incorrect as it may be, it will perhaps be of some service to future navigators, who intend to examine the Carolinas. The reader knows, from Lagediack's statement, how I discovered three groups. The spaces between the island groups, which, according to Edock's statement, are of the same nature as those examined by ourselves, I have marked with figures, which deter-

mine the days' voyages from one group to the other: the single islands are only distinguished by a circle. Sehtiu, Feis, Pelli, and Iap, are said to consist of high, and the others of low land.¹ Iap and Pelli, which are probably the Pelew islands of Wilson, are found marked in all charts. I shall say nothing farther on this subject, as Mr. Chamisso, in his love for the sciences, undertook the trouble of interrogating Kadu, as well on the geography, as on the customs of the Carolinas, and the groups discovered by us. His account, which he furnished for my Voyage will be found entertaining and instructive. Edock pointed to the east when I asked him in what direction Ulle lay. His error proves, that an easterly wind had carried the unfortunate men from their island, and that they were driven back to the E. by a S.W. monsoon, which prevailed there; but as they always fancied themselves west of Ulle, they still plied, when they reached the monsoon, always to the east.

[Another Carolinian drift voyage]

Edock told us, that on the island group of Arno, a day's voyage from here to S.W., five men had landed in a boat. They were natives of the group of Lamureck, which lies at a small distance from Ulle, and is likewise marked on the chart of Father Cantara [rather Cantova], among the chain of the Carolinas. A short time ago, when the natives of Arno ventured to make an incursion here, Kadu and Edock recognized the islanders of Lamureck, with whom they had formerly been on friendly terms. As they had heard that the latter had perished, the joy at their unexpected meeting was so great, that Kadu told us they no longer troubled themselves about the battle, but selected a lonely retreat, where they mutually told each other their several misfortunes. The names of the five natives of Lamureck, are Quidal, Pegedu, Uderick, Katulgi, and Udeben. Uderick is the name of an island-group of Radack; and, from the similarity of names, it may easily be concluded, that boats from the Carolinas are often wrecked here. In the afternoon I went on shore to take leave, when I was received by the inhabitants with more kindness than before, as they were now perfectly convinced of my friendship, by the arms which they had received from me. My dog only, which I had brought from Bering's Straits, and which died to-day of convulsions, as the climate did not agree with him, frightened them a little. Before Lebeuliet's residence, a small fleet was equipped, probably against the inhabitants of Mediuro; two of these boats, the largest which I saw here, were thirty-eight feet long. Chamisso passed the night in the Tamon's residence, in the hope of being tattooed, according to his promise; but, as it was not done, we are confirmed in our belief, that tattooing here, is, in some measure, connected with their religion.²

In spite of the violent wind, two large boats came from the island of Airick, belonging to the group Kawen, from which it appears that they can sail in a pretty high sea;

- 1 Ed. note: Not Sehtiu, but "Schiuck, a high Island". It is easily recognized as Chuuk, or Truk. The other islands are Fais, Palau, and Yap.
- 2 Ed. note: It is more likely that permission from the paramount chief was required before such a honour could be bestowed on anyone.

both of them belonged to the chief Labelea, already mentioned, who was much rejoiced to see us again. When, at sunset, the islanders accompanied me to my boat, which had been filled with cocoa-nuts to such a degree, that we could scarcely find room in it, I gave them iron, knives and scissors, and beads to the women, and we parted as the best friends.

I conclude our story with the observations which we made.

Latitude of our anchoring-place, the mean of three observations	8°18'42" [N]
Longitude, according to the sun and moon	188°48' E. [rather W.]
Longitude, according to the chronometers	188°51'46" [W] ¹
Variation of the compass	11°58'30" E.

The situation of the group Aur is N.W. and S.E.; in this direction, its length is thirteen, its breadth six miles: we counted, in all, thirty-two islands. I called the group after our minister of the navy, Traversey.

As our time would not suffer me to examine the islands Arno, Mediuro, and Mille, more closely myself, I could only follow with the compass the direction which the islanders pointed out: the distances are reckoned according to a day's voyage. The population of the group Aur may be estimated between three and four hundred: scanty, when compared to its size; but numerous, when compared with the other groups.

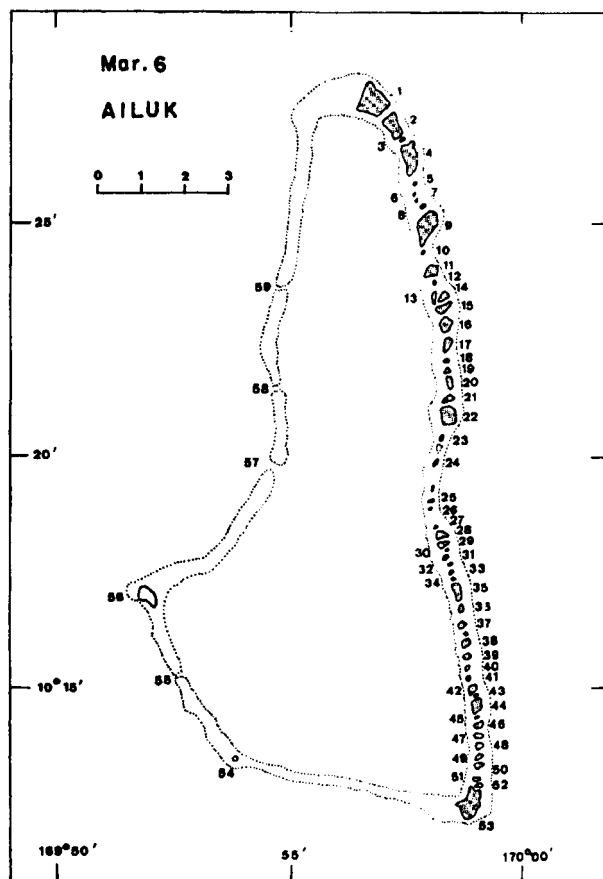
The 27th of February. We weighed anchor at day-break, to leave Aur; during the whole night we had heard the drums and songs of the savages: when the sails were set, the noise on shore increased, and Kadu thought that it was done to wish us a happy voyage. At seven o'clock we were already at the passage, by which we had penetrated, and came safely through it. We now continued our voyage, sailed round the group of Otdia with a fair wind, and tacked, during the night, under few sails.

The 28th. We had fine weather, and, according to our ship's reckoning, ought to have seen Otdia at seven o'clock in the morning; but as we could descry no land, even from the mast-head, the current must have been the cause of the inaccuracy of our calculation, and which was afterwards proved, as we had been driven sixteen miles to N.W. [rather N.E.] 11° during the night. To get sight of the group of Otdia, according to which I wished to determine my situation on the chart, I took my course direct to west. In a few hours, land was descried from the mast-head to the south. I immediately steered towards it, to discover which island of the group of Otdia we saw, and in three quarters of an hour recognized it to be the island of Ormed, which lay seven miles from us. Thence I steered N.W., in the hope of coming to the group of Ailu. Our latitude at noon, after a good observation, was 9°51'29"; longitude, according to the chronometers, 189°56' [W]. When we calculated, according to the island of Ormed, we found only a minute's difference, which proved the goodness of the chronometers, as well as the ac-

¹ Ed. note: The latitude is right on, and the average of the longitudes gives a position that is also quite accurate.

curate determination of the group of Aur, which gave me more pleasure than any new discovery would have done.

Kadu, to whom we had given a shirt and a light sailor's jacket, was in an excellent humour at this dress, which he liked very much, till the motion of the ship made him sea-sick, and very low-spirited; but his health and good temper soon returned, and he did not appear to miss his friends in the least. At half-past two, three low islands were descried in the N. from the top-mast, which Kadu immediately recognized to be a part of the group of Ailu, where he had once been. He thought that the small island of Temo must lie S.W., and Ligiep farther to the west. We were now under the lee of the group of Ailu, seven miles distant from it, and were, therefore, obliged to tack the whole night to reach it.



Ailuk Atoll, Marshall Is. (From Bryan's Place Names).

long conversation took place from the boats with Kadu, who related to them all he knew about us, and also that he was determined to go with us, but that we intended to pass some days near their island. At this last news the savages expressed much pleasure,

The 1st of March, at day-break, we had already gained so much, that we were under the lee at its south point, which is formed by the island of Ailu, after which the whole group is called.

The length of the whole island was scarcely a mile, its breadth a quarter of a mile: it had a pleasing appearance, and was distinguished from the rest by its high palm-trees. We approached the island of Ailu, from which we saw columns of smoke ascending and people walking about. After we had sailed round it, we went along the southern side of the group, which consists wholly of coral reefs; and when we had sailed round this also, we were in calm water: we now continued our course northward, near the reef, in the hope of finding a passage. We soon saw three boats coming through the reefs, but found the passage too narrow for us to penetrate through it. Two boats came so near to us that we could speak with the islanders, and Kadu's joy at seeing some of his old acquaintances, was as great as their astonishment to find him with us.

None of them ventured on board, but a

showed us, towards the north, a passage, which, according to their opinion, would be wide enough, and we immediately spread more sail to reach it before the evening. We soon found three channels, of which two were deep enough, but only four fathoms wide; the third was from fifty to sixty fathoms broad, but as it was late, and the attempt hazardous, the monsoon also blowing from the pretty narrow opening, I deferred the examination till the next day. We had now overlooked the whole group, the length of which was fifteen, and its breadth five miles; its eastern side was formed by a chain of islands, but the western side consisted of a coral reef.

The 2d of March.—The current had carried us seven miles to the west during the night; we, however, reached the passage at eight o'clock. It appeared almost impossible to penetrate, as it was narrow, and the wind against us; but I hoped that the current, which was setting in, would favour our undertaking, and therefore dispatched Lieutenant Schischmareff to examine the channel. He soon returned with the welcome tidings, that it was indeed only fifty fathoms broad, but deep enough, and free from danger, because the reefs at the entrance, resembling a wall, rose perpendicularly from the bottom. I immediately ordered all the sails to be set to give the **Rurick** the greatest possible velocity, that in case it should be necessary to turn her against the wind during the passage, she might have force to sail on till every danger was over. We should not have succeeded in this undertaking had we not been favoured by the current: it was very dangerous, and we were greatly rejoiced when we got through, without having come too near the reef, which forms the southern entrance. A species of mackerel had caught itself on the fishing-hook hanging behind the ship, and so the islands paid us a tribute the moment we entered their group. The wind would have carried us in a direct course to the island of Ailu if we had not been intercepted by numerous coral banks, to avoid which, or to sail round them, cost us much time. We had not met with so many shoals in any group; we however found a convenient anchoring-place at noon near Ailu. Three boats immediately came up to our ship, and Kadu, in his sailor's dress, did not neglect to place himself on the deck in such a position that he could be distinctly seen. He condescendingly called out to them, that he was Kadu, they need not fear to come on board; but they, scarcely trusting their eyes, did not venture till after they had had a long conversation with him. After they had sufficiently examined and admired the dress of their old friend, he explained to them with much dignity all the other objects, and thought it quite natural that they should behave to him with as much submission as if he had been a distinguished Tamon. Afterwards he had even the politeness to accompany them on shore, and took, without ceremony, the place of honour in the canoe; the simple savages sung and rejoiced, and carried him on their shoulders through the water without considering that he had only been a common man like themselves a few days before; a zeal which he probably heightened by some old nails which he took with him from the ship to give to them. When he arrived on shore he sat down with much gravity; they all surrounded him, standing, and he related to them his important adventures and experience. In the afternoon we went on shore, where we made the observation that this group must have been produced much later than Otdia, Kawen, &c.; it had but little mould.

and was very poor in fruits, considering its size: we did not see the bread-fruit tree at all. The pandanus, which is in abundance on the other islands, was here reared with the greatest care. Fowls, which are tied with strings to the huts, as dogs are with us, are here more frequent: their flesh however does not serve for food, but their feathers for ornament. The long feathers of the tropical birds belong only to their dress of ceremony, but are very seldom met with. We learnt that Lamary had shortly sailed from here to Udirick to assemble a military force, and that Langemui, who had remained here as chief of this group, resided now at the northern point of the island of Capeniur.¹ According to the statement of the savages, the group of Udirick lay north from this place, at the distance of a day's voyage; and I did not doubt a moment that it was the islands of Kutusoff and Suwaroff, discovered by us last year, which, to judge from our longitude, must lie thereabouts. Kadu went with us on board; the islanders accompanied us in their canoes, filled with cocoa-nuts, which they offered us, without desiring any thing in return. On account of the scarcity of fruit among them, I was much moved at this generosity and disinterestedness, and richly rewarded them with iron.

After a good observation, we found the latitude of our anchoring-place 10°13'7"
 Longitude, according to the chronometers 188°58'33" [W]²

On the 4th of March, at day-break, the sails were hoisted, and we took our course north, along the chain to the island of Capeniur, which being detained by many coral banks, we did not reach till nine in the evening. We lay distant from it fifty fathoms, protected against the wind; and in this convenient anchorage I resolved to remain for several days, to have the sails and cordage repaired, as the **Rurick** would soon be obliged to go into the tempestuous ocean, where, at this season of the year, we had to expect many storms. The greatest depth in the whole group was twenty fathoms: in our anchoring-place we had only six fathoms; the bottom consisted of white clay; a circumstance we had not met with in any other group. We had scarcely cast anchor, when we received a visit from Langemui, who had been informed yesterday of Kadu's arrival, and had, on that account, reposed such confidence in us, that he came on board without any fear, to lay some cocoa-nuts at my feet. He was a venerable old man, at least eighty, lean, and with grey hair, but a very youthful, lively spirit. I took a great fancy to him, and made him many presents: he invited me to his island, our bond of friendship was sealed, and he soon after left me.

In the afternoon I paid him a visit in return, was joyfully received in his house in the bosom of his family, and Kadu, whom I had taken with me, was obliged to relate a great deal respecting our ship. I observed several scars on Langemui's arm, and asked him on what occasion he had received them. He pointed to the W., and while he told me that a long time ago he had visited the inhabitants of Ralick, who had given him these wounds, he fell into such a passion, that he seized his lance, and threw it with such

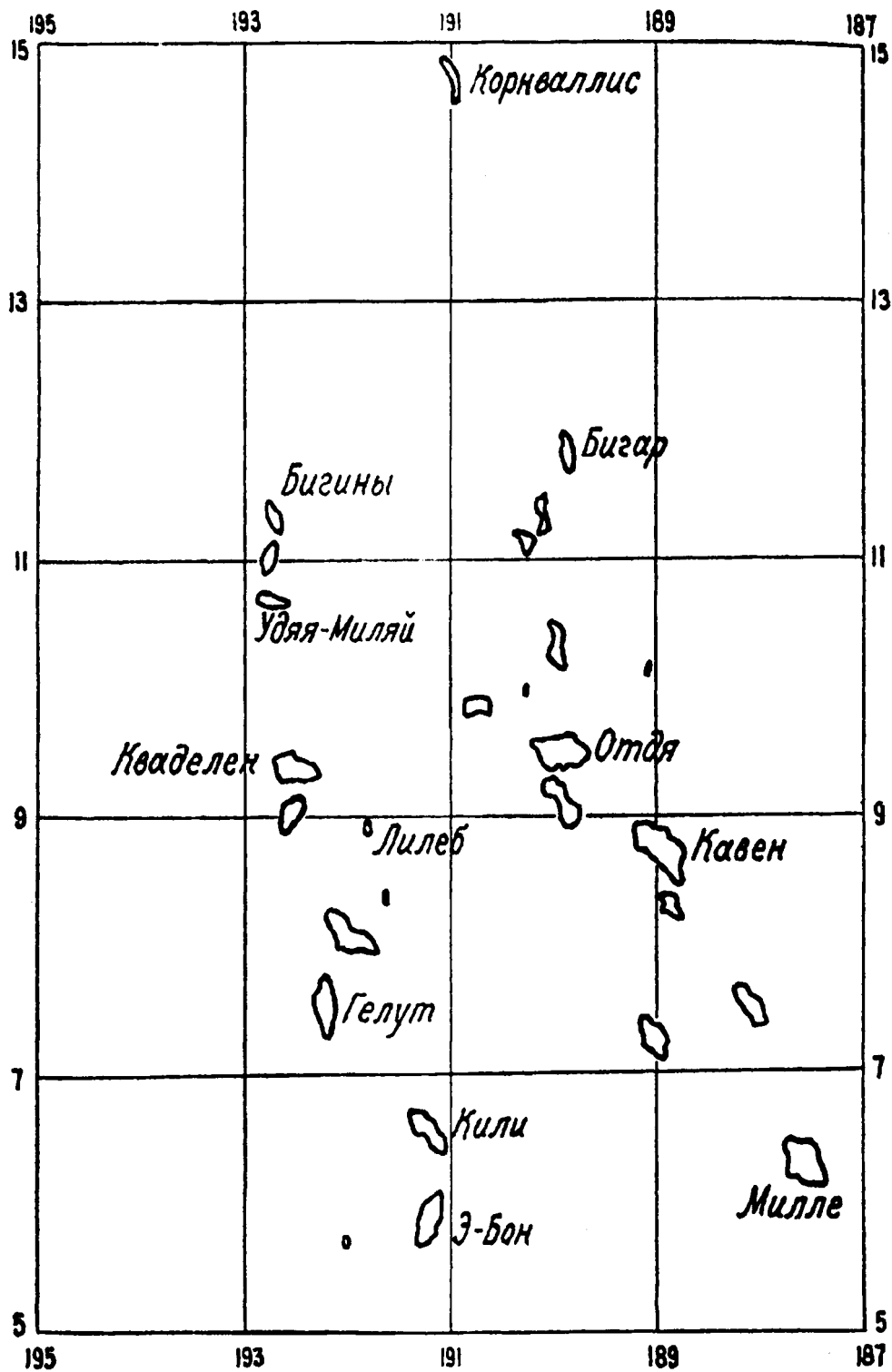
1 Ed. note: Capeniur, rather Kapen, or Kaben, Mar. 6, N° 1 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: This longitude is more than one degree off.

violence against a tree fifteen paces distant, that it remained sticking in it, at the same time crying *Mani mamuan Ralick* (kill man of Ralick). I admired the strength and dexterity with which this old man could still wield the lance, which, however little I had hitherto esteemed it, can inflict a mortal wound at the distance of twenty paces. After I had pacified my host a little, I tried to learn, with Kadu's assistance, who was now accustomed to my pronunciation, what he meant by Ralick; and received the following information. The chain already known to us from Bigar in the north, to Mille in the south, is called by its inhabitants Radack, as I shall also call it in the sequel; to the W. from the chain of Radack, another chain of islands runs parallel with it, consisting of nine large groups, and three single islands, with a numerous population, and is called Ralick. Langemui explained the whole to me, marking on a mat spread out, with the assistance of small stones, the chain of Radack, which takes its direction from N. to S. as far as to Eregup, and then to S.W. [rather S.E.]. As the groups, as far as we were acquainted with them, were accurately laid down; his information respecting the Ralick chain deserves equal credit. After he had several times told us the names of the groups, he directed us the way which we must take from Ailu to reach them, and which he did in the following clear and sensible manner. A small stone in his land supplied the place of a canoe; he sailed with it from Ailu at sunrise, arrived at noon, by a S.W. course, at the island of Temo, and from thence, without stopping, to the group of Legiep. (When we discovered these in the sequel, we could not but admire his accurate knowledge of those parts.) He began his voyage the next morning from Legiep, took a western direction, was two days and two nights on the way, and then arrived at the group of Cwadelen [i.e. Kwajalein], belonging to the Ralick chain. In this manner he described the course, as well as the time of day, with accuracy and clearness. At the time he received his wounds, the two chains were carrying on a violent war with each other, but they are now on friendly terms. Kadu, who likewise affirmed that he was acquainted with the Ralick group, told me that the Tamon Tiuraur, with whom we were already acquainted, had made a voyage to Ralick, had exchanged names with the chief there, and established friendship between the two island chains.

The chain of Ralick has two chiefs: Lagadack-nanait and Labondugin: the former is called *Erud Ellip*, (great chief). The word Tamon was first introduced here by Kadu, as the chiefs are so called in the Carolinas; here, however, he is called *Erud*. The inhabitants of both chains of islands are said not to differ either in customs, or language; and the group of Odja [i.e. Ujae] is reckoned as the most populous and largest of the Ralick chain. Langemui assured me that we could arrive there in one and a half day's voyage from Eregup; this, therefore, would be a distance of sixty miles, as I know from experience, that a day's voyage here seldom exceeds forty miles; from Ralick to Radack it

(Overleaf:) **Chart of the Islands of Ralik and Ratak, in Mercator's Projection. November 1817.** *The Ratak chain is according to the information that Chief Langemui of Ailuk had given Captain Kotzebue earlier that year. (Map re-drawn from Kotzebue's Atlas by Herman Friis, in The Pacific Basin).*



would be longer, as one has to contend against the monsoon. It struck me as something very remarkable, to hear Langemui say, that a very long time ago, a ship with white men had been at Odja, and from whom they had procured iron; and that, on the northern group of Bigini [i.e. Bikini], which likewise belongs to this chain, a large ship had been seen sailing by.¹ From this it appears that the Radack chain is quite unknown, except a few groups; and that Ralick may be considered as the chain of the Mulgrave [i.e. Mili] islands, with which we are likewise unacquainted. The chart of the Ralick chain, which, I hope, will be pretty correct, I drew according to Langemui's information; and have added it to my atlas.

Of the island of Capeniur, which is only a quarter of a mile² in circumference, nothing more can be said than of Ailu. It is likewise very far back in vegetation, and the population appeared to me very scanty; but perhaps the most had gone with Lamary to Udirick. I discovered several water-pits; and, having fixed upon one for washing our linen, because we could expect no other opportunity before we reached Oonalashka, I daily sent some sailors on shore for this purpose. The islanders were so obliging as to assist my people, and Kadu, who had his linen under his own charge, would not suffer any body to wash it but himself.

At Capeniur, I visited a chief, who, according to his appearance, must have been far above a hundred years old; snow-white woolly hair covered his head and chin: his lean and shrivelled body scarcely resembled that of a human being, and yet he enjoyed the privilege of these happy islanders; his spirits were cheerful, and his mental faculties unimpaired. It appeared more and more enigmatical to me, how the population could be so scanty, and yet the health of the people so durable, till Kadu gave me the following reason; on account of the scarcity of provisions, the barbarous and revolting law prevails, that no mother is allowed to bring up more than three children; the rest must be sacrificed. We ourselves experienced the beneficent influence of this climate on the body; as, notwithstanding the want of fresh provisions, we were never better in health.

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- 1 Ed. note: I agree with Andrew Sharp that both Lae and Ujae were probably discovered by Captain Mertho aboard the English ship **Ocean** in 1804. I cannot find a report about Bikini, but many English ships travelling from NSW to China passed near there in his informant's lifetime; many sailed by Eniwetiok, and may have been seen there by visitors from Bikini.
 - 2 Translator's note: Probably a German mile (4-1/2 English) is meant. Ed. comment: Yes, there was probably a typographical error made in the original German text: 1/4 mile instead of 4 miles.

Up to the 6th of March, we enjoyed the finest weather, and a mild E.N.E. wind. In the night, a calm prevailed, which is very unusual; and, on the 7th, the N.E. monsoon changed, for the first time, during our stay at Radack, to N.W. and W. It rained, at the same time, very violently till sunset. On the following morning, the wind again blew from the N.E., and the sun shone brightly. The barometer is not generally subject to great alterations between the tropics, distant from high land; we likewise observed none, setting aside the daily oscillation, except during the west wind, when it fell four lines.

The 9th and 10th, we could do no work on board, on account of the heavy rain, and therefore hurried to finish on the 11th, while the fine weather permitted us. According to our observations, which were confirmed by Kadu, the E.N.E. wind is the most usual at Radack. It is, however, said, that the wind in the months of September and October, sometimes blows from the S.W., and not seldom rises into a furious hurricane, uprooting the cocoa and bread-fruit trees, desolating the islands on the western point of the group, which, he assured me, were sometimes swallowed up by the waves. The savages look forward with terror to this season, which often destroys the crop of bread-fruit. This fruit is gathered only once a year, and just at that period; for, though it is seen on the trees all the year round, yet they are the fullest in those dangerous months.

Langemui brought on board to-day a young Tamon, of the island of Miadi, which, according to his opinion, must lie now to the east of us, and was, without doubt, the New-Year's Island discovered by us; for, according to our calculation, it lay fifty-six miles to the east of us. The young chief made this visit much against his inclination. In a little vessel fitted out for fishing, in which he was alone, he had been surprised in a storm, carried away from his island, and in a few days thrown upon this group. This high-spirited young man was very much tattooed over his whole body, consequently of very high rank; his behaviour was modest, and his inquisitiveness was almost boundless. On my asking when he intended to return to Miadi, he answered, that he would wait for Lamary's arrival, who was to collect a military force there, and go with him. It is astonishing how the savages can make a course of fifty-six miles against the N.E. monsoon, to a point like Miadi, which they can hardly see at six miles' distance. As they only tack, they are two days and a night on the voyage, without any other means to calculate their course than the stars, which they see only with the naked eyes; a skill which the Europeans do not possess.

When Langemui heard that we intended to leave him to-morrow, he was sincerely sorry, and immediately sent out some of his people to gather cocoa-nuts, and others to fish; during the whole night we saw people walking about the reefs with fire, with which they entice the fish, and then harpoon them.

The 13th of March. Already, at day-break, our old friend, Langemui, came to us, loaded with cocoa-nuts and fish, and soon after, we weighed anchor, with a fair fresh E.N.E. wind, and fine weather. The old man stood for a long time in his boat, and bid us adieu, waving both his hands. To this group of Ailu I gave the name of the man under whose command I made the first [Russian] voyage round the world—Krusenstern.

At seven o'clock, we reached a channel lying towards the north, through which I sailed, as the wind favoured us, though we had only thirty fathoms' breadth. From thence I took the course to N. by W., to reach the group of Udirick, which could be no other than Kutusoff's group.

The mean of several observations, gave for the latitude of our anchorage at the island of Capeniur	10°17'25" N. ¹
The mean of several observations between the sun and moon, gave for the longitude	190°00'40" W.
Declination of the magnetic needle	11°15'30" E.

The mean of our observations, gave for the time of high water at the new and full moon, four hours fifty-three minutes. The greatest difference in the height of the water was eight feet.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the island of Udirick was seen to the north from the mast-head. Towards evening, we approached its southern part, and now clearly distinguished the two groups of Kutusoff and Suwaroff² as well as the channel which separates them, through which we had sailed the preceding year. As it began to grow dark, we tacked under few sails.

The 13th. At day-break, we observed that the current had carried us during the night eight miles to the S.W., 40°, and directed our course to the strait, which is formed on the north by Udirick, and on the south by Togai [sic]. At eight o'clock we had passed them, and were under the lee of Suwaroff's [rather Kutusoff's] group, into which I intended to penetrate; but as we could not find any passage broad and deep enough for our ship, I resolved to remain here only one day under sail to speak to Lamary. Four canoes soon appeared with their chief, and were about to repeat the same ceremonies as last year, when they, to their great astonishment, recognized Kadu. Lamary remained only a short time with us on board, because his people were afraid that we might keep him. He was distinguished from the other islanders less by his dress than his tall and robust person. His face indicated much sense, but his right eye, smaller than the left, gave him a sly look. Kadu afterwards told us that Lamary was now about thirty years old, a native of Arno, and came some years ago to Aur; had murdered its chief without any provocation, and usurped the dominion; thence he had gone to Kawen, and continued to proceed farther to the north with his partisans, to Udirick; had every where murdered the most distinguished chiefs, and now ruled with unlimited sway over the whole chain from Radack [rather Bigar] to Aur. It is remarkable that the island of Sumatra was anciently known to the Arabs under the name of Lamary; from which one might suppose that the population of the Carolinas, as well as of these groups, had its origin in the Philippine Islands; and the more so, as these nations resemble each other

1 Ed. note: This must be a misprint for 10°27'25" as his latitudes have always been correct. His longitude (below) is 2 minutes off.

2 Ed. note: That is, Utirik and Taka, respectively.

very much. After I had made Lamary a few presents on his short visit, he took from his neck a curiously-worked fish-bone, which is worn here for distinction, which he did me the honour to present to me, and immediately left the ship; the other islanders would, however, not be deterred from stopping to hear Kadu's wonderful explanations. I learnt from them that Bigini, the most northern group of the Ralick chain, was exactly to the east [rather west] of us, and this is perhaps the same known from the chart, under the name of Pescadores, and which has been seen only once.¹ I was told that the island of Bigar was to the N.N.E., and the islanders informed me, that Lamary was soon going there to catch turtle, and to lay them up as a provision for the approaching war.²

Two of Kadu's fellow-sufferers, whom Lamary had brought to this island, came to us; one of them, a very old man, was particularly beloved by Kadu, and he resolved to take him with him without saying a word to me. The old Carolinian was beside himself for joy; but fell into a violent passion when I refused his request. He abused Kadu, and besought me to leave the latter in his stead; and in vain were all my representations, that he could not endure a voyage in his old age. I would willingly have complied with his unremitting entreaties, if I had not expected his death almost to a certainty. After the islanders had sufficiently admired all the treasures, Kadu asked my permission to accompany them. Mr. Chamisso also went, to make himself farther acquainted with the island. The old Carolinian was obliged to be taken by force into the boats, as he would absolutely stay; and they all left us. In a few hours Mr. Chamisso and Kadu returned on board, accompanied by several canoes filled with cocoa-nuts. They had not been able to land, as it was impossible to penetrate into the basin of the group, on account of the small opening and the contrary wind; and on the outer side they were unable to pass on account of the violence of the breakers through which Kadu and the other savages swam, while Mr. Chamisso waited his return in the boat. I now again represented to Kadu, that it was the last moment that he had to reflect. I told him that we should never return to Radack; that he could have no hopes of ever going to Ulle; and that he had to expect a long and fatiguing voyage. He threw both his arms round me, vowed to remain with me till death, and nothing remained for me except to keep him, and with a firm determination to provide for him as a father. He distributed in haste all his treasures, and we left Udirick.

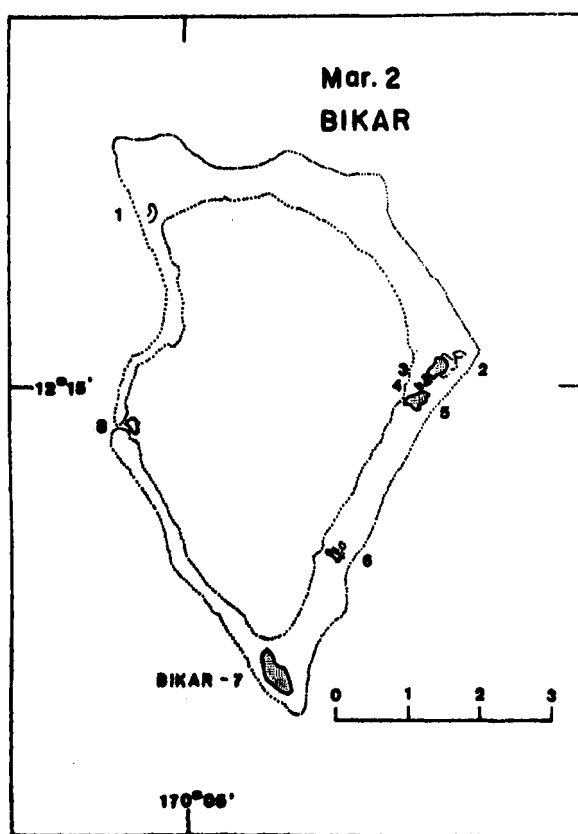
The 14th of March. After we had endeavoured the whole night to gain the wind to the east, we found by a good meridian observation, which gave for the latitude 11°50'57", and for the longitude, according to the chronometers, 190°26'32", that we had been carried, since yesterday, twenty-six miles by the current, direct to the west. We had not advanced at all to the east, but rather lost ground. This violent current I had observed last year; it seems peculiar to this place, without my being able to explain

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- 1 Ed. note: Although the name of Pescadores appeared on Spanish charts in a fanciful location, which coincided with the area of Rongelap-Rongerik, these islands were never seen by the early Spanish explorers.
 - 2 Ed. note: It appears that the Marshallese of that period, those of the Ralik chain at least, knew nothing about Taongi to the north, and even less about Wake Island.

the cause, and it now prevented me from reaching Bigar. We had fine weather all day, and a moderate E.N.E. wind. We saw several species of sea-fowl, which indicated that some unknown island was near.

The 15th. We have made another fruitless attempt to reach Bigar; the current has again carried us twenty miles to the west; and, seeing the impossibility of reaching this group, I steered for Oonalashka.

The islands discovered by the frigate Cornwallis lay in my way, and I resolved to direct my course in such a manner as to be able to see them.



[Kadu's description of Bigar]

According to Kadu's statement, Bigar likewise forms a circle, but which consists for the most part of reefs, and contains only two small islands; a third is said to lie in the middle of the basin, and all are covered with but a little mould, and overgrown with low bushes. There are little entrances under the lee of the island for boats, which go there to catch turtle and sea-fowl. I should very much have liked to have penetrated to that place, where, to judge from Kadu's conversation, some light might be obtained respecting the religion of the Radackers. The island is inhabited by a blind god and his two sons; but as he has taken the turtles and sea-fowls under his particular protection, the savages have hit upon the stratagem to adopt the names of the two sons as long as they remain in the island, by which the good, blind divinity is happily deceived, and throws

no obstacles in their way. On the other hand, they try to gain the two sons while they are on the way thither by songs full of flattery; from this we see that they attribute to their gods human weaknesses, as the Greeks and Romans did. Their first prayer is, that the rain water may not vanish as long as they are there. They also affirm, that sharks devour no men at Bigar.

The 18th of March. The current daily carried us ten or twelve miles to the west, and I was obliged to take quite a northern course, not to miss the Cornwallis islands. Our meridian observations gave for the latitude $13^{\circ}45'11''$, longitude $190^{\circ}38'45''$. The islands therefore could not be far distant, which was also indicated by a number of sea-birds,

which, having fluttered round us the whole day, left us in the evening; and Kadu, who did not suppose any land to be near, suddenly cried out, pointing to the birds, "There is certainly land! the birds are flying home to their young ones; and by this we always know how to find an island when we have lost it." From this it appears that La Pérouse was wrong in affirming the contrary; as even the savages have made this observation, and take the birds for their guide in the evening.¹

The 19th. After having tacked during the night under few sails, not to miss the islands, we continued, at dawn, our course to the north, and at seven o'clock the sailor at the top-mast-head gave the news, that he saw land direct before us: according to Arrowsmith's chart, it would lie much more to the east of us. At eight o'clock we distinctly saw several islands overgrown with low bushes, visible only from five to six miles' distance, and they may, therefore, become more dangerous to the navigator than the groups lately discovered by us, which are at least covered with high trees, and give timely warning of every danger. At noon we had sailed round the southern point of the little group, and were under the lee of it, in very calm water, from whence we could clearly overlook it. A coral reef here also forms a circle; the eastern side of which consists of nothing but small islands. The extent, as well as the geographical situation of the group on Arrowsmith's chart very little agrees with our observations. The frigate Cornwallis gives the extent of the group from N. to S. at thirty miles; we, on the contrary, found it only thirteen miles and a half: our longitudes also differ. According to our observation, the group lies $191^{\circ}0'25''$, consequently twenty minutes more to the west than is given by the English frigate: the latitudes nearly agree. When we were, at noon, at the southern point of the group, we found the latitude $14^{\circ}39'29''$. We approached under the lee of the reef within a couple of hundred fathoms. I sent Lieutenant Schischmareff, with a boat, to examine whether we could penetrate into the basin: his endeavours were fruitless; the group had no opening. To judge from the light colour of the water, the depth in the basin cannot be considerable, and, probably, the whole group will soon become one island. An enormous shark swallowed an iron hook as thick as a finger, but was so large and heavy that the hook broke exactly in the middle as we were pulling it up. We soon left the islands, and steered as the wind permitted us, to the north, to reach the 30th degree of latitude, in the same point where we had indications of land the year before.

The 21st of March. At noon we were in latitude $17^{\circ}56'$, longitude $193^{\circ}23'$; saw, at sunset, the sea-birds taking their course to N.E., probably to the island of Wakers [rather Wake's], which must lie in that direction, but which we could not reach, on account of the north wind.²

...

1 Ed. note: In which direction, is not said. It is assumed that they flew north, to Taongi Island. Taongi had been discovered very early by Loayza, in 1526.

2 Ed. note: Wake lies in about $19^{\circ}18'$ lat. N & $166^{\circ}36'$ long. E, i.e. $193^{\circ}24'$ long. W. They must have passed quite close to its west side without seeing it in the night. Wake was discovered by the Mendaña expedition in 1568 (see HM2: 416).

The 29th: in latitude 31°39', longitude 198°52'. We looked about in vain for land, and I steered direct to Oonalashka.

...

[Storm in the north Pacific]

The 13th of April was the frightful day which blasted all my fairest hopes: we were then in latitude 44°30', and longitude 181°8'. Already, on the 11th and 12th, there was a violent storm, with hail and snow. In the night of the 12th and 13th a hurricane arose; the waves, which before ran high, rose in immense masses, such as I had never yet seen: the **Rurick** suffered beyond description. Immediately after midnight the fury of the hurricane rose to such a degree, that it tore the tops of the waves from the sea, and drove them, in the form of a thick rain, over the surface of the ocean. Nobody, who has not witnessed such a scene, can form an adequate idea of it. It seems as if a direful revolution was at that moment destroying the whole stupendous fabric of nature. I had just relieved Lieutenant Schischmareff. Besides myself, there were four sailors on deck, of whom two were holding the helm; the rest of the crew I had, for greater security, sent into the hold. At four o'clock in the morning, I was just looking at the height of a foaming wave, when it suddenly took its direction to the **Rurick**, and in the same moment threw me down senseless. The violent pain which I felt on recovering was heightened by the melancholy sight of my ship, whose fate would be inevitable, if the hurricane should rage for another hour; for not a corner of it had escaped the ravages of that furious wave. The first thing I saw, was the broken bowsprit; and an idea may be formed of the violence of the water, which at once dashed in pieces a beam of two feet in diameter. This loss was the more important, as the two other masts could not long withstand the tossing of the ship, and deliverance would then be impossible. The gigantic wave broke the leg of one of my sailors; a subaltern officer was thrown into the sea, but saved himself with much presence of mind, by seizing the rope which hung behind the ship; the steering wheel was broken, the two sailors who held it were much hurt, and I myself, thrown violently with my breast against a corner, suffered severe pain, and was obliged to keep my bed for several days. In this dreadful storm I had an opportunity of admiring the undaunted courage of our sailors; no human assistance however could have been of any avail: but fortunately for seamen, the hurricanes are never of long duration. Kadu had been in great terror during the storm; for he expected, as he expressed himself, that the immense white waves would kill the poor ship; otherwise he was quite secure in the officers' cabin, in warm clothes, only his boots were very troublesome to him. Mr. Chamisso took great pains daily to learn from him more information respecting Radack and the Carolinas, which he found pretty easy, as Kadu soon understood the Russian language, and we, on the other hand, perfected ourselves in his. When we left Radack, Kadu immediately began to keep an account of time, by making a knot every evening on a string; but after we had been a month at sea, he gave up his account, because he was convinced that we were now wandering at random about the sea, as he had done on his voyage from Ulle to Radack.

After the hurricane had abated, and the ship had been put in order, as well as could be done, we continued our voyage to Oonalashka, during which we had to contend with many violent storms.

On the 18th of April, we saw the island of Amuchta, and on the 21st we were in great danger between Oonemack and Oonalashka. Circumstances obliged us to come pretty near to the land lying opposite to us, when a sudden storm drove us on the coast, and we could already calculate the moment of our destruction, when the wind unexpectedly veered: a change very frequent near high land.

The high mountains, covered with ice, of which there are a great many here, astonished Kadu beyond measure. He would not believe that it was land, and it is not surprising, that he who had hitherto seen nothing but small, low islands, covered with the loveliest verdure, should not recognize as land, masses of ice, towering into the clouds. I never saw him regard any thing with more astonishment than snow. To satisfy his curiosity, he one day, when it was falling in very large flakes, gave himself the trouble to catch some, and was seized with a shuddering, when it suddenly vanished in his hand; full of mistrust, he looked at all of us, and thought himself transported into a land of enchantment.

...
[Upon arrival at Oonalashka Island, Kotzebue sought the help of the Russian-American Company in repairing his ship and obtaining some baydares and Eskimo interpreters from Kodiak Island for an expedition into the Beering Sea during the following summer months. They left Oonalashka on 29 June and proceeded north.]

...
Kadu, who found himself very well in Oonalashka, though he did not like the air, was much surprised that he did not see a single tree on the island, and that neither coconuts nor bread-fruit were to be had. He took a lively interest in all the new objects which he saw; the Aleutian mode of living under ground did not please him at all; he thought it was better in Radack and Ulle, and asked us whether people lived so at St. Petersburg? We gave him such a splendid description of that city, that he was seized with the greatest desire to see it soon. He looked at the large oxen with astonishment and fear; and his joy was without bounds, that the meat which we ate daily on board the ship was the flesh of these animals. We asked him why he was so rejoiced, and he timidly confessed, that he thought we are men, and that it might one day be his turn. Soon after our departure from Radack, he had been present when a barrel of salt meat was opened; he observed a piece of the ribs; he remembered the warning of his friends, not to go with us, because we ate the blacks; from that moment, the poor fellow regarded himself as ship-provision, and looked forward, with horror, to the moment when we should be in want of food.

...
[At the island of Georgia, Kadu saw seals for the first time. They then proceeded to the island of St. Paul. It was the beginning of July but the temperature was at only 4° F,

i.e. 13°C below zero. On 10 July, they were at St. Lawrence Island; the natives here spoke the same language as the Alaskans.]

...
Kadu was here made acquainted with a new people, but whom he could not be persuaded to think human beings on account of their fur-clothing. He made me observe the knives in their sleeves, and therefore always had his clasp-knife at hand to avert every danger from me.

...
[The pack-ice conditions and ill health prevented Kotzebue from ever exploring the Beering Strait, which had been his most cherished objective. He went back to Oonashka.]

Chapter XIII. From the St. Lawrence Islands to Guahon.

...
The want of fresh provisions, and the bad state of the **Rurick**, which was in absolute need of repair, would not allow me to return through Torres' Strait, as my instructions prescribed; I therefore resolved to go to Manilla, where I hoped to find all we stood in need of. To make this voyage useful, I intended to call at the Sandwich islands, to take in plants, and domestic animals, and bring them to the inhabitants of Radack, and thus do a service, not only to them, but to such navigators as may in future visit those islands. While I was at Radack, I proposed to employ some time in examining the Ralick chain, and then take my course to the Ladrões; for in this ocean, strewed with dangerous islands, many new discoveries might be expected.

...
The 30th [October 1817]. I had directed my course to Otdia, and this morning, at eight o'clock, we got sight of the island of Ormed, belonging to his group. Kadu's joy at the sight of the well-known land, was indescribable, and he could not conceive how we had found these islands again, after wandering about for so long a time. The wind, which during our whole voyage had been E., and E.N.E., changed, to our great surprise, to S.E., as this phenomenon is quite unusual in the tropics; black clouds arose, which I, however, did not regard as they moved but slowly, and I therefore continued our course close to the wind, to double the island of Otdia, and to penetrate to-day through Schischmareff Strait, to our friends in the group. But fate would have it otherwise. When we were within only five miles of Otdia, which lay to the west of us, the clouds covered the whole sky, the rain poured down in torrents, and a violent wind obliged us to take in the top-sails.

Our situation was critical, because the wind, which was too violent to reach the high sea by tacking, drove us towards the land. I still hoped that it would decrease, and we should be able to withdraw from the rocks, when suddenly a second gust arose with the fury of a hurricane, by which the mast would, without doubt, have gone overboard, if we had not quickly taken in all the sails. These gusts, accompanied with rain, lasted for above an hour. We saw the dangerous rocks near us, and when we could already cal-

culate the moment of our destruction, the fury of the wind abated. We did not neglect instantly to set all the sails, to stand off from the shore. While our situation was the most dangerous, a whale sported round our ship, which seemed to wait for our near destruction with impatience. It was one of those rapacious animals, with their enormous jaws and teeth, which the Aleutians call *Plawun*. How this fish, which is generally found in the north, had come so near the equator, I cannot conceive.

The bad weather had no influence on the barometer. The wind, after a few hours, again veered to the east, but blew violently during the night, and we tacked in sight of land.

The 31st of October. At day-break we took our course to Schischmareff Strait, which we reached at ten o'clock, followed by some gusts of wind. In a boat under sail, which we soon overtook, we recognized our old friend Lagediack, who, as soon as he saw us, made the most comical gestulations in the joy of his heart, always crying, *Aidara, Totabu, Tamisso, Timaro!* As we were under full sail, he could not come on board; he, therefore, contented himself with proceeding to Otdia, where he begged us to follow him. Kadu had resolved not to show himself to his half-countrymen in the canoes, but to surprise them by his presence on shore; but his excessive joy frustrated all his plans. The Radackers were scarcely near enough to speak to him, when, to their great astonishment, he sprung up, exclaiming, "Look here! I am Kadu! Do you know me still?" They then began a lively conversation, in which he probably told them the most wonderful adventures, for their long-drawn *O—h* very frequently repeated.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, we cast anchor in the same place where we had been before. Lagediack immediately came, loaded with cocoa-nuts, accompanied by some savages, who were strangers to us. As soon as he came on board, he gave himself up entirely to the joy of seeing us again; he danced and sung, ran up to us, embraced us all by turns, and at last took a wreath of sweet-scented flowers, which he had just twined, from his head to put it on mine, continually exclaiming, *Aidara!* His comrades imitated him in every thing, though we were strangers to them. After the intoxication of his joy was in some measure dispelled, Lagediack came up to Kadu, who was a very remarkable person in the eyes of them all. They formed a circle round him, in the middle of which he was obliged to sit, and immediately words flowed from his lips, his eyes sparkled, and the faces of the audience strongly impressed the sensations which his long narrative had excited. We were at length obliged to interrupt the stream of his eloquence, which had already made him foam at the mouth, as we wished to know what had occurred during our absence from Radack. I was astonished that Rarick did not visit us, and on my inquiry after him, learnt the following particulars.

A few days after we had left the group of Aur, the old chief Lebeuliet came to Otdia, as he supposed that we had left much iron there; he forced the inhabitants to give up a part, and sailed back to Aur, having previously taken the three goats which were still living, from the Goat Island. Some months after, Lamary, who had proceeded by way of Ligiep and Ailu, came here with his fleet from Udirick, and to this king of the Radack chain, the people were obliged to give their last iron, and all the things received from

us. I asked why they had not opposed the unjust command; but they replied, "Then Lamary would immediately have killed us all." The king had remained here two months, to prepare Mogan for the army which was to attack Mediuro. When he sailed away, he provided himself with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, of which he left only just enough for the inhabitants barely to support themselves. Rarick, Langin, Labugar, and several of our acquaintance, had gone with him, and nobody remained on the island except women, children, and some old men, the number of whom was certainly not more than fifteen. The army was assembled, but it had not yet come to battle, as Lamary wished to wait for the attack of the enemy; but he intended, if they did not soon come, to attack them himself.

I inquired after our garden, and learnt that the rats had destroyed every thing, except a few roots which had succeeded very well, till the great rat, as he called Lamary, had come, and, notwithstanding all their intreaties, had carried off every thing. Though I could not but regret the destruction of our garden, I still hoped that our seeds on the other islands had succeeded better, and showed them the different animals and plants, which I had designed for them. They were all much pleased, and, particularly, Lage-diack, who could not refrain from repeatedly embracing me. With Kadu's assistance I hoped to instruct them in rearing and attending the plants which were now to be put into the ground. Our orange-trees, which we had brought in pots, were in the best condition; the vines, as well as the potatoes, taro and yam-roots, had already young leaves. Mr. Von Chamisso, in his observations on Radack, will give a list of the plants. The hogs which we had left here had perished; they had probably died of thirst.

The 1st of November. As our time would not permit us to make a long stay here, the roots and plants were brought on shore to-day, the old garden was put in order again, and Mr. Von Chamisso took the trouble of planting almost every thing with his own hands. The islanders were obliged to be all assembled, to receive here their first instructions, and Kadu was now, as interpreter, an important personage. But he scarcely gave himself time to perform his duty faithfully. He always thought of his adventures, which he was obliged to relate, thus drawing off their attention from the garden to himself, so that I was at length forced to order the orator to be silent. To make the Radackers acquainted with the taste of the different roots, I had brought with me some of every species boiled; they found them all very agreeable, particularly the potatoe, of which every one wished to have some. I distributed a large quantity of them, which they gratefully received, and I was delighted at the thought that these good-natured people, who were in want of provisions, would, perhaps, in future, thank me for their prosperity. When these islands once produce in superabundance taro, yams, and potatoes for their inhabitants, the cruel custom of murdering the children will cease, and they will at least be less frequently engaged in wars, as they are at present caused only by the want of provisions. Some water-melons, which I had brought with me from the Sandwich Islands, they found very excellent, and desired some of the seeds. I willingly distributed them, but cautioned them against the rats, and Lagediack resolved immediately to make a garden on pillars, to protect it against them. In the afternoon five goats and three cats

were put on shore, which I committed to Lagediack's care. The islanders ran together to admire them, particularly the cats, and their astonishment was without bounds, when they on their first step on shore caught some rats, which, ignorant of the danger, ran into their mouths. I presented Lagediack with two hens and one cock.

As I intended to leave Otdia in two days, I remained on shore during the night with Cahmisso and Kadu, to enjoy the society of our friends. After we had put the garden in order, we sat down before Lagediack's house on the grass, surrounded by the islanders, who tried to amuse us with songs and drums. During our absence they had composed songs of praise on us, which they now sung to us. The song on *Totabu* made the beginning, then followed *Timaro*, *Tamisso*, and others; though I did not understand the sense of their poetry, they were agreeable to me, as they descend as traditions from father to son, and, as such, may be repeated to future navigators by a younger generation. The supper was brought on shore, and we took it in the presence of our friends, who regarded us with looks of interest. Kadu, who supped with us, explained to them the use of the several utensils, and must have expressed himself very wittily, as they laughed heartily. He had, during his stay of nine months with us, improved so much, that he could not but feel his superiority; nevertheless he liked to be with his old friends; kindly instructed them, made presents to their children, and showed this attachment in every way. Much as he prided himself in his European dress, he immediately laid it aside here, and particularly banished his boots and shoes, which he disliked very much. He had very soon distributed all his treasures. During supper Lagediack sat next to me, and ate with an excellent appetite. A dish went round the circle of the spectators, and every one began to take out a dainty with his long nails. The company thought the boiled yams and potatoes very excellent. Kadu exhorted them, on this occasion, carefully to preserve the roots brought by us, that they might have some in future, and laughed very much when one of the savages showed him a bliled yam, saying, he would not eat it, but plant it to-morrow. He thought the Radackers were still too stupid! The pork likewise pleased them, but they did not like the wine; a glass, which went round, they only touched with their lips. Kadu called them fools, who did not know what was good; they should follow his example as he was a man of experience; at the same time he emptied the glass in one draught. After supper they again danced and played on the drums, and when Kadu stepped into the circle to dance in the European fashion, he excited a general laugh, and Lagediack thought that our dances looked as if we had lost our wits. Before we retired to rest I asked Lagediack whether he was acquainted with the Radick chain, as he had never spoken to me about it; he said he had often been there, and I again observed on this occasion how difficult it is to draw information like this from savages, if one is not quite master of their language. They will never relate any thing, but answer only to such questions as are put to them, supposing that we are wise, and raised far above them without being instructed in any thing. Mr. Chamisso also often found great

difficulty in procuring information from Kadu. Lagediack now told me if I sailed from Eregup to the S.W. I should in a few days come up to the group of Odja,¹ which is said to exceed all the others in extent, as well as population. There is a tradition that a long time ago a ship was at Odja, and left them much iron.

I passed a very restless night. As I was not able to cover myself on account of the heat, the rats and lizards played their gambols on my body.

The 2nd of November. The old chief of the island of Ormed visited us to-day, rejoiced like a child at seeing us again, and made me the bitterest reproaches that I had not anchored at his island, as he was now chief of the whole group; the good old man, as generous as ever, notwithstanding the scarcity caused by Lamary, brought me coconuts and bread-fruit. Kadu had formerly resided a long time at Ormed, and was paternally treated by the chief, and both now showed a really affecting joy at meeting again. He accompanied, with Chamisso, his foster-father, to Ormed, where they intended to plant different things, and would not return till to-morrow. In the afternoon I nailed on a cocoa-tree, opposite to Lagediack's house, a copper-plate, on which the date of the year, and the name of the ship were inscribed. Lagediack was much delighted at this memento, which he promised faithfully to preserve, but could not conceive how I could sail away with the **Rurick** when its name was nailed up to a tree.

On the 3rd of November, in the morning, Mr. Chamisso returned with Kadu, and I was disagreeably surprised with the news that the latter intended to stay here. It was but yesterday that he promised never to leave me, and this sudden alteration of his resolution was quite an enigma, which Chamisso soon solved. Kadu had learnt on shore that his little child in Aur lamented very much after him, ran about in the woods all day to seek him, and could not sleep in the night. This news had softened his paternal heart, and brought him to the determination of remaining here. He seemed still to struggle with himself, when he related it to me with much emotion; but when I, though with a heavy heart, as I really loved him, approved his plan, he resolved to execute it, and promised to rear our plantations with affection, and to call the different plants by our names. Future navigators will therefore find, instead of yams, taro, and potatoes, *timaros*, *tamissos*, and *totabus*. Everyone on board the ship would know from his own mouth whether he really intended to leave us; and he told to each, individually, how his child called Kadu in the woods, and could not sleep in the night. The separation was very painful to me, and I could only console myself with the idea that he might be useful here, and would not perhaps long survive in our cold climate. As he intended to leave the ship to-day, because we sailed to-morrow, we all collected presents for him. He looked at his treasures with mute astonishment, and was only afraid that the Radackers could not resist the temptation of robbing him. I did not doubt that Lamary, as soon as he heard of it, would not fail to take from him the greatest part, and to avoid this, left some very considerable presents for him also. The old chief of Ormed and Lage-

1 The names of Otia in the Radack chain and Odja in the Ralick chain are so similar to each other, that care must be taken not to confound them.

diack were not forgotten. Some hogs and dogs, which I entrusted to Kadu's care, were then put into the boat, and I accompanied him with Chamisso on shore, he having previously taken an affectionate farewell on board the ship. Lagediack received us on shore, gazed with astonishment at the treasures, which were spread out, and was enraptured at the presents given to him. Kadu's riches I had brought into Rarick's habitation, where he concealed them, and the islanders, who were delighted at the sight of them, were, perhaps, already forming plans in secret, for appropriating them to themselves. To protect Kadu as much as possible against such an event, I intended to make an exhortation to all the savages. Lagediack immediately dispatched two criers, who went about the island, and made known his orders, that they should assemble. Some drums were beat, and all the inhabitants of Otdia, men, women, and children, were soon assembled. They were informed that Kadu intended to remain here, and that I was going to speak to them on the subject. The people, full of expectation, formed a circle, in the middle of which stood Chamisso and myself. Kadu, in the meantime, dressed himself in Rarick's house, probably to make a strong impression on the savages, on this solemn occasion. After we had been waiting for some time, he at last came out of the house, with measured paces; he had put on a white shirt, a sabre buckled round his waist which he held naked in his right hand, and his head covered with a straw hat. The Radackers were astonished when they saw him enter with a serious countenance with his murderous weapon, and he sat down with much gravity on the branch of a tree. The sun had already set when Kadu made the following speech, in which he had been tutored. I must previously observe that Kadu, from our accounts, had formed a very high idea of the *tamon* of Russia, of whom he told the Radackers a great deal.

"The great *tamon* of all *tamons*," said he, "of the land of Russia, has commanded that Kadu shall remain here, to take care of the plants and animals left here by the Russians. Nobody dare hinder him on pain of death; on the contrary, every inhabitant shall assist him to cultivate the land, for which he is to be rewarded;" though the promised rewards were to arise from their labour itself.

I also permitted myself the following fiction, in order to give more weight to the speech: "A large ship will come from Russia in ten months, to bring the Radackers iron, and other necessary articles; but if it finds that the plantations are destroyed, the guilty persons will be punished with death! Let nobody venture to rob Kadu, or to do him any injury; this crime will also be punished with death." At the conclusion, I promised large rewards to such as should, on the arrival of the ship from Russia, come on board with their new-cultivated fruits. Kadu delivered his speech with much dignity; the islanders promised faithfully to fulfil our wish, and, to make them acquainted with my great power, I had given orders on board, to fire, on a signal being given, two guns, and to throw up a rocket. It was now quite dark; I told the islanders to look at the ship in order to see the fire with which we would punish their disobedience. The signal was given, the cannons thundered, and the poor savages were petrified with terror; but the rocket caused still more alarm, which, hissing through the air, illuminated the whole island. Lagediack threw both his arms round me, and begged me to put an end to the ter-

rific scene; but Kadu was much pleased at the impression the fire had made, for he now thought himself secure against any attacks. Some presents which I distributed restored tranquillity. We gave Kadu two copper medals with the portrait of the emperor; the one he was to wear himself, and present the other to Lamary in my name. He resolved to bury some of his treasures, and go with the rest to Ormed to his old benefactor. On taking leave, Kadu seemed to be fully sensible how hard it was to part from us, for he cried like a child, and implored me to come again. The attachment of this good-hearted man moved me very much, but I was still more deeply affected with the universal lamentations of the savages at our departure. Lagediack kept close to me, and frequently asked me whether we would really return. Men, women, and children accompanied us to the boat; Kadu went on before with a drawn sword; and the torches, with which they lighted the way, gave the whole procession a very solemn appearance. After we had put off they all sat on the shore, and joined in a song, in which our names were frequently repeated.

The 5th of November. The anchors were weighed at day-break, and we left the group of Otdia with the consciousness of having done good there. We saw through our telescopes Kadu sitting before Rarick's house, with several others looking after us. I recognised him by the white shirt; he waved a white handkerchief as long as I could see him through the telescope.

The wind was so faint that it was not till nine o'clock that we reached Schischmareff Strait; we then went, after having passed Eregup and Otdia, to N.W. by W 1/2 W., to discover the group of Ligiep, which, according to the account of the Radackers, must lie in this neighbourhood. The wind was so faint during the whole day that we could still see Otdia at sun-set; we had rain and squalls of wind during the night.

[Visit to Likiep]

The 5th of November. In the morning, at seven o'clock, the sentinel on the mast-head called Land! It was the group of Ligiep, which showed itself to us in N.S. by N. in a little low island, which we could approach but slowly for want of wind. At noon, the N.E. point of the island of Ligiep, which forms the northern part of the group of the same name, lay to the N.W. 68°, at a distance of three miles and a half from us. We now had a perfect calm, the ship no longer obeyed the helm, and the current which sets here strongly to the west, drove us to the land. The **Rurick** was scarcely a mile from the breakers, and we were just about to put the boats into the water to rescue her from the approaching danger, when a faint north wind helped us out of the difficulty. We now overlooked the whole group, which, though considerably smaller than the others, perfectly resembled them in other respects. Its greatest extent from N.E. 45° to S.W. 77° was fourteen miles and a half. A boat under sail, with ten men, came up directly to us from Ligieb, through a passage formed by the reefs. As the wind did not assist them, they had recourse to the oars, soon overtook us... and asked if Totabu was on board. When I answered their question in the affirmative, and presented myself as such, all fear vanished; they fastened their canoes to the **Rurick**, and hastily climbed on deck. Lamary, who had lately visited this group, had told them of the **Rurick**, and must have given them a favourable account of us, as they approached us with such assurance; and this unsuspecting confidence gave us much pleasure. The natives of Ligiep are tall, robust, and handsome men, by which they are advantageously distinguished from the other Radackers. Kadu had previously told me that they lived principally on fish; and this may, perhaps, be the reason of their stronger make. Our guests had, as it appeared, put on their finest clothes. Their dresses were entirely new, their hair smeared over with cocoa-oil, and tastefully tied up, adorned with shell-wreaths and feathers; in their ears they wore large rolls of tortoise-shell, an ornament which I did not see frequently in Otdia. Upon the whole, they seemed better off, and more lively than the natives of that group. Their first care on coming on board was to make us presents. A Tamon, very much tattooed, laid cocoa-nuts at my feet, and put his shell-wreath on my head; the others did the same with our gentlemen, and we soon had not guests, but intimate friends, on board who were quite at home. They ran about with looks of curiosity, admired every thing, and likewise felt themselves most attracted by the iron; they inquired after Kadu, and whether we had brought him back. They now received presents in their turn, were much astonished at our liberality, and tried to express their gratitude by begging us to visit them on shore, where the most beautiful *Ridginis* (women) should receive us. The islanders showed us a passage on the western part of the group, deep and broad enough for our ship; but as I did not intend to visit Ligiep, I would rather have learned something respecting the Ralick chain. I asked a Tamon where it lay, and he pointed to the west; I asked farther, where the island of Kwadelen lay; he pointed again to the west; and I now confidently hoped not to miss the island-group of Kwadelen, as last year the chief of Ailu had pointed out the same direction. After the islanders had been for an hour with us, a high wind arose; we were obliged to part from them, and I

took my course to the west, along the group, to finish the survey of it. When the sun was setting we had already sailed round the western part of the group, and steered to the west in the hope of discovering the Ralick chain. We found the latitude of the middle of the Ligiep group to be $9^{\circ}51'30''$ N.; longitude, according to the chronometers, $190^{\circ}46'30''$ W. I called the group after our worthy commodore, Count Hayden.

During the whole night we continued our course to the west. It rained, and violent squalls frequently obliged us to take in the sails.

The 6th of November. At day-break we all eagerly looked about, confidently hoping to discover the Ralick chain, but in vain. At mid-day we observed the latitude to be $9^{\circ}42'56''$; longitude, according to the chronometers, $191^{\circ}52'40''$; we had, therefore, advance from Ligiep one degree of longitude to the west, and I was afraid I had already crossed the chain, as such low land is easily overlooked. When the sun set, and no land yet appeared, I was obliged, though with a heavy heart, to abandon the farther search for the Ralick chain, which would have cost me too much time. The northern monsoon in the China Sea was requisite for me to reach Manilla, where the ship was to be repaired; this same monsoon was also to carry us through the Straits of Sunda. As in this hitherto-unvisited part there might be other islands besides the Ralick chain, I ordered the ship to lay to during the night; and, on the 7th, at day-break, continued the course to west, but this day was also spent in the vain expectation of seeing land. The current had carried the ship, in twenty-four hours, eighteen miles to the west.

The 9th, we observed the latitude $9^{\circ}32'54''$; longitude, according to the chronometers, $197^{\circ}22'24''$, and sailed over the place where the Island of Casbobus and the thirty-six islands of the Spaniards are said to lie, without discovering even the least indication of land being near. I still continued my course to the west, either to come up to the island of Hogelon [sic],¹ or perhaps to make some new discovery, as this part has not, to my knowledge, been examined by any navigator. The water had already, for some days past, become of a blueish colour, and has since become a hundredth part saltier than usual. During the night we had violent rain, gusts of wind, and lightning.

The 11th: latitude $9^{\circ}19'50''$; longitude, according to the chronometers, $201^{\circ}25'$. We were now at the place on which Hogelon's Island was said to lie, but looked about for it in vain, and I believe I may affirm that it does not exist.

As well on the 11th, as on the 12th, a number of distances were taken between the sun and moon; the longitude calculated from which, exactly agreed with the longitude by the chronometers.

The 13th, at noon, we were in latitude $8^{\circ}59'$; longitude, according to the chronometers, $204^{\circ}24'$. The water is still uncommonly blue. I suppose that the sea, from the Ralick chain to this place, and perhaps still further to the west, is of less considerable depth than east of Radack. The Six-thermometer, which I let down to-day, during the calm, gave the temperature of the water in the depth of the sea much colder than it is on the other side of Radack, and in all other parts under the tropics which lie in this latitude.

1 Ed. note: Hogoleu, or Truk, now written Chuuk.

Observations.

Temperature of the air	85° 0
Temperature on the surface of the water	87° 0
At a depth of 100 fathoms	56° 2
Transparency of the water	13 fathoms.

We were troubled with a calm for several days. I therefore steered more to the north, to reach the region of the monsoon, and take the direct course to the island of Guahon, one of the Ladrões.

The 14th: latitude, at noon, 9°21'; longitude, according to the chronometers, 204°44'. The calm permitted us to make the following observations with the Six-thermometer:

Temperature of the air	84° 0
Temperature on the surface of the water	83° 0
Temperature at a depth of 25 fathoms	77° 0

The 15th. There is still a calm. The latitude at noon, 9°25'48"; longitude, according to the chronometers, 205°00'45". To-day, a large shark was caught, and in his belly was found, to the great astonishment of the crew, a seal-skin cap, lined with cloth, which one of our sailors, a few days before, had been obliged to throw overboard, to avoid the jokes of his comrades. The cap, which had nearly the fate of Casem's slipper, was scarcely to be recognized, on account of the oil and blubber, and had become very heavy. Notwithstanding this, the owner declared he would not part with it in spite of all their jokes; and he in fact wore it, till, one day, in taking in a sail on the top-yard, it fell from his head, and luckily, only on the back of another; had it fallen on his head from this height, he might have been killed. He now threw it overboard the second time, and thought that the shark must have been the devil himself, who had tried to catch his poor soul, by bringing back the unfortunate cap.

The following observations were made to-day, with the Six- thermometer:

Temperature of the air	85° 70
Temperature on the water surface	87° 40
At a depth of 15 fathoms	79° 00
At a depth of 50 fathoms	59° 00
At a depth of 69 fathoms	51° 40
At a depth of 101 fathoms	49° 50

I observed to-day the transparency of the water with a white plate, and found that it was visible at a depth of 27 fathoms; the previous observations of the kind had been made with a piece of red cloth. I daily let down the Six-thermometer about 80 fathoms, to observe the difference, when the water should have resumed its dark azure colour.

The 20th. When we were in latitude $10^{\circ}42'$; longitude, according to the chronometers, $209^{\circ}51'$, I remarked a sudden change in the colour of the water, which was now again azure. The Six-thermoneter gave us the temperature, at a great depth, as much warmer, and confirmed me in my opinion, that we had had a less deep sea since leaving Radack than is usual between the tropics. It may be possible, that the bottom of the sea from the Philippine islands to Radack forms a ledge.

The Six-thermometer gave us, to-day, at a depth of 86 fathoms +63°00

The 15th, it gave us, at 69 fathoms +51°40

The temperature of the ocean, at a depth of eighty-six fathoms, is, therefore, here, ten degrees warmer than it was on the 15th, at sixty-nine fathoms, though, according to the general rules, it ought to be colder; and this circumstance clearly proves, that the ocean must be here much deeper than in that part where we were on the 15th.¹ After an examination by Dr. Eschscholtz, the water to-day was found to be a hundredth part less salty.

[Arrival at the Mariana Islands]

The 23d [November 1817]. At half-past eight o'clock in the morning, we saw from deck, the island of Rota, or Zarpane, in the north-west 68° , but only its southern part, as the northern part consists of very low land. Even the southern part was, however, scarcely visible, though we were distant from it only nineteen miles. I steered up to Zarpane, as I wished to determine its longitude. As a quarter before eleven, we descried the island of Guahon, twelve miles distant, to the W.S.W. As, according to Arrowsmith's chart, we could not expect to see Guahon before passing the longitude of Zarpane, this latter is, probably, laid down incorrectly. Zarpane may, perhaps, be a little higher than Guahon. I estimate the first at from three to four hundred toises [i.e. 780 meters] high. On the western part of its southern point lies a small island [sic],² of inconsiderable height. We found the latitude of the southern point of Zarpane, to be $14^{\circ}00'58''$; longitude, according to the chronometers, $214^{\circ}39'46''$ [W].³ I steered directly between the two islands, keeping in the middle of the strait, which I took to be free from danger, but which is not at all the case, as I afterwards learnt. In the middle of it, a little nearer to Zarpane, there is a shoal, which lies only three fathoms under water, and might have been dangerous even to our **Rurick**, which draws only twelve feet [i.e. 2 fathoms] water, if the waves had run high; large ships have therefore to be cautious, even when the water is smooth, of striking on this bank, as it is not laid down on any chart. The Spaniards in Guahon affirm that, in a high sea, the breakers may be seen over this shoal. At noon, Zarpane lay to the northwest 20° , distant from us eight miles and three quarters, but did not afford an inviting prospect, as we saw only naked rocks. I now steered up to the northern point of the island of Guahon, which we reached at four o'clock. Here the

1 Ed. note: Without knowing it, they were over the Marianas Trench, the deepest spot on earth.

2 Ed. note: Magellan was the first one, in 1521, to think that Taipingot peninsula was an island.

3 Ed. note: His latitude was 5 minutes off, and his longitude 10 minutes off.

country seemed to be more picturesque, and we regretted that we should not be able to visit it to-day. There is no chart of Guahon to be depended on: the town of Agaña was only known to me by description; and as it was too late to look for it to-day, we kept out at sea during the night.

The 24th.¹ As soon as the morning dawned, I again directed my course to the northern part of the island, along the west coast of which I intended to proceed to the south, till we discovered the town of Agaña. The northern part of the island of Guahon rises perpendicularly from the sea, to a moderate height, and runs to the south in a straight line, as far as the eye can reach: a beautiful forest of variegated green covers the upper part of the island, and affords a very pleasing view to the mariner. The wind blew so high that we were obliged to take in the top-gallant sails. At eleven o'clock we had the northern point of Guahon behind us, and were under the lee of the island where the monsoon, checked by the height of the land, died away to almost a perfect calm. A breeze now and then, which put the ship a little in motion, wafted to us the most aromatic odours from the shore, to which we were near. The seaman who has long been deprived of land, knows, particularly, how to prize these pleasing sensations.

At the distance of half a mile to the east of us lay a promontory, (called by the natives Tuloberspit),² which, on sailing from the north point to the south, is the first thing you meet with, as from here to that place the land runs almost in a straight line. The promontory may be easily recognized, by its uttermost point being formed by a cylindrical rock, which rises perpendicularly from the sea. From this point the land forms to the south a deep bay, divides itself into several small creeks; and the scenery here becomes delightfully picturesque. Could I have transported myself back to the time when Magellan discovered these islands, the **Rurick** would long since have been surrounded by many canoes, with happy islanders. This was not the case now; the introduction of the Christian religion has not diffused here its benign blessings; for, since that time, the whole race of the natives of the Ladrões has been extirpated.³ We looked in vain for a canoe, or a man on the shore; and it almost seemed as if we were off an uninhabited island. The sight of this lovely country deeply affected me. Formerly these fertile vallies were the abode of a nation, who passed their days in tranquil happiness; now only the beautiful plam-groves remained to overshadow their graves: a death-like silence every where prevailed.⁴

I intended to cast anchor a quarter of a mile from Tuloberspit, but was prevented by the great depth and the coral bottom. To our great joy, we now saw a man on the

1 Ed. note: This date corresponds to the Gregorian calendar, as the official date of their arrival at Guam was recorded by Governor Medinilla (see Doc. 1812C).

2 Ed. note: Tuloberspitz, in German, is Two-lovers' Point, in English. Their informant (see below) was Robert Wilson and the common language used was English; otherwise, the real natives would have called it by its proper name of Punta Dos Amantes.

3 Ed. note: In 1817, just under half of the local population of Guam was still "pure" Chamorro.

4 Ed. note: There were no more settlements north of Agaña, the capital where half of the inhabitants resided.

shore, who appeared to us naked and of a black colour; but he ran hastily into the woods when he saw our ship. Soon after, we discovered a large boat, which I recognized to be an European by its mode of rowing, and soon came up to it. A young Englishman, of the name of Robert Wilson, who held the place of pilot in Agaña, had been sent by the Governor to conduct us to a safe harbour, if we intended to stay at Guahon. While he steered S.W. along the coast, we could, without interruption, continue the survey. We soon saw the town of Agaña, in the south, which is pleasantly situated on the shore; and, on the west, leans against a tolerably high hill, which forms a cape (here called the Devil's Cape);¹ on the summit is a fortress, in which, while still at a distance, you see a small white house. I expressed to Wilson my wish rather to anchor before the town of Agaña than in Umatack Bay, where, as is well known, Malaspina, some years ago, had so very bad a berth, and was answered, that it was only in former times, when the present harbour [of Apra] was unknown, that ships anchored at Umatack or Agaña, where the situation was in several respects so bad, that many ships have perished there. At twelve o'clock, when the town already lay S.E. of us, we saw a canoe under sail coming up to us, in which Wilson, through a telescope, recognized a deputy of the Governor, I immediately lay-to, and we soon had the pleasure of seeing on board, Don Ignacio Martinez, lieutenant of artillery, who, as he did not know our flag, asked to what nation we belonged. He was much astonished to see Russians before him, but still more so when he heard that we were making a voyage of discovery, and showed even double the politeness natural to the Spaniards. After he had written down the name of the ship, and mine, he took his leave, and hastened to communicate this important news to the Governor. The boat in which the officer visited us was very similar to the canoes of Radack. Its structure, the sail, the way of managing it, and even the inhabitants of this place, naked and of a dark colour, transported us for a moment to Radack. We learnt from Wilson that there are here several such canoes, which they obtain by barter from the Carolinians, as they sail quick and close to the wind. The chain of islands, known to us by the name of the Carolinas, lies at a considerable distance south of Guahon; and, for some time past, there comes yearly from there, notwithstanding the distance, a small fleet, which gives the Spaniards shells, corals, and trifles, in exchange for iron. Kadu told me frequently of Tautua, chief of Ulle, who sailed to Wagal to barter there for *Lulu* (so the Carolinians call iron). We could now no longer doubt the truth of Kadu's assertion; the island of Wagal, so often mentioned by him as lying to the north of Ulle, was no other than Guahon, where the chief Tautua was very well remembered. We now hastened to get into the harbour: a long narrow tongue of land, called Orot[e], on the western point of Guahon, before which lies a small rocky island, forms the entrance. The whole harbour, as may be seen from our chart, is formed of coral reefs, in the same manner as Hana-rura, in the island of Woahoo.² The harbour is protected, towards the north, by a small low island, called Appapa; it is overgrown with

1 Ed. note: Orote Point and Fort Santiago on it.

2 Ed. note: That is, Honolulu in Oahu.

thick bushes, and appears, on sailing from the north, to be connected with the continent. From this island there runs, to the west, a coral reef, the uttermost point of which, with the cape of St. Carlos de Orote, forms the entrance of the harbour, which is a mile and a quarter broad; but in the middle of it there is a shoal,¹ which is, however, not dangerous for small ships; but I would advise large ones not to keep in the middle of the passage, but rather to the south of the bank, and as near as possible to St. Carlos de Orote, where the water is deep enough for the largest vessels. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we entered the harbour by the northern passage; its depth was five fathoms and a half, the bottom consisted of coral, and we were in a basin of water as smooth as a mirror, where ships can also lie at anchor; but as the depth is considerable, and the bottom not good, they generally go to the inner harbour, which is one of the safest in the world. An east wind obliged us to tack to the entrance of the inner harbour, and attempt which Wilson thought dangerous, on account of the many coral banks, and which no ship had hitherto ventured. He advised me rather to cast anchor here till the wind had veered to the west, which it usually does in the morning; but as this would have taken me too much time, and as we had already acquainted ourselves with the nature of coral banks at Radack, we resolved rather to attempt to work through directly. According to the old custom, a sailor was obliged to be on the mast-head, another on the bowsprit, and the mate in the shrouds. We were timely warned of every danger, and tacking, to the great terror of Wilson, who had already protested against all responsibility, fortunately entered in safety the inner harbour. At the entrance is so very narrow the **Rurick** was obliged to be warped in: all hands were put in motion; and, at five o'clock, we were inside of the harbour La Caldera de Apra. We here found a deputy from the Governor of Agaña, who, in a very polite letter, invited me and all my gentlemen into the town, and had already sent us some mules, which waited for us on the opposite shore of the island Apapa, near the village of Piti. I accepted the invitation with pleasure; left Lieutenant Schischmareff to anchor near the fortress of St. Cruz, which lies on a small island in the harbour, and went on shore, accompanied by our scientific gentlemen, and Mr. Wilson. We had to row one mile and three quarters to the village of Piti, as we were obliged to make many turnings on account of the shoals; saw a small two-masted vessel, belonging to the Governor, lying at anchor;² and, besides this, no other ship in the harbour. Wilson, the mate of the two-masted vessel, assured me, that years sometimes elapsed, in which no ship came here.³ The sun was near setting when we landed at Piti, from whence we went to the adjoining village of Massu,

- 1 A Spanish galleon, from Acapulco, richly laden, and bound for Manilla, which called here to take in provisions, is said to have been wrecked on this bank a short time ago, and the whole cargo went to the bottom. Ed. comment: He refers to the 1814 shipwreck of the RPC ship named **Santiago** (see Doc. 1812C).
- 2 Ed. note: It was the schooner **Dolores** (see Doc. 1812C).
- 3 Ed. note: Where did the Englishman Robert Wilson come from? Possibly from the English frigate **Paloma**, captured at Guam in 1802 (see Doc. 1802A).

where the mules were in waiting for us: the Governor had sent his horse, the only one in the island, for me. As we were still three miles and a half from Agaña there was no time to be lost; I mounted my horse, the other gentlemen got on their mules, and we rode off in the highest spirits. The scenery was very romantic, and seemed a paradise to us, after so long a voyage; and at the same time, the air, with its odoriferous perfumes, had such a beneficial influence on us, that we all felt ourselves strengthened.¹ Anson represents the island of Tinian, which he reached in a sickly state, after a long and fatiguing voyage, as one of the most romantic in the world. Had he landed here, nobody could have denied this assertion, as has been done by several mariners with respect to Tinian.

The village of Massu consists of about fifteen houses, which are built in a straight line, and the spaces between them filled up with gardens. Their structure is different from any we saw on our voyage. The house, which is from eight to ten feet square, rests on four pillars, raised five feet above the ground; the floors and walls are made of bamboo canes, which are placed so far apart from each other, that you can put your hand between them, which gives the whole house the appearance of a cage, where you may see every thing passing in the inside without entering. The construction is very well adapted to the climate: the wind passes through the house, and cools and purifies the air; the roof, thatched with rushes, protects it against the rain; and the pillars against vermin; but the appearance is extremely ludicrous, particularly if the family is in it. The half-naked inhabitants of Massu kindly saluted us in the Spanish language. A large stone cross before their village, and a small one, which they wear round their neck, showed the Christian faith. The inhabitants of Guahon are called by the Spaniards *los Indios* [i.e. the Indians]. They are all Christians; are partly descended from natives; but most of them from people brought hither by the Spaniards from Mexico and the Philippines, after the original race was extirpated.

The way we rode was narrow, but very beautiful; the mountains lay to our right, varied with picturesque scenery. We rode through palm bushes, and sometimes through a wild but romantic country, in which we admired the variety and luxuriance of the vegetable kingdom. When the sun set, the moon guided us on our way; in this light, the unknown trees and bushes made a singular impression on us, and we often fancied that we saw a monster at a distance, which, when we approached it, changed into a sago palm. The air had become cooler, I therefore put spurs to my horse, the gentlemen followed on their mules, and at eight o'clock in the evening, after passing through two other villages, we arrived at Agaña, at Wilson's house, where we dressed ourselves, to pay our respects to the Governor, Don Joseph Medinilla y Pineda, captain-general of the Marianes or Ladrones, who received us in full uniform, and with the greatest politeness. After I had acquainted him with the object of my voyage, and had told him that I landed here with the hope of obtaining fresh provisions, he promised, with the great-

1 The Spaniards resident here universally affirm, that the air of Guahon is very healthy; and that people attain an extraordinary old age.

est readiness, to provide me with every thing the season of the year produced, and regretted that it was not now the time of fruit, which was there in abundance. He immediately gave me a proof of his desire to serve me, by ordering his aide-de-camp to send to the **Rurick**, at break of day, fresh meat, fruit, and vegetables, and daily to supply the crew with them. The governor is, in fact, the only real Spaniard; the other officers, and even the priests, are natives either of Manilla or Mexico, and descendants from Spaniards.¹ He is about forty years old, and, notwithstanding his bad health, an agreeable companion, and a particularly polite host. He must know how to make himself useful to the government, as his administration had been prolonged for three years longer, though, according to the law, the Governor of a Spanish possession, can only fill his office for three years.² I had little difficulty in conversing with him by Wilson's assistance, but I tried in vain to turn the conversation on the Marianes, respecting which, I wished to learn many things; but, mysterious as all the Spanish governors are in this quarter of the globe, he always contrived to give the conversation another turn. But he took the more care to please our palate. After he had several times offered us tea and chocolate, he conducted us to a table, richly laid out with fruits, confectionery, and the choicest wines. We enjoyed ourselves very well, as we thought this was to be our supper. Scarcely had an hour elapsed, when we were shown into the dining-room, where the table, covered with the richest dishes, awaited us. We did not know whether it was the custom here to eat without intermission, or whether they gave only the Russian stomach credit for such powers of digestion, but we soon observed that they all ate with an excellent appetite. At table I met the vice-governor, as he is called here, Don Luis de Torres; and this amiable man particularly interested us, as he had visited the Carolinas, and even the group of Ulle.³ He related to us a great deal about them, and promised to give us, in writing, the observations he had made there.⁴

De Torres was here when the Carolinians, in 1788, visited the island of Guahon, in a great number of small boats. The savages pleased him very much by their mildness; he received them with kindness, and persuaded also the governor, who dismissed them loaded with presents, and since this time they have had the courage to come every year. They told Torres that they had previously had a commercial intercourse with the inhabitants of this island, and only given it up on hearing of the settlement of the white

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- 1 Ed. note: This was not strictly true; some priests at least, had first come from Spain to Manila, before being transferred to Guam, but he says that some were also brown-skinned Filipino priests (see below).
 - 2 Ed. note: His first term, in fact, lasted 10 years.
 - 3 Ed. note: Aboard the ship **Mary** of Boston, Captain Bowles, in 1804 (see Doc. 1804A).
 - 4 As Mr. Chamisso is master of the Spanish language, he undertook, with pleasure, to copy the remarks on the customs of the Carolinians, and to lay them before the public, in the third volume of my Voyage. They are so far highly interesting, as scarcely any thing is hitherto known of the Carolinas. For this reason, I resolved to remain here longer than I first intended.

men, and having themselves been witnesses of their cruelty. In 1788 [rather 1787], after a long time had elapsed, they undertook this expedition to barter for iron. Torres asked them how they had found their way here, as the distance from Ulle to Guahon is above three hundred miles; they answered, that the description of the way was preserved by them in their songs, and after this their pilots has found it.¹ It is really very remarkable that they did not miss an inconsiderable island like Guahon, when the stars and the songs were their only guides, in a voyage of three hundred miles. When the Carolinians visited Guahon in 1788, they promised to return in the following year. They kept their word; but on their voyage back were overtaken by a furious storm, and found a watery grave, so that not one of the brave seamen saved their lives, and, after this circumstance, de Torres waited fifteen years in vain for his friends, to whom he had become attached on account of their gentle dispositions.

In the year 1804 the American ship *Maria* [rather **Mary**], from Boston, took in provisions at Guahon; the captain of it, Samuel William Boll [rather Bowles], undertook, with the supercargo, Thomas Borman, a voyage to the Carolinas, where he intended to make the attempt to catch *biches de mer*,² and de Torres embraced this opportunity of visiting his friends, as the captain promised to bring him back to Guahon. The *Maria* sailed in July, and the first group at which she touched was Ulle [i.e. Woleai]. Torres found here several of his old acquaintances, who piloted the ship into the group; and this was the ship of which Kadu spoke to us; the name Borman, of which he made *Marmol*, and *Louis*, as they called de Torres, occurred in one of this songs, which the Carolinians had composed, that these men might not be forgotten. The preservation of remarkable events in songs is therefore common to the Carolinians and Radackers; but I do not know whether the latter praise their heroes as is the case with the Carolinians. Torres inquired why his old friends no longer visited him in Guahon. They then told him of the fleet which had gone there fifteen years ago, and, as it had not returned, they concluded that their countrymen had all been murdered. Torres, of course, declared that no harm had been done to their brethren in Guahon, but that a raging storm had overtaken them the day after their departure, and probably destroyed the whole fleet. The Carolinians regretted the unfortunate accident, but were rejoiced to hear that no murder had been perpetrated, as they had imagined; they promised to visit Guahon in the following year, and kept their word. Since this time, eighteen canoes assemble every year at the island-group of Lamureck, thence they sail to Fojo [i.e. Fayo] (a desert island, according to the description, lying to the north of Lamureck), which they reach

1 Ed. note: The story has been changed somewhat; in fact, they had lost their way in a storm and drifted to Guam, in 1787. The following, 1788, they returned voluntarily but were all lost during their return voyage.

2 *Biches de mer* [rather Bêches-de-mer, or Trepang] is a species of large snail without shells, and is found in warm climates, particularly near coral reefs. This snail is much sought for in the Chinese market; the Chinese consider it as a delicacy, and pay a great price for it, as they ascribe to it the power to restore health and vigour. I have eaten these snails at the Governor's, but found them quite insipid. In Radack they are found in abundance, in the basin of the island group: but the natives do not eat them.

in two days, rest there, and then the fleet sails in three days to Guahon. The whole voyage is therefore concluded in five days. They visit Guahon in April, and commence their voyage home in May, or at the latest in June, as, after that, the S. W. monsoon becomes dangerous. Their boats are of such a kind, that they upset with the least carelessness, which happens several times a day in such a voyage; but as they are expert swimmers and divers, it has no other consequence than that they have a hearty laugh. On such an occasion they all immediately leap into the water, right their canoe, and swim along with it till they have baled out the water with their hands. It is much worse when the ourigger breaks, for then they are not able to preserve the equilibrium of their canoe on account of their narrow construction. There, however, does not pass a voyage but this accident happens, and they repair it while swimming, which requires several hours. A European would hardly be able to hold out in a voyage of five days, constantly washed by the waves. The Carolinians are often even fourteen days in this situation, without any food except a few cocoa-nuts, as their canoes cannot carry a cargo; and sea water for their drink, as much as they please. They have, when there is a whole fleet, generally two pilots, who are only of the lower class, but far exceed the higher in sagacity, and are often elevated to the rank of nobility for their merit.

Some years ago, a fleet, which was only a day's voyage from Guahon, was overtaken by a violent storm, and driven far out of its course. When the storm abated, the two pilots disputed; the one affirmed that Guahon still lay to the west, and the other thought the contrary, as the S. E. storm had driven them so far, that the island must lie to the E. of them. Both had always possessed the confidence of the islanders; they were now at a loss whose advice to pursue, and, in the end, the fleet divided into two parties. The party sailing the the W., probably found its grave in the waves, as nothing was afterwards heard of them; the other, after it had laboured several days to gain the wind to the E., happily reached the island, and the pilot, as a reward for his services, was made a tamon.

When the Spaniards took possession of the Mariane islands, most of their inhabitants fled to the Carolinas.¹ Luis de Torres saw, on his voyage, many islands belonging to the Carolinas, and drew a chart of the whole chain, which Mr. Chamisso likewise copied, and will add to our atlas.² The present Governor has given himself much trouble to gain the confidence of the Carolinians, and has proposed to them to settle at Guahon.

1 Ed. note: Kotzebue here may have unwittingly spread this false notion, first invented by Captain Burney, among English-speaking historians. Much to my regret, I myself repeated this bit of foolishness in my first book about the discovery of the Philippines, in 1980.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1804A.

As the Governor had not room for all of us in his house, he only kept me and Chamisso; the other gentlemen were kindly received by the authorities in the town. The Governor's house has two stories, and is quite adapted to this climate. The interior was high and spacious; the wall towards the north, furnished with sliding-frames, but not closed, except when the sun shines in. Instead of glass, the shells of the pearl-oyster are fixed in frames, which certainly admit light, but not the hot rays of the sun.¹ Care had been taken that our night's lodging should be convenient, but the constant quarrels between the dogs and cats, would have disturbed our sleep, as the latter frequently sought refuge in our beds, had we not been extremely fatigued by our ride. A kind of small green lizard, which runs whistling up the walls during the night, and sometimes takes the liberty of crawling on the bed, and creeping under the quilt, is found here in all the houses. Dogs, as well as cats, are in great numbers both in town and country, and care is taken of the breed of these animals, as the rats do great mischief every where. The dogs are used in hunting the stag, which abounds here; it is a small species brought by the Spaniards from the Philippines.

The 25th of Nov. We were scarcely awake when the Governor sent to invite us to take chocolate. After we had partaken of it, I expressed a wish to see the town. I was not allowed to do so till I had made another breakfast, which perfectly resembled a dinner.

The town of Agaña, which should properly be called a village, is situated on a beautiful plain, some hundred paces from the shore; to the right and left are fine palm groves; in the south, a high mountain forms the back-ground; from its summit, hang large spreading trees, which overshadow a part of the town, and give it a picturesque appearance. An inconsiderable stream, which flows through the town, supplies the inhabitants with water. The houses, which are constructed in the same manner as in the villages, form several regular streets. Only seven or eight houses are built of coral stone, which belong either to the government, as that of the Governor, or to the civil officers.

On the eastern part of the town is a considerable large church, and a convent; the whole clergy consists of two priests, who are natives of Manilla, and descendants from the Malays.²

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- 1 Ed. note: The panes were imported from the Philippines, where they are still commonly used in the provinces. They are translucent Capiz shells, not mother-of-pearl, and are usually cut to a standard size, 4 x 4 inches being a minimum. The place where such flat shells abounded was on the coast of the province of Capiz, in the island of Panay.
 - 2 Ed. note: One of these Filipino Augustinians was a Father José Calasang, alias del Carmen, who had arrived in 1806. Another was Father Ciriaco (I cannot find his family name), alias del Espiritu Santo, who arrived in 1814; he was to father some local children, and at least one of his descendants became a Catholic monsignor in the 1980s (my informant). Such irregular children were always given their mother's family name, as will be reported by Lieutenant Safford in 1899.

It is said that, always after a certain time, generally every twenty years, a violent storm rises in the S.W., which causes the sea to run so high that the town is overflowed, and the inhabitants obliged to fly to the mountains. Only the stone houses are able to resist the fury of the water; the bamboo cages are all destroyed. Two fortresses of coral stone defend the town; one of them lies on the shore, but has not yet any guns;¹ the other lies to the west, behind the town, on an eminence, has a few guns,² and seems to be built chiefly to restore tranquillity in case of a riot; but they have no powder, as I was informed by the Governor, I do not see the use of the two fortresses. The town has two hundred houses, and contains 1,500 inhabitants, who, as I have already said, derive their origin from Mexico and the Philippines.³ There is only a man and his wife on the whole island, of the original branch. With the death of these two people the race of the old Ladrones will be entirely extinguished.⁴ The Governor had the kindness to show them to me, and our painter took their portraits.⁵

The military consists of militia, and appears to be in good condition; the officers are natives. The soldiers, who are obliged to provide their own clothing, looked very neat, though they are bound to give a part of their scanty allowance to the priests. When the native intends to marry, he must previously give the priest a Spanish dollar, who pays no regard to the prevailing scarcity of money. On my walk, the Governor showed me several canoes, which he had purchased from the Carolinians; and told me, on this occasion, of the great dexterity of these people in swimming and diving. When the galleon, already mentioned, perished, some Carolinians, who were here at the time, fetched the barrels filled with piasters out of the cabin of the ship, which was lying several fathoms under water; it was affirmed that they remained there half an hour.

The whole island chain of the Marianes, except Guahon, is uninhabited.⁶ The North Americans, who carry on the fur trade, between the N.W. coast of America and Canton, had chosen the islands of Agrigan and Saypan as a place of rest on this voyage. To be sure of finding there, in future, fresh provisions, they brought several families from the Sandwich islands,⁷ who were obliged to cultivate the ground, and tend the cattle; and they would have succeeded in their future voyages, in being supplied with fresh provisions from these two islands, without payment; but the Spaniards had scarcely been informed of it, when soldiers were sent there, who made the poor islanders prison-

1 Ed. note: That was Fort San Rafael.

2 Ed. note: Fort Santa Agueda, now filled in and used as a tourist spot, and a look-out point.

3 Ed. note: Actually, a mixed breed, so-called *mestizos*, the result of marriages between Filipino and Mexican men with local Chamorro women (see census of 1800-1801, Doc. 1801D).

4 Ed. note: The census of 1801 does not bear this out. It is true, however, that a new breed of "neo-Chamorros" had become the majority at the beginning of that century.

5 Ed. note: The name of this artist was Louis Choris (see Doc. 1817D).

6 Ed. note: Not true, as Rota was never abandoned, witness the recorded movements of the priests, one of whom was always nominally assigned to visit Rota.

7 Ed. note: They were white men expelled from the Hawaiian Islands by their king, who had taken their Polynesian wives and slaves with them to the Northern Marianas.

ers, and destroyed their plantations. I have seen these islanders at the Governor's; they seemed contented with their fate, and were much rejoiced to hear something about their native country. The Governor had learnt that the Americans had founded a new colony at Agrigan. It is a question how long it will last.

When I took leave of the Governor, in the afternoon, I was obliged to accede to his kind invitation, to visit him the following day. Mr. Chamisso remained on shore, and I returned to the **Rurick**, accompanied by Dr. Eschscholtz. We were delighted at the romantic scenery, and were shaded, by overspreading trees, from the scorching rays of the sun. We halted in the villages, and the people were always ready to refresh us with juice drawn from cocoa blossoms, of a very pleasant taste.¹ The sportive, cheerful disposition of the South Sea islanders is no longer found among these people; they have been too long oppressed, and all their actions are indicative only of subjection. They are entirely under the command of the Governor; and though the government demands no taxes, their condition is but poor. The present Governor is a good man, who treats the poor half-savage Christians like his children; the former one was a tyrant,² whom they never approached without trembling; and, perhaps, on this account, they are still distrustful.

Tobacco is universally prized; men, women, and children, constantly smoke cigars; they have also betel in their mouths, which gives a disagreeable red dye to the teeth and lips. In all the [other] Spanish settlements the government has the sole right of planting tobacco; but every body is allowed to do it in Guahon.

After a ride of two hours, we arrived at Massu, where the boat was in waiting for us. The natives had observed that some of our sailors did not wear a cross round the neck; and they thought that they must be bad Christians. At five o'clock we reached the ship, which was now lying in the inner harbour, near the fortress of St. Cruz. Lieutenant Schischmareff had already begun to lay in a stock of water in a convenient place, which I have marked on my chart. The following particulars are to be observed: the boat must be sent off at high water, that it may reach, without difficulty, the mouth of the river; here the barrels are to be immediately unloaded, floated into the river, but not filled till the ebb has carried the salt water out of the river; in the returning tide the boats must be loaded, that you may go back when the water is at the highest. The coast, near which

1 Ed. note; When fresh, *tuba* is not intoxicating.

2 Ed. note: Parreño, 1806-1812, had come direct from Granada, Spain.

the water is taken in, has a singular appearance; the bushes dip their points into the sea, from which new roots shoot up, which entwine themselves in the higher bushes; and this produces a thick green wall, that covers the whole shore. The tree as easily takes root in water as in the ground, and it looks as if the vegetation sprung from the sea.¹

The 26th. While I was on shore, Captain Taitano, commandant of the fortress of Orote,² had visited the ship, and invited Lieutenant Schischmareff to come to his house. It was situated behind the Cape of Orote, in the village of Agat; and went to visit him, accompanied by Wilson, and likewise to take a view of the town. The whole crew wished to go on shore to-day, and received permission, on this occasion, to gather as many oranges in the groves as they could carry. We landed on the southern part of the harbour. To reach it, it is necessary to be acquainted with the channel, as it is rendered dangerous by the many shoals; but, as Wilson was our pilot, we had no accident. A narrow foot-path led us across the tongue of land through thick bushes, and we soon saw the sea, and were in a large open bay,³ in which lie the three small islands laid down on my chart. We went then through an avenue of palm-trees into the adjoining village of Agat, two miles behind which we saw a round mountain, the highest in the whole island.⁴ Taitano received us very politely, and the romantic scenery with which his house is surrounded, made an agreeable impression on us, and we all returned to the ship, where the crew had already arrived, as highly delighted with their walk as with their oranges. The sailors saw in the forest a stag, and several lizards five feet long. Besides cats and dogs, stags are the only quadruped we have seen.⁵ There are no poisonous reptiles, or snakes.

The 27th of November. I left the ship in the afternoon, with Schischmareff, to visit the Governor, as I had promised; at Massu we found a horse and a mule, and were received on our arrival with as much politeness as the first time. There were a number of natives who were to lead up a dance; but as there are no longer any national dances, which we wished to see, the scene was introduced where king Montezuma of Mexico receives Cortés, and amuses him by the dance of his subjects.

1 Ed. note: Of course, he describes a typical mangrove forest.

2 The fortress of Orote lies on an eminence of Cape Orote, and defends the entrance of the outer harbour; its situation is so very advantageous, that it can neither be cannonaded, nor fire a shot in vain. A mile to the east of this, a second (St. Louis) lies on the shore, which defended the entrance of the inner harbour, but is now decayed through negligence. The fortress of St. Cruz, on which I made all my astronomical observations, is very small, built of coral stones, and contains only three six-pounders, and is not even guarded. Ed. comment: Taitano is a Chamorro family name that means Landless. Only ruins remain of Fort Santiago de Orote. The ruins of Fort San Luis have disappeared almost completely. Fort Santa Cruz was razed by the U.S. Navy and the whole area filled in for other purposes.

3 I took the plan of this bay with my pocket-sextant and a small compass.

4 Ed. note: He refers to Mt. Tenjo. Old Agat was located to the north of present-day Agat.

5 Ed. note: Not to mention rats.

The 28th. We returned early to the ship, as I proposed to leave Guahon the following day. Luis de Torres accompanied us, with all the officers, and the Governor, who intended to give me some dispatches to Manilla, promised to follow, and to remain on board during the night. We spent a pleasant evening in the society of the Spanish officers, who all remained on board during the night; the governor had been detained, and did not come till the morning of the 29th. The ship was abundantly supplied with fresh provisions, among which there was even a live ox. We parted with grateful hearts: when the Governor got into his boat, we fired a salute of five guns, and the crew gave three cheers. At eight o'clock we were already out of the harbour.

We found the latitude of the Harbour Caldera de Apra to be	13°26'41" [N]
Longitude	215°9'54" [W] ¹
Declination of the magnetic needle	5°34'00 E.
According to Malaspina, Umatak Bay lies	215°26'00" [W].

As the difference in the longitude between Umatak Bay and the harbour of La Caldera de Apra can only be very inconsiderable, my longitude agrees pretty exactly with Malaspina.

¹ Ed. note: The same as 144°50'6" E of Greenwich.

Document 1817B

The hydrographical analysis of Krusenstern

Analysis of the islands discovered by the Rurik in the Great Ocean, by Commodore Krusenstern

Source: Kotzebue's A Voyage of Discovery, Vol. 2.

Notes: Longitudes are stated as West of Greenwich. They must be subtracted from 360° to yield longitudes East of Greenwich. Adam Johann Krusenstern (1770-1846) was an Estonian of German ancestry who made a career in the Russian Navy. He led the first Russian voyage around the world in 1803-1806, of which Kotzebue was a cadet officer.

The islands of Micronesia.

...
On his voyage to the north, Lieutenant Kotzebue wished to cross the chain of islands discovered by Marshall, in 1788, of which the Mulgrave islands are the southern, and Gilbert islands the northern [sic]. He could not, however, descry land between eight and ten degrees of latitude, in the longitude laid down on Arrowsmith's chart; a proof that this longitude is incorrect. The great chain of islands, which forms two large archipelagos, from 1° south to 12° north, and which have been called, after their discoverers, Gilbert and Marshall islands, deserve a closer examination. Arrowsmith assured Mr. Kotzebue, that he had marked them on his chart according to the statements of several navigators who had seen here and there an island of this archipelago, and, consequently, he could not be answerable for their accuracy. The researches of Lieutenant Kotzebue, however, prove that the determination of the longitude of Captain Marshall is more correct than that of Captain Gilbert, to whom Arrowsmith has given the preference.

On the 21st of May, a group of low, but inhabited, islands were discovered: they were almost all united to each other by coral reefs; and reefs extended from these islands fifteen miles to the north, and twelve miles to the west. Lieutenant Kotzebue sailed all round, and found a passage of two miles broad, through which he sailed. The islands north of this channel he called Kutusoff, and the southern, Suwaroff Islands. The two groups, taken together, have an almost north and south direction, and in this direction occupy an extent of twenty-five miles and a half. The channel, which separates the two groups, and is three miles and a half broad, lies in 11°11'20" north, and 190°9'30" west.

Kotzebue visited these islands, for the second time, in the following year, and learnt that they were called, by the natives, Udirick, and Tagay.¹

At these islands are not found on any chart of the South Sea, Kotzebue justly considered them as a new discovery. An attempt has been made to dispute him the honour of this discovery, by asserting that the Kutusoffs are the same that Wallis took for the Pescadores. According to Wallis, one of the two islands seen by him lies in 11° north, and 192°30' west; the other in 11°20' north, and 192°58' west. The description given by Wallis of these islands, is not in the least applicable to the Kutusoff's islands; and even supposing that this were the case, such a supposition could only be certain if a mistake of two degrees and a half, in Wallis' longitude of the Pescadores, were to be allowed. But I believe I shall be able to prove that the longitude of Captain Wallis cannot be incorrect by half a degree, or even by a quarter of a degree. East and west of the Pescadores are two points, with the situation of which we are acquainted by very exact observations, but which have likewise been determined by Wallis, by lunar observations; the true longitude of these points can, therefore, serve to prove the value of the lunar observations made on board the **Dolphin**. These points are the islands of Boscawen and Keppell, and the island of Tinian.

1. The 14th of August, 1767, the islands of Boscawen and Keppell were seen from the **Dolphin**; the 16th the ship was 1°3' west of them, and from the lunar distances measured the longitude of Boscawen Island 174°7'39", and that of Keppell Island 174°10'24". La Pérouse determined the longitude of the two islands at 173°56' W. Taking it for granted that the longitude fixed by La Pérouse is the true one, the error in the longitude determined by the **Dolphin** is less than a quarter of a degree.

2. The longitude of Tinian was determined by four series of lunar observations: two series of lunar distances were measured in the roads of Tinian, on the 27th and 30th of September; one series on the 16th of September, when the ship was 1°20' to the east of Tinian, and the fourth, on leaving Tinian, 2°15' to the west of that island. From these four series, which, as any one may convince himself from the observations, differ very little from each other, the astronomer, Mr. Wales, calculated the longitude of the roads of Tinian 145°55'25". The true longitude is 145°45';² the error according to this was only 10': at the islands of Boscawen and Keppell it was 13'; how then can we imagine an error of two degrees and a half, to have been committed in the Pescadores? The longitude of the Pescadores Mr. Wales has deduced from the lunar distances measured on the 27th of August, and on the 14th of September; on the first day the ship was in 5° east, and on the last day 16-1/2° west of the Pescadores. The observations on the 27th of August, gave for the longitude of these islands 192°27'30", and on the 14th of September, 192°51'52"; the mean, therefore, 192°39'4", or 167°20'56" east.³ Consequently,

1 Ed. note: Utirik, and Taka.

2 Espinosa's *Memorias sobre las Observaciones*, &c. vol. ii, p. 5.

3 *Astronomical Observations made in the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, &c.* p. 12.

it is quite impossible that Kutusoff's Islands and the Pescadores are the same. According to accounts which Kotzebue received on these islands, there lies exactly in the west a group of islands which they call Bigini, which must indisputably be the Pescadores.¹

On the 1st of January, 1817, he discovered an inhabited island, low, and overgrown with wood, which, from north to south, is three miles long, and three quarters broad. Its latitude was determined at $10^{\circ}8'27''$ N., and its longitude at $189^{\circ}4'46''$. It received the name of New Year's Island; the natives called it Miadi. On the 4th of January, they discovered a group of islands forming an archipelago, with a basin in the middle, twenty-seven miles long, and twelve miles broad, having two passages leading to it; the one through which the **Rurick** sailed in was only 50 fathoms, and the one by which it sailed out, was 150 fathoms broad. Lieutenant Kotzebue remained till the 7th of February in this group of islands, which consisted of sixty-five islands, and received the name of Count Romanzoff. The latitude of the anchoring-place at the island of Otdia, the most eastern, and at the same time the largest island in this group is $9^{\circ}25'9''$ N., the longitude, from 300 lunar distances, $189^{\circ}43'45''$ W. This group, in a direction from west to east, occupies the space of thirty miles; its breadth is about ten miles.

A second group, likewise in a circular archipelago, was called after the late minister of the navy, Admiral Tschitschagoff; its length from N.W. to S.E. was twenty-four, its breadth only four miles. The latitude of the middle of this group, which is called by the natives Eregup is $9^{\circ}6'$; its longitude $189^{\circ}56'$ W.

On the 10th of February, he discovered a third group, called by the natives Kawen, which is of the same form as the two preceding. In a N.W. and S.E. direction this group is thirty-three miles long; its greatest breadth is thirteen miles. As they here found an entrance between the coral reefs, Lieutenant Kotzebue sailed into the lagoon. The largest island of this group, which received the name of Araksheef, is two miles and a half long, and three quarters of a mile broad, and lies in $8^{\circ}54'21''$ N., and $189^{\circ}11'$ W.: the south-eastern island is $8^{\circ}29'30''$ latitude, $188^{\circ}49'$ longitude.

A fourth group, consisting of thirty-two islands, and called by the natives Aur, was named after the present minister of the navy, Marquis de Traversey. In a direction from N.W. to S.E. it extends thirteen miles; its greatest breadth is six miles. The latitude of the anchoring-place is $8^{\circ}18'42''$ N., and its longitude $188^{\circ}48'$ W.

A fifth group, which was discovered the 1st of March, is called by the natives Ailu; it is fifteen miles long, and five broad. Lieutenant Kotzebue found a passage through the reef which unites the islands that form the circle and incloses the basin in the middle, and sailed into it. Capeniur, the most northern island of this group, to which he gave the name of Krusenstern, lies in $10^{\circ}27'15''$ and 190° W.

A sixth group, in $9^{\circ}51'30''$ N. and $190^{\circ}46'30''$, and called by the natives Ligiep, was named after Admiral Count Hayden.

¹ Ed. note: Not so. Bikini is further west than the islands that do correspond to the Pescadores: Rongelap and Rongerik.

These six groups, as well as the four groups of Arno, Mediuro, Mille, and Bigar, which all lie more south,¹ but which Lieutenant Kotzebue was not able to visit, form the chain of Radack. According to the accounts of the natives, there runs to the west, and at a distance of about a degree, a second similar chain, parallel to and quite resembling the Radack chain, that is, in a direction almost from north to south. This western chain, which consists of nine large groups of islands, and three single islands, is called by the natives Ralick. There is no doubt to be entertained of its existence; for all the accounts which Lieutenant Kotzebue, while he remained near these islands, received from the islanders were found quite correct, not only in the distance, but also in the direction. The navigator, therefore, to whom the examination of this great archipelago shall be intrusted, may safely reckon on the discovery of the Ralick chain if he follows the chart which Lieutenant Kotzebue has drawn up, according to the accounts he has received, and which belong to the atlas of charts accompanying this account of his voyage. He himself missed it, as a violent current, during a stormy night, probably carried him so quickly to the west, that he passed the chain, without seeing any of the islands belonging to it. It would not have been possible for him to ply to the east against the monsoon, and against the current, without great loss of time.

I now ask, whether the groups described by Lieutenant Kotzebue are a new discovery, or whether they have been previously known? The answer is, that it is very probable that they were first seen by Mr. Kotzebue, which I shall now endeavour to prove. If we compare the situation of the islands of Chatham and Calvert, discovered by Capt. Marshall in 1788, on board the ship **Scarborough**, between the ninth and tenth degrees of latitude, and of Bass Reef-tied islands and Bishop Junction Island, so named by Bishop on board the ship **Nautilus**, in the year 1799, which latter are indubitably the same with Chatham and Calvert islands, it might easily be concluded that the islands discovered by Kotzebue, between the ninth and tenth degrees are identical with them. But as we know that to the west of the chain of Radack, exactly in the same latitude, there lie other groups of islands, it is, at least, just as probable, that Captain Marshall saw the western and not the eastern islands. This would, then, also be the case with the group of Ailu, which, according to Kotzebue, lies in $10^{\circ}.28'$, and, consequently, exactly coincides with the latitude of the islands of Tindal and Watts, marked on Marshall's map.² That the islands of the Ralick chain, and not those of the Radack chain, were seen by the **Scarborough** and **Nautilus** seems to be probable, from the following circumstance, that Langenui, a chief of the group of Ailu told Kotzebue, that many years ago a ship with white men touched at the group of Odja, (the largest of the Ralick chain), from which the natives procured iron in exchange; but nobody could remember a similar visit in the islands of the Radack chain. They also knew that many years ago a ship had sailed past the island of Bigini, which is the most northern group of the Ralick

1 Ed. note: Except for Bikar which is more north.

2 In the account of the voyage of the **Scarborough**, no mention is made of the discovery of the islands of Tindal and Watts. They have likewise not been marked on the charts of Arrowsmith and Espinosa.

chain, and, as I have already said, according to all probability, the islands which Wallis took for the Pescadores [sic]. And thus it becomes probable that the discovery of the islands described by Lieutenant Kotzebue is truly owing to him, which is still more confirmed, because the island called by him New Year's Island, was seen neither by the **Scarborough** nor the **Nautilus**.¹

But even supposing that it could be proved that Lieutenant Kotzebue is not the first discoverer of these islands, the merit cannot be disputed him, of having first made us acquainted with their true situation. This discovery was besides not accidental. What is much more meritorious than unexpectedly meeting with an island, he looked for those islands in these parts, which have been misplaced in the charts, and employed two months and a half in surveying them with the greatest accuracy. The reader has seen by his account what courage an ability he showed in minutely exploring these singularly formed islands, and what dangers he braved to penetrate into the almost hermetically closed basins. He is the first seaman who has ventured to navigate these lakes, encircled with corals; and I believe I cannot be accused of partiality when I affirm, that both in exploring these dangerous islands, and in revisiting the equally perilous islands of Schouten and Roggewein, Lieutenant Kotzebue has displayed such an undaunted courage, and such great perseverance, united with so much able seamanship, that he may, in this respect, be placed at the side of the celebrated Flinders. The discovery of the islands of Radack, so far is highly important, as it has made us acquainted with a people who are undoubtedly the mildest and most amiable in the South Sea; and I think it is not an unjust wish, that the entire investigation of this great archipelago may not be intrusted to any one but to him, who has gained in such a great degree the love and filial confidence of these good-natured people, who revere him as their benefactor, and whose return they so earnestly implored on his parting.

Lieutenant Kotzebue, on his voyage from the Radack islands to Oonalashka, touched at the islands discovered by the English frigate **Cornwallis** in 1807, and which are now usually marked on the charts as Cornwallis' Island.² He found that they consisted of ten small islands united to each other by coral reefs. (See chart of these islands in Kotzebue's atlas). He has determined the latitude of the middle of the group to be 14°42' N., and the longitude at 190°56'30" W., i.e. 169°3'30" E. I have shown in another place that these islands are probably the Gaspar Rico of the ancient Spanish navigators.³

1 Ed. note: Krusenstern completely ignored the earlier Spanish discoveries in the northern Marshalls. He could have corresponded with Espinosa to find out. I have studied the matter and concluded, with ample proofs, that Mejit, Ailuk, Likiep, Wotje, and Erikub had all been discovered by Spanish explorers between 1542 and 1566. The Spanish had also discovered 4 groups and 1 island in the Ralik chain.

2 Ed. note: Cornwallis is Johnston, not Taongi.

3 Ed. note: Gaspar Rico corresponds to Taongi.

On the 20th of October, the same year, on the voyage from the Sandwich islands to Radack, Kotzebue looked about for a group of small islands, discovered on the 14th of December 1807 by the English frigate **Cornwallis**, and which in the charts now bear the name of Smith's [sic] Islands, after the present Captain Smith of the English navy, who has been employed for some years past in surveying the coasts of the Mediterranean, and served on board the **Cornwallis** in 1807, as lieutenant. Lieutenant Kotzebue has given a chart of his own of these very dangerous islands, which are surrounded for several miles into the sea with shoals, on which the **Rurick** was nearly wrecked. According to his observations, they lie in 169°39'20" W., and 16°45'36" N.¹ That these islands are the same which were discovered in the year 1786 [sic] by Don José Camisares, pilot of the Royal Spanish Navy, on his voyage from San Blas to Manilla, I shall show in another place.²

These are, probably, in a hydrographical respect, the principal results of Mr. Kozebue's voyage. I cannot, however, pass over without noticing that his atlas contains plans of two very safe and hitherto unknown [sic] harbours in the South Sea, drawn by himself. The one is the harbour of Hana-rura [i.e. Honolulu], in the island of Woahoo [i.e. Oahu], one of the Sandwich [i.e. Hawaiian] islands; the other is on the island of Guahon, which bears the name of La Calderona de Apura [rather La Caldera de Apra], and, according to the observations of Kotzebue, lies in 13°26'41" N., and 144°50'6" E., perfectly resembling that of Hana-rura so far, that they are both formed by reefs.

I do not think it necessary to speak of the discoveries and researches of Lieutenant Kotzebue in Beering's Straits; a satisfactory account of them is given in the narrative of his voyage.

KRUSENSTERN.

Asce the 30th of July, 1820.

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- 1 Ed. note: Again, Krusenstern has confused Wake with Johnston Island, whose position it is. Smyth's Island, according to William Brigham's Index, is just another name for Taongi.
 - 2 Ed. note: We do not need to look at his later book: "Recueils de mémoires hydrographiques,é to get more information. The reference is no doubt about the visit of the ship **María**, Captain Quintano, to Taongi in 1796 (see Doc. 1796H) and of which Espinosa y Tello has given an account..

Documents 1817C

Kotzebue's first voyage—Narratives of Adelbert von Chamisso

Sources: 1) For his Remarks and Opinions: Kotzebue's A Voyage of Discovery, Vol. 2 & 3; 2) For his journal: Adelbert von Chamisso. Bemerkungen und ansichten auf einer entdeckungs-reise (Weimar, 1821). See Bibliography, under 1817.

Introductory notes.

Louis-Charles-Adelaïde de Chamisso (1781-1838) was born a Frenchman. His family fled to Germany to avoid the guillotine in 1792. He served in the Prussian Army from 1798 to 1808, but a military career did not really suit him. He became a writer of novels, and then an editor of a literary magazine, before being recruited at the last minute for the Kotzebue Expedition, as a naturalist. The **Rurik** picked him up at Copenhagen.

Upon returning to Europe, he earned his living as a botanist, and a writer of poetry, mostly song lyrics, one of them being turned into music by Robert Schumann. He died of a lung ailment.

C1. Remarks and opinions of the Naturalist of the Expedition,

**Adelbert von Chamisso, Doctor of Philosophy, and Member of the
Imperial Leopoldine Academy of Sciences, and of the Societies of
Naturalists, at Berlin, Moscow, Leipzig, &c.**

Τὸ τοῦ πολοῦ ἀστρὸν.



Adelbert von Chamisso, after a sketch by Louis Choris.

Note: Chamisso himself has claimed that his Notes were published by Kotzebue without his agreement, and that numerous typographical errors had distorted meanings; besides, he was refused permission to publish an errata notice.

...
 We now come to the islands lying east of the Philippines, which we have considered as the first province of Polynesia. We find in their inhabitants, a family of nations, who are variously connected by the same manners and arts, by great skill in navigation and trade. They are a peaceable, amiable people, who worship no idols, live, without possessing domestic animals, on the gifts of the earth, and only offer to invisible gods the firstlings of the fruit on which they subsist. They built the most ingenious boats, and accomplish distant voyages, by means of great knowledge of the monsoons, the currents, and the stars. On the western islands, the Pelew islands, Eap, the Marianes, some customs of the East Indian islanders, such as the chewing of the betel, are found to have been introduced.

Notwithstanding the great resemblance of most of the tribes, and the frequent intercourse which unites them to each other, yet a great diversity of languages prevails among them.¹ We were called upon to collect specimens of their dialects, because we were more nearly connected with them than other scientific travellers who preceded us, and we give, in the appendix, a comparative list of words of the Marianes, Eap, Ulea, and Radack.

The people of the Marianas, according to Fray Juan de la Concepción, resembled the Bisayas, as well in appearance as in language, which latter differs, however, in several things, (*in algunas cosas alterado*). The Chamori or Mariana language has almost vanished with the people who spoke it, and the new generation speak the language of the conqueror, and their own only disfigured by a mixture with it. It is to be observed that they count only in Spanish, and it cost us trouble to procure the numerals of the Mariana language. On the other hand, it appears, that appellations from the Philippine languages have been given to many animals and objects introduced from foreign countries. Thus, in the Pelew islands, animals which have been introduced by the English, have received Malay names. (The goat, *Gaming*, Malay, *Kambing*).

A Vocabulario de la Lengua Mariana, in the form of the vocabularies which we have of the languages of the Philippines, particularly of the Vocabulario Tagalog, by Fr. Domingo de los Santos, proceeding from the Jesuits, is still at Agaña; an *arte* seems to be wanting.² This Ms. is decaying unused, as the Spanish language suffices the present clergy for their office.³ We have endeavoured to investigate the grammatical construction of the Chamori language, and visited the [Augustinian Recollect] Fathers in Mani-

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- 1 Others, such as those of the Pelew islands, who are distinguished by their laxity of morals, and less knowledge of navigation, are probably strangers in the family.
 - 2 Ed. note: Father de los Santos was a Dominican who produced this Vocabulary ca. 1695 (see B&R 53: 316). An *arte* is a grammar. Fr. Sanvitores was the first to write one, but it was not published.
 - 3 Ed. note: This vocabulary of the Mariano language may be that by Fr. Coomans, S.J.; it too was never published. We learn here that it had survived for more than one century in the archives of the Agaña Convent.

la, who presided over the missions of Guahon. Several had not learnt the language properly, and an old man was unable to give any account of it. The names of places in the Marianas, as in the Philippines, mostly end in *an*, a particle which, in the languages of the Philippines, marks the relation of place, and requires the third passive, and we find other signs of analogy, all of which are wanting in the dialects of the Carolina islands. Don Luis de Torres assured us, that in the Mariana and Ulea languages there is no declension. We must observe, that the words of the Mariana language, which we communicate for comparison, are not taken from the Vocabulario, for which we had no time, but written after our own orthography, from the pronunciation of Don Luis.

A vocabulary of the dialects spoken in the Pelew islands¹ is given by Wilson, and it were only to be wished, that the same diligence had been employed in clearing up the grammar, or that even a few specimens, some songs, had been communicated, which might give us an idea of it.

This work has more authority, in our opinion, than a slight collection of words hastily thrown together by a Spaniard, who furnished us with it in Manilla, and which we suppressed for this reason. It would only serve to show how differently the same sound may be understood and taken down by different nations.

We must apologize for the insufficiency of the collections of words of Eap, Ulea, and Radack, which we likewise communicate, without entering into the formation of the language. Let it be considered how suddenly and unexpectedly our friend and instructor Kadu left us. While these collections were forming, a means of acquiring information had been obtained by us, which gradually became more perfect, and the business of revising, correcting, and completing our work, of conversing upon abstract ideas, and treating upon the grammar, had been put off to a time which we were not destined to spend together.

...

1 An Account of the Pelew Islands, from the Journals of Captain Henry Wilson, by George Keate, the fifth edition, London. 1803. Supplement, p. 63.

VOCABULARY

of the dialects Chamori (Mariana Islands), and of Eap, Ulea, and Radack.

Remark.

We have endeavoured to represent the sound by means of our German letters, as far as they sufficed. We have written a middle sound between A and O with *Ä*; a very open *e* (the French *ai-j'aimais*) with *Ä*; a termination very nearly resembling the French nasal sound with *—ng*; instead of the German *w*, we have used the simple *v*, and borrowed out of the English alphabet the *w* and *th* for similar sounds. The *j* or *g* of the French,)†(of the Russian, occurs only in the word *Nagen*.

The accent lies mostly on the last syllable. To prevent the meeting, or accumulation of consonants, a vowel appears to be inserted for the sake of euphony.

It is hardly necessary to say, that none of those faults could be avoided, which are usually treated with indulgence in similar essays. Not to mention inevitable misunderstandings, our orthography is uncertain, as the pronunciation of our teacher, in languages not his own, was not to be depended upon. We heard at Radack, *Medid, Irud, Dilé*, which Kadu pronounced *Mesid, Irus, Thile*. We always doubted between *d, th*, and *s*; between *ch, k*, and *g, &c.* Of the last letters *ch*, or *k*, seemed to sound hard at the end of words, and, in conjunction, to incline to a softer *g*, *Inguch, Ingaga gamilate Rossa*. I understand not the language Russia.¹

1 Translator's note: On mature consideration, it has been judged the most advisable to print the following vocabularies, precisely as they are in the German work, without attempting to reduce them to English orthography, as these words would, in all probability, be very different from what they would appear, if written by an Englishman, from the pronunciation of the natives themselves. We may add, that the long vowels in German have more resemblance to the French than to the English, the *u* however being pronounced like the English *oo*. The consonants have, in general, nearly the same power as in English; *sch* is invariably our *sh*, and not *sk*, as some pronounce it. *W* is pronounced like our *v*, the German *v* being pronounced like *f*. It is for this reason, probably, that Mr. Chamisso uses the English *W*, as he calls it, our pronunciation of *w* being, in fact, foreign to the German language.

VOCABULARY
of the dialects Chamori (Mariana Islands), and of Eap, Ulea, and Radack.

NUMBERS.¹

<i>Tagalese.</i>	<i>Pampango, after the Spanish Artes.</i>	<i>Bisaya.</i>	<i>Pelew Is., after Wilson. Spanish ms.</i>	<i>Idem, after a Spanish ms.</i>
1. Ysa	Isa	Usa & Sayo	Tong	Dita
2. Dalva & Dalava	Adua	Duhà	Oroo	Teru
3. Tatló	Atlo	Tolo	Othey	Tedey
4. Apat	Apat	Upat	Oang	Oa
5. Limâ	Lima	Lima	Aeen	Oim
6. Anim	Anam	Unum	Malong	Malo
7. Pító	Pitu	Pito	Oweth	Vis
8. Valò	Valo	Valo	Tei	Yay
9. Sihàm	Siam	Siam	Etew	Ytiu
10. Polò & Povò	Apulo	Polo	Mackoth	Magot

Observations: In the arithmetical system of Radack, the scale is of 20, as in New Zealand and the eastern islands. The simple numbers go only to 5. The number 6 is formed of 3, 7 is 6 plus 1, 8 is formed of 4, and 9 of 8 plus 1. Tjabudjet is the usual 10. Tjongaul is said of men, ships, pandanus fruits, &c.

¹ To be compared with and to complete the table in Cook's Third Voyage. The vocabulary itself is to be compared with the vocabulary by Lay and Hussey in Doc. 1824M2.

<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Numbers of a certain Measure of length (Fathoms), in Chamori as well.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Carolina Is. (Ulea), according to J. Wilson.¹</i>	<i>Ulea</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
1. Hatijjai	Tac natjun	Rep	Eiota (Pota)	Eoth	Duon
2. Huguikai		Tac hugua	Ru	Ruo	Rii Ruo
3. Totguikai	Tac tulum	Thalep	Tolu	Al	Dillu
4. Fatfatái		Tac fatum	Eninger	Teia	Fahu Emmen
5. Limikai	Tac lima	Lahl	Lima	Lim	Lallim
6. Gonmikai	Tac gonum	Nel	Honu	Ol	Dildinu
7. Fedguikai	Tac guikai	Medelip	Feizu	Fis	Dildimemduon
8. Gualguikai	Tac gualum	Meruk	Warto	Oeil	Eidinu
9. Siguikai		Tac siguam	Merep	Hivo	The-u Eidinemduon
10. Manutai	Tac manud	Ragach	Segga	Seik	Tjabudjet or Tjongaul
<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea</i>	<i>Radack.</i>		
11.		Seikamethéo	Tjabudjetmeduon		
12.		Seikemeruo	Tjabudjetmeruo		
13.		Seikemesilu	Tjabudjetmedillu		
14.		Seikemefao	Tjabudjetmeemmen		
15.		Seikemelimo	Tjabudjetmelallim		
16.		Seikeméoco	Tjabudjetmedildinu		
17.		Seikemefiso	Tjabudjetmedildinemduon		
18.		Seikemeolo	Tjabudjetmeeidinu		
19.		Seikemetheuo	Tjabudjetmeidinemduon		
20. Huguanafulu	Repudegach	Rueg	Tjagoren		
30. Tulungafulu	Thalepanath	Selig	Tjagorenmetjabudjet		
40. Fatfatnafulu	Eningenath	Faig	Ruagor		
50. Limangafulu	Lahlonath	Limeg	Ruagormetjabudjet		
60. Gonumnafulu	Nelonath	Oleg	Dillagor		
70. Fitinafulu	Medelipenath	Fisig	Dillagormetjabudjet		
80. Gualungafulu	Merugenath	Oalig	Engor		
90. Siguanafulu	Merebenath	Théuég	Eagormetjabudjet		
100. Manud & Gatus Raai		Semaul	Limmagor		
120.			Dildinu		
140.			Dildinemduon		
160.			Eidinu		
180.			Eidinumduon		
200.			Tjabugi		
1000. Tjalan	Wubiu	Theongoras	...		
	Tarep	Theotog	Duonot		

1 Ed. note: J. Wilson, in the Duff, 1797. After the German orthography.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack [Modern spelling].</i>
The name, What is that called?	Nuhan	Waoresingen	Ätan	Ätan
Exclamation of surprise ...	...	Eretam	lomat	Irio [louwo]
" of dissatisfaction ...	...	Wutävan	Tamaurel	Epada
I	Guaho	Igagk	Ngang	Nga [Ńa]
You	Hago	...	...	...
Yes	Huu	Ier	Illa	Inga ¹ [Iñña]
No; also prohibition	Ahe	Matamat	Tabu or Buluath Ebin	Emo & Ap [Eaab]
There is none, it is wanting ...	...	Tari	Tor	Eitolok [Ejjelok]
God [See also below]...	...	Tautup	Tautup	Jageach
The name of God ...	...	Engalap ²	[Engalap]	...
Exclamation on religious offering	...	...	Wareganam gure Tautup!	Gidien Anis mne Jeol
The people repeat ...	...	...	Tautup!	Jeol!
The soul	Anti	...	...	...
The man, men	Lahi	Pimohn	Mamoan	Mamoan [Mmaam]
The body	Tatautau	Kainim	Kagel	Goen
The blood	Haga	Ratta	Ta	Wothagedig [Botoktok]
The sweat (cf. warm)...	...	Áthu	Láss	Muagaru [Menokadu]
The head	Ulu	Elingeng	Methackitim	Emethackworra & Methackwarr ³
The hair of the head	Gapunalu ⁴	Lalügel	Timüi	Worra [Bora = head]
Hair	Pulu	...	...	...
The beard	Atschai ⁵	Räp	Elsâl	Koriak [Kwodiak]
The eyes	Mata ⁶	Eauteg	Matai	Medja [Maj]
To see	Atan	Metangarangai	Kolomethoa	Medimedi
The ears	Talanja	Ilig	Talengel	Talengel
To hear	Hungug	Gorongar	Erungerung	Rungerung [Roñ]
The nose	Guihin	Busemun	Wathel	Wathu [Boti]
To smell	...	Foloboun	Easangi	Easangi
The mouth	Patjud	Langach	Eol	Langin [Loñi]
The teeth	Nifin	Mulech	Nir	Nir [Ñi]
The tongue	Hula	Athaen	Luel	Luel [Lo]
The neck	Hagaga	Lügünag	Uel	Wuruwen [Boro]
The breast [chest]	Hauf	Nüerunoren	Uwal	Ugel
The belly	Tudjan	Thugunem	Siel	Sien
The arm	Kanei	Pach	Bäi	Bän [Pa]
The hand	"	Karovinarinepagh	Humutel	Laperinepei

1 And on the southern groups: Ja.

2 The same at Ngoli, Mogemug, and Ulea. At Feis, Rongala; at Lamureck and Elath, Fuss; at Fojo, Lagé. Ed. comment: Fojo, or Fayo, was uninhabited, but the local divinity caring for this island was so called.

3 Ed. note: Rather "Emetak bora" meant "I have a headache" (see Abo's Dictionary, p. 206).

4 Anything like hair, fibers: Gapu.

5 Ed. note: That is Achai; also meant the chin.

6 Also the face.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
The fingers	Kalulud	Pugelipagh	Kasthel	Thanetheri [Janit]
The thumb	Tamagath	Wagulinegah	Kasthelep	...
The leg	Adding	Ai	Petehl	Nen [Ne]
The foot	"	Garovereven	Patepatelpetehl	Leporinen
The woman	Palauan	Wupin	Tabut ¹	Gora & Redini ²
The breasts	Susu	Thithi	Thithi	Thithi [Ittut]
The milk	Tschugususu	Lengirén	Fáll	Fáll
To suck	Pogsai			
Pregnant	...	Kaithieu	Sasiel	Ellipesien (see Great)
To bear, to lay eggs	...	Korgoel	Sasiemelau	Emesalesal
The father	(No word)	Tamangen	Taman	Taman
The mother	"	Langeliu	Rehn	Rehn
The child	...	Vagk	Nagen	Nagen
The boy	...	Taraman	Taraman	Taraman
The girl	...	Wulil	Tarvével	Lerrick [Leddik]
Twins (?)	...	Tathangen	Usi	...
The eldest son	...	Ngani	Molles	Sän ³
The younger ones	...	Wain	Usel	Sathen ⁴ [Jati-]
The daughter	...	Olagen	Moengel	Inén ⁵ [Ine-]
To adopt a child	...	Fagk (cf. Child)	Fá-eul	Nasi
The friends	Atjama ⁶	Tafaveil	Marer	Sera [Jera]
The old man	...	Pelewider	Maellap	Elallap [Lallap]
The young man	...	Waitiketihk	Oaétit	Enning [Niñ]
A chief	Tjamoro	Pilu	Tamohn ⁷	Irud, or Irus ⁸ [Iroj]
One among the people...		Tonepinau	Malegaffageu	Armesuan
People, men	...	...	...	Loma [Lomaro]
Misshapen, natural deformation, a cripple ...		Botalip	Emmate	Ruwéwé
A language, a word ...		Rewemaringach	Siickapatapat	Gamelat
Do you understand? ...		Komenang	Kogela	Kosalage
I understand ...		Kümenang	Ügüla	Üsala
I do not understand ...		Thajonang	Ittagela	Ingach
Talk, speak ...		Marangach	Kapatapat	Tattigalai

1 In Feis: Feivil.

2 Ed. note: Modern spellings: Kora; Jine.

3 Used only in Radack, among brothers and sisters—brother, sister.

4 Ditto.

5 Ditto.

6 Now mostly used only for lovers, as, the beloved.

7 In Lamuniur Kathegube and in Meur, Ratulweli; in Pelli [Pelew], Ruwach (Rupack, says Wilson).

8 Tamohn already introduced. Besides this several denominations appear to indicate progression of ranks among the Irus.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
Silence	...	Fahwach	Tangiel	Riap ¹
Crying	Agang	Taulul	Tataul	Lamuit
Eating	Tjumatju	Thamunemun	Mogai	Mogai ² [Moña]
Drinking	Guminim	Thachu	Por	Bogai ³
To drink a cocoa-nut ...	...	...	...	Gaga ⁴
To invite to eat	...	Piwotuguai	Tattegala	Gisäsirick
To ask for something...	...	Pigofanai	Kassiso	Läsoch
To take	Tjuli	Mugol	Bulii ⁵	Kabudri
To give	Nahe	Areganam	Kalamuje	Kalamuje
Buy, exchange	Fahan	Uaraifanam	Eamuje	Mojamuje
I will not	Mungajo			
To be anywhere, to remain, to stay	...	Wairi	Emelega	Eberi
To go	Humamau	Mahn	Galloch	Wailok [Welok]
To come	Mamajila	Meongrai	Maiga	Waidok [Watok]
To fetch somebody, to call	Maila ⁶ maila quini	Mahnemupinning	Vosangahaog	Gollali
Whither are you going? ...	...	Thingamanangan	Kowalaia	Cathigit
There (showing the way)	Adju			
To climb	...	Manangelang	Theusagk	Resach
To run	Malago	Mumill	Therr	Theser
To spring	...	Mooch	Ludt	Gäloch [Ka-]
To step	Mamockat			
To stumble, to fall in walking	...	Idol	Täparack	Ewong
To stand up	Tumotughe	Tüling	Süsach	Süsach [Jutak]
To sit down	Mataju	Permowut	Mathothi	Sithiet [Jijet]
To lie down	Umassum	Mäl (& sleep)	Ülloch	Wawu [Babu]
To yawn	...	Pingesül	Mauloch	Mö
To stretch oneself	...	Dhadha	Reloch	...
To sleep	Mahigu	Mäl	Mädur	Mädur [Majur]
To dream	Manguifi	Lickai	Thal	Thanack [Ttonak]
To awake		Magmata		
To waken ⁷		Pangun		
To laugh	Tachali	Minimin	Malikowot	Lea [Leea]
To cry	Tangis	Thingejur	Kawasinng	Atang
He cries	Tumatangis			
To sneeze	...	Oingut	Mussi	Mussi [Maje]
To cough	...	Tautol	Tagefach	Pogepoch [Pokpok]
To sigh	...	Poghovan	Nassetairack	Menuna

1 Ed. note: "Riab" means 'liar' instead.

2 He eats: Mogit.

3 He drinks: Bogit.

4 He drinks a cocoa-nut: Gagit.

5 In Feis: Choli.

6 Literally Come here!

7 Also, to right an upset boat.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
To be afraid	...	Kogethigau	Resumith	Ilubüch
To be ashamed	...	Ettamera	Emma	Essoch
To tremble		Laulau		
One that trembles	Laulaulau			
To itch	Makaka			
To scratch, also to scrape	Kassass	Gatál-gitigit	Moé & Ethat ¹	Irir [Irir]
To tattoo, to draw	...	Kotau	Mòck	Äo [Eo]
Caressing by touching the noses	...	Farai	Feissong	Agomit ²
To bend	...	Mogawornack	Kowaru	Gehli
To break	...	Mutar	Kopi	Kosai [Kwoj]
To tear	...	Mukuruv	Kutarra	Epeosach [Potak]
To cut	...	Mithap	Kutovi	Mutemut [Mwijmwij]
Good	Mauli	Jertam	Ilamoút	Eidara ³
Bad, of men	Abbale			
Bad, of things	Tailage			
Not much	Diddini	Thaneior	Teitolop	Ejet [Ejjab-]
Much	Meggai	Wéor	Etolop	Eor
Great	Dankulu	Poga	Eolep ⁴	Eliip ⁵
Little	Dikiki	Wätich	Edigit ⁶	Irick [-dik-]
High	...	Otoliang	Etageet	Etageet
Low	...	Otawut	Ottatal	Ottatal [Tta]
Above, over	...	Mungelang	Theusach	Resach
Below, under	...	Mulu	Theusi	Thuseni
Healthy	...	Kaitii	Sahlii	Edjaghu
Ill	Malango	Vaiamith	Emmedack	Emmedack
Right	Agapa	Wanegilei	Filimera	Rea
Left	Akagui	Wanemetau	Giltschägil	Jeridili
Light	...	Wowaut	Eppel	Emmera [Mera]
Heavy	...	Tomal	Ettau	Irrö [Ddo]
Young	Paggun			
Old	Amku			
Fat	...	Bogha	Eculip ⁷	Eghasur
Slender	...	Poetiketik	Egetigeth	Egoirick
Dry	...	Mallick	Epellepell	Emora [Mora]
Damp	...	Wogarda	Ollö	Eée
Cold	...	Ollüm	Isaleu	Päo [Pio]
Warm (cf. Sweat)	...	Eatho	Láss	Mnagaru
White	...	Umira	Ewuet	Emous [Mouj]

1 At Feis: Rub.

2 Not customary among men at Radack.

3 Ed. note: This word means: "[I'm] your friend" instead.

4 At Feis: Mallilop.

5 Ed. note: Typographical error for Ellip (see texts). Same as -lap-, or -lab-.

6 At Feis: Taraman.

7 At Feis: Epalling.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
Black	...	Alit	Wol	Raran
Carmine	...	Eria	Lap	... ¹
Cylindrical	...	Otapalo	Eulul	Eálethilith
Four-cornered	...	Emetavan	Emetavan	Eurevan
Flat	...	Bogarathan	Etoilep	Erilep
Enough	...	Kaivel	Laimai	Emuit [Emoj]
Remote in time or extent, distant, old	...	Wutaurel & Taurel	Esaolog	Eddo [Etto]
Here	...	Eroi	Iga	Idi [Ijin]
Now	...	Tharu	Igala	Gihn [Kiin]
Near	...	Utuwur	Egarep	Ebeágk [Epaak]
Look there ²	...	Waram	Mathaila	Juéo [Iio, joujo?]
To scold, to be angry, to pull the hair	...	Tabuel	Sásegh	Emadirdir [-dade]
To beat, to wound	...	Mliéau	Kauli	Mani [Manman]
To kill	Punu	Mlienungaim	Kauliwoimes	Manimaniimüth ³
To die	Matai	Kaim	Imütch	Imütch [Mej]
Contest, War	Mumu	Matämal	Maul	Meidar
The dart, the lance	Gugudanun	Thillagk	Tilleg	Mari [Made]
The same, not pointed ⁴	Fudfud			
To throw	...	Mun	Kattevi	Kave [Kaddak]
To hit	...	Ikan	Jel	Ellil [Lel]
To miss	...	Theikan	Turami	Tjapomele
The sling	...	Kaul	Kaul	Wuath [Buwat]
The double-headed lance ⁵ ...	Tauwalach	...	...	Gilibilip
The drum	...	...	...	Adi [Aje]
Drum beat ⁶	...	...	...	Ringesipinen
Idem ⁷	...	...	...	Pinneneme
Singing and dancing	...	Turu	Waruk	Eáp [Eb]
A particular war dance	...	...	Walebong	Walebong ...
Another dance	...	Kapangach	Kapangach	...
The house	Guma	Naun	Ihm	Ihm [Em]
Driftwood	...	Eal	Kapepe	Gaimed
Driftwood with iron	...	Marauasai	Waleparang	Faithoga
Iron	Lulu	Usai	Parang	Mäl [Maal]
The head of an axe ⁸	...	Usa	Parang	Mäl

1 Denominations for Colours are wanting.

2 *Ecce.* Ed. comment: This is a Latin expression meaning: Here it is!

3 Ed. note: I.e., to beat to death.

4 Also, to blunt.

5 Ed. note: Meaning, the javelin.

6 When the enemy is still distant.

7 During the battle.

8 A piece of iron hoop.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
The chisel, a nail ¹	...	Mata	Tét	Miré [Mede]
The axe	...	Kol	Moil	Sisür [Jeljel]
The knife ²	...	Ear	Sar	Bogebog [Bakbok]
The whetstone ³	Guasaun	Tamathela	Fasitte	Ragäloll
To whet [sharpen]	Guasa	Musum	Taité	Timetim [Jemjem]
Sharp	Malagdus			
To work as carpenter...		Mutoi	Falla	Ticketick
To sew	...	Munevit	Thigi	Dilledill
A wooden vessel ⁴	..	Thaw	Tap	Tapi [Tab]
A round vessel	Sahádjan			
To pound	...	Eoagil	Lovis	Komällis
A wreath	...	Iliau	Kabulipen	Pellepel [Palli-]
A necklace	...	Maremar	Maremar	Maremar [Marmar]
Ornament for ears	...	Tharau	Wot	Worr
Mat of pandanus leaves...	...	War	Mang	Mang
The sleeping mat	...	War	Sagi	Sagi [Jaki]
Banana-fiber cloth ⁵	...	Waig	Rou	...
The bast apron of the men ...	...	...	...	Mudirdir
The mat apron of the women ...	...	...	...	Thibidja
The man's dress ⁶	...	Thouú	Kapellepel	
The woman's dress	...	Platu & Jong	Kapellepel	
<i>Curcuma</i> powder	...	Rahn	Rahn ⁷	
Fishing line	...	Lam	Gau	Gäth
Fishing net	...	Teú	Uch	Kabiul
Ship/boat/canoe	Sahadjan	Mu	Oa	Oa [Wa]
The mast	Falina	Olian	Gkeus	Gisu [Kiju]
The sail	Laadjag	Lai	Üi	Usala [Wojla]
The float ⁸		Gahid		
The outrigger	Litja	Tham	Tham	Gubach [Kubaak]
A rope	...	Tal	Tal	Tho [To]
The string	...	...	Kologol	Kologol, Irick
Ornamental string ⁹	...	Wukämu	Muril	Tjabogon
The prow ¹⁰	...	Mitämu	Mol	Moan
To steer, rudder	Ulin	Bogailaal	Ekailioth	Djudjuve [Jebwebwe]
To row, oar	Pogsai	Mamann	Fathell	Girgagi [Korkaakiia]

- 1 Or a similar piece of iron.
- 2 A sharpened muscle shell, and our knife.
- 3 Cf. Stone.
- 4 In the form of a ship.
- 5 A kind of stuff made of the fibres of the Banana plant.
- 6 Ed. note: That is, the loin-cloth.
- 7 Ed. note: Normally written "rang."
- 8 What carries the outrigger.
- 9 With fwich the apron is tied.
- 10 And the stern of a boat under sail.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
Driving with the current ...		Kaiiau	Sasol	Esisāsalog
To wreck ...		Obogail	Eckail	Emarungerung
To turn ...		Mup	Thou	Ribadi
To tack ¹ ...	Teltel	Tattagul	Arbuluul	
Pieces of tortoise-shell, a kind of currency	Lailai			
Thin pieces of tortoise-shell ²	Alas			
Bathing/swimming (men)	Numango	Menong	Evoloch	Aū [Ao]
To dive	Lumuuf	Mulit	Esúlong	Esúloch [Tulok]
To rise again	Kahulu	Farangalang	Ewāsach	Oaloch [Watok, ato]
The sun	Addau	Al	Al	Al [Al]
The moon ³	Pulan	Pul	Moram	Alling [Allon]
The stars	Putiun	Tuv	Fiss	Idiu [Iju]
The Polar-star	...	Fissimogedigit	Fissimogedigit	Lemannemann [Limanman]
The morning	Aggaan	Kairagan	Eral	Eral
The mid-day	Talluani	Kaimesu	Tajet	Tajet
The evening	Pupoeni	Kaiiau	Thasuleal	Thülog
The night	Poeni	Kainep	Ebong	Ebong [Bon]
A day	Haani			
A year	...	Wosu	Sewarak	Sewarak
Day before yesterday	Nigabrija	...	Talanginglallau/... ⁴	
Yesterday		Nigab	Fanop	Lallau/Lalo Inné [Inne]
To-day	Paagu	...	Ralai/...	Ebong
To-morrow	Agupa	Chabul	Lao/Walasu	Ildiu [Iju]
Day after tomorrow	Agupanja	Langelat	Salangin/Watalangin	Tjagalat
The third day	...	...	Watalangin/...	
The seventh day	...	...	Ranalal	

Observations: The time in Radack, Ulea, and Eap, is calculated according to the number of nights and moons, (on the Marian Islands, by the day and moon. The Sandwich Islanders, also count by the nights Po). *Ebong* is likewise used in Radack for to-day. The word which we have taken for a year (12 months), has remained very doubtful to us.

The days of the month on Ulea, according to Kadu.

1st Lingiling	7th Mesevel	13th Olomoal	19th Sopatemir	25th Ereve
2d Sigaur	8th Mesavol	14th Alat	20th Ortevalan	26th Eii
3d Mesul	9th Mesalu	15th Ir	21st Olabugi	27th Erevi
4th Meseven	10th Tjabong	16th Ladi	22d Olahué	28th Euu
5th Neselim	11th Alabugi	17th Gilei	23d Olamahé	29th Evan
6th Mesaul	12th Olobon	18th Kaira	24th Tamalaval	30th Etav

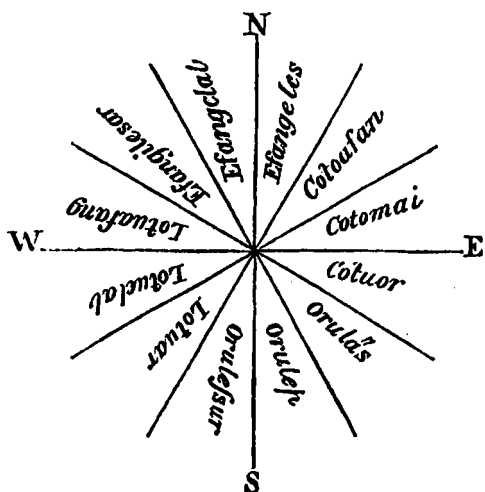
1 And thence, on account of its going here and there.

2 On a string, another kind of currency. *Alas*, from the Spanish "aljahas," meaning valuables.

3 A month of 30 days.

4 According to Don Luis de Torres (first half below), and according to Kadu (second half).

**The twelve principal points
of the Compass at Ulea,
according to Don Luis de Torres.**



**Course of the canoe in Ulea,
according to the same.**

Between W. & E. toward N. [i.e. Northward]: Puc.
Between E. & W. to S. [i.e. Southward]: Puilung.
Between N. & S. to E. [i.e. Eastward]: Puilag.
Between S. & N. to W. [i.e. Westward]: Puitug.

**The Cardinal Points according to sun's place
to the different times of the day at Ulea,
from the same.**

The Morning: Nissur.
The Noon: Egwol.
The Evening: Eppong.

Half Rhumbs, being the numbers to 24. They are called by the following names according to the two between which they lie: Efanglab caululor Efangeles. Efangeles caululor Cotoafan, etc.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
North	Timi	Laélot	Maévan	Wasogien
South	Seplun	Imut	Majürr	Wasogrick
East	Manuu	Ngaäck	Mattaral	Kasu
West	Fanlipan	Ngal	Mäleso	Kasusogepiling
The sky	Langin	Lang	Lang	Lang [Lan]
The wind	Mangeu	Niveng	Äang	Githu [Koto]
The sea	Tahsi	Não	Lao	No
The flood	...	Fasach	Fasach	Aäthagk [Aetak]
The ebb	...	Eisowil	Wisowil	Aätho [Aeto]
The current	...	Eatsch	Eath	Aäthagk [Aet]
The breakers	...	Tanna	Faleram	Thiwanegelinig
To throw out	...	Kaipah	Sapat	Eotheck
Land, island ¹	Tahno	Wunau	Valti	Enni [Ane]
Low island group ²	Tahno	Lügülling	Lügüllong	Aäleng [Aelon]
Situation inside ³	...	...	...	Iar [Iar]
Situation outside ⁴	...	Illüch	Illüch	Iligieth

- 1 And a territory within an inland.
- 2 Ed. note: In other words, an atoll.
- 3 In the interior, or inner sea [i.e. in the lagoon].
- 4 In the exterior, or on the outer sea [i.e. outside the lagoon].

A passage ¹	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
A mountain	...	Thibutol	Thau	Tjer
A river	Alumtano	Taït	...	...
A water pit ²	Saddug	Lull	...	...
Sweet water	...	Rahn	Tahl	Ranlibul [Ron-]
Fire	Hanum	Munum	Eliimi	Ira
To kindle ³	Guafi	Nevi	Eaf	Gidieg [Kijeek]
Smoke	Assu	Muruweg	Fissigi	Dilé & Thilé
Clouds	Mapagahis	Athanenevi	Oath	Oath ⁴
Fog	...	Thaami	Tharami	Thaami
Rain	Utjan	Thap	Thap	Thap ⁵
The rainbow	Issa	Nu	Uth	Uth [-uut]
The thunder	Hulu	Laulüor	Laulüor	Tamäluth
Lightning	Lamlamm ⁶			
Earthquake	Linau	Hirru	Fullamar	...
A path, way	Tjalan	Ua	leal	lal [lal]
A stone	Atju	Malang	Vas	Ragha [Deka]
Fall, said of things	...	Emul	Eponloch	Ewonloch [Wotlok]
A herb, tree, shrub, also forest	...	Pan	Oluel	Mar [Mar]
A tree	Uddunhadju			
The trunk of a tree, wood	Hadju			
The root	Hali	Likangèn	Oagar	Oagar [Okar]
The leaf	Hagun	Imm, or luan	Teúl	Pellepel [Palli-]
The flower	Tschinali	Oamangin	Ual	Länn
To plant or sow	...	Miong	Fasagü	Gallub [Kkat?]
To dig up the root	Haali			
Work	...	...	Engang	Mariliir
An herb	Papaguan			
The pandanus, its fruit	...	Ner	Faht	Wob, etc. ⁷
The bast fibres of the cocoa nut ⁸	...	Thaivu	Pajö	Aé

1 Ed. note: Or pass, through the reef.

2 Ed. note: Or fresh-water pond.

3 Ed. note: No words given in any language.

4 Ed. note: Error for "rain" = Wot.

5 Ed. note: Error for "fog" = Tab.

6 I.e. shining.

7 Wob is the masculine tree; Digar, the wild; Eruan, the cultivated varieties; Bugar, Bugien, Eilugk, Undaim, Erugk, Lerro, Adiburik, Eideboton, Eremamugk, Tabenebogk, Radiledil, Tumulisien, Lugulugubelan, Aodian, Ulidien, &c. The sweet meat Moghan prepared from the juice.

8 Also to clean the nut from them [i.e. the coir, to husk].

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
Cocoa, the tree and the nut	Nidju	Niu	Ni	Ni [Ni]
The bread-fruit tree and its fruit	Lemmai	Ethau	Mä	Mä [Ma]
The banana	Tjodha	Pao	Ut	Kaibaran [Keepran]
<i>Arum esculentum</i>	...	Mal	Eoth	Kadack
<i>Arum sagittifolium</i>	...	Ulack	Wulach	Jerat
<i>Arum macrothizon</i>	...	Lai	Villa	Woth [Wotaad]
<i>Tacca pinnatifida</i> ¹	***2	Mogemug	Mogemug	Mogemug
<i>Hibiscus populueus</i> ³...	...	Gahl	Giliven	Lo [Lo]
A branch, with useful bast	...	Aromä	Aromä	Aromä
A plant ⁴	..	Korach	Kärqach	Alahat
<i>Curcuma</i>	...	...	Gutol	Eong ...
<i>Bambus</i>	...	Mor	Wowau	...
<i>Areca catechu</i> ⁵	...	Bu	...	...
<i>Caryophyllus aromaticus</i> ...	...	Tongach	...	...
A kind of sweet potatoe ...	...	Rämot	...	...
Our quadrupeds ⁶	...	...	...	Giru ⁷ .
Hogs	Babui ⁸	...	...	...
Cats (Spanish)	...	Gato	Gato	...
Rats	...	Warro	Git	Gidirik [Kijdik]
The train or tail of an animal	...	Wuck	Patal	Logon [Lokwa]
The sea turtle	...	Woel	Woal	Uen [Won]
Great lizards	Iguana	Kaluv	...	...
Lizards	...	Athavaruru	Purupur	Uioe [Wiawe]
A fish	Guihan	Nich	Igk	Igk [Eg]
To swim	Numango	Kajen	Illoch	Illoch
A dolphin	...	Gätich	Gui	Gui [Ke]
A shark	...	Kojong	Paghu	Paghu [Pako]
Ray ⁹	...	...	...	Samuso, Thotho
The flying-fish	Gaga	Kogk	Mongar	... [Jojo]
Triton's horn shell	...	Babul	Tau	Silimaré ¹⁰
Sea hedgehog	...	...	Mugol	Mugol
A bird	...	Eretä	Girigagk	Waó [Bao]
To fly	Gumupu	Gaitomgagk	Elsoch	Gásach [Ka-]

1 Ed. note: The arrowroot.

2 A place at Guahon is called Mungemung.

3 Ed. note: The laurel shrub.

4 *Triumfetta procumbens*.

5 Ed. note: Betel-nut palm.

6 In the Pelew Islands, Oxen are called *Ming*, Goats, *Gaming*.

7 To compare with Gh-uri, the day in New Zealand, and in the Friendly Islands. Ed. comment: Perhaps a reference to the "noisy" pigs (keroro)

8 As in the Tagalese.

9 Resembling *Raga Pastinaca* or *Raga Aquila*.

10 A general denomination for shell is wanting.

	<i>Chamori.</i>	<i>Eap.</i>	<i>Ulea.</i>	<i>Radack.</i>
Feather	...	Fath	Ulellemell	Emmerim
Nest	...	Taggil	Fa	Rong
Eggs	...	Fagk	Fathiel	Lip [Lep]
To hatch	...	Bernasakein	Eponfathiel	Wavulerong
The cock	...	Nümen	Mallich	Kahu [Kako]
The hen	...	Nümenewupin	Malugofeivil	Lala [Lolo]
The frigate [bird]	...	Molov	Gutaf	Agk [Baak]
An ant	Kallep [Kallep]

SONGS OF RADACK

1.

(Sung by Women)

∴ Esülog o no logo dildinu
Oalog o no logo dildinu ∴
dildinemduon!

∴ Dive in the sea six times,
Rise from the sea six times, (repeated six times)
Seven times!

2.

Wongusagelig, the Chief of Ligiep, headed his boats and people, to join Lamaray at Aur, when those of Meduro and Arno made war upon him. The first part of the Song represents his departure from Ligiep; the second, his arrival at Aur.

Wónguságelig	Wongusagelig
∴: Agaratéragerig	Goes under sail;
lligiéth a lomá	On the beach the people throng!
„ Wágeság diwón.	Shift the sails round!
„ Ribadi aálénginé!	Strike we not on the reef!
Esisásalóg!	Land out of sight!
Aätho! Aätho!	Ebb! Ebb!
Wónguságelig! ∴:	Wongusagelig, (repeated.)
Eaálnewarasach:	And there resounds the command,
„ Sellesi inneseo!	Keep the boats together!
„ Eyeweapwesog	There dashes the wave surely in!
„ Tjabogén djudjuvé! djudjuvé! djudjuvé!	To the boat before steer! steer! steer!
djudjuvé! djudjuvé! djudjuvé!	steer! steer! steer!
„ Emarrúngerúng aäthagín!”	Carries away us, the flood!”

END OF SECOND VOLUME

The Mariana Islands.—Guahon.

The Mariana islands form a volcanic chain, lying in a direction from north to south. The volcanoes and the seat of the subterraneous fire are in the north of the chain, where barren, burnt rocks are enumerated among the islands.

In Guahon, the most southern of them, and, at the same time, the largest and most considerable, only slight shocks of earthquakes are felt. Guahon appears, from the N.E. side, a tolerably high level land, the shores of which are rugged precipices. The neighbourhood of the eminences and town bear a different character, and have lofty hills and beautiful vallies.

We found no other kind of rock but madrepores, calcareous spar, and limestone.

The island is well wooded; the Flora appears to be rich, and the vegetation luxuriant. The forests descend on the sloping shores to the sea; and different kinds of *Rhizophora* bathe, in covered places, their foliage in the waves. Nothing can equal the aromatic odour which wafted to us on our arrival over the surf, when we were seeking an anchorage. The orange-trees, like other fruit-trees of various kinds, are grown wild; memorials of a former more flourishing cultivation. Many foreign plants have amply increased the Flora; for example, the prickly *Limonia trifoliata*, which cannot now be checked, and the *Indigofera tinctoria*, which nobody understands how to turn to advantage. The bread-fruit tree, the cocoa, the plantain, are here in abundance; the *Magnifera indica* has been planted, but has not yet become naturalized. We found only the different kinds of plants which are common on the continent of Asia, and the islands of the Great Ocean; for example, the *Barringtonia speciosa*, and the *Casuarina equisetifolia*. We missed the following kinds, growing in New Holland, the *Proteaceæ*, *Epærideæ*, *Myrtoideæ*, and acacia, with simple leaves. We met here with most of the plants growing in Radack, of which we afterwards missed several in Luzon, for example, the *Tacca pinnatifida*, which, though naturalized and planted in Cochin China, seems to be wanting in Manilla. There are two different sorts of pandanus, and several fig-trees.

Besides bats, (we found the *Vampyrus*;) the only original native quadruped is the rat, which is so generally spread over all the islands of the South Sea. The Spaniards have introduced, besides our common domestic animals, of which we did not find any there, the guanaco from Peru, and a stag from the Philippines; the stag, during the time of the Governor D. Thomas [sic].¹ Many of these animals have now run wild in several of the islands. There are some different kinds of land-birds, and, among others, a hawk. We observed among the amphibia, an iguana, and a large sea-turtle; among the zoophytes, some of the *Holothuria* species, which furnish, under the name of *Trepang* (*Biche de mer, balate*), such an important article in the trade with China.

¹ Ed. note: Rather Governor Mariano Tobias, in 1771. Reports about South American guanacos are simply hearsay; I have not found a single capture reported, much less an official report as to their presence.

...
[Chamisso's repetitions of Fr. LeGobien and Capt. Burney's error-filled histories are not repeated here.]

...
But the Christian descendants of those who escaped the ruin of their race, and survived their independence, have lost all the peculiarities of their ancestors, all their arts, and, for the most part, forgotten their language.¹

This people belongs to the family who, related by character, customs, and arts, and connected by commerce and navigation, inhabit the islands east of the Philippines, as far as the one hundred and eightieth degree of longitude. This mild and amiable people are not low in the scale of civilization, and the inhabitants of the Marianas were not inferior to their brethen.

They equalled, at least, in navigation, the most skilful of the Carolinians.² The still existing works of their art of building in Tinian and Saypan, prove that they were in this respect superior to others, and we have discovered something among their antiquities, which seems to indicate the immense advance they had made in civilization before all the other islanders of the Great Ocean. We speak of the invention of money. We have seen ourselves the objects we describe; and explain them on the authority of our friend Don Luis de Torres, the friend of the Indians, and who is perfectly acquainted with their manners.

On a coarse cord of cocoa-bast [i.e. coir] are stringed pieces of tortoise-shell, of the form of a button, but as thin as paper, pressed to each other, and extremely polished by rubbing. The whole forms a pliable roll or cylinder about the thickness of a finger, and several feet in length.

These cords are said to have been current as a means of commercial intercourse, and but a very few chiefs had the right to manufacture and issue them.

Plates of tortoise-shell, of the large sea-turtle, are differently pierced in the middle with a large hole, and on the broad thin edge with several smaller holes, or they have only one hole in the middle.

Whoever, probably in swimming, had killed a turtle, (in reality a very hazardous adventure), brought a plate of the mail to the chief, who, according to the circumstances of the deed and the assistance received in performing it, bored holes in it; the fewer of them the greater was the value. Such trophies then gave the owner a certain right to exchange them, according to established customs, for other property, and passed, in a certain manner, as means of commerce and signs of value.

1 Ed. note: Chamisso's conclusion, based as it were on bad facts, is also wanting.

2 Ed. note: At this point, Chamisso reminds us that published accounts of the proas of the Marianas were often exaggerated, and not always correct; in fact, they sailed with the outrigger on the lee-side, and the flat side of the hull was on the same side as the outrigger.

While the islanders of Guahon, says Crozet, acquired new information by their civilization, they had no improvement to make with respect to the building of their boats, the art of doing which they had inherited from their fathers, and perfectly retained.¹

Shall we credit this assertion as that of former navigators? It is now quite altered since the time of Anson (1742), and Duclesmeur (1772). The present inhabitants no longer know the sea, are no mariners, no swimmers; they have ceased to build boats. They now scarcely hollow out, without skill, the trunks of trees to fish within the breakers. It is the inhabitants of the Carolinas, (Lamureck, Ulea, &c.) who, since the pilot Luito from Lamureck, in 1788, re-discovered Waghah (Guahon) for his islands, come every year, since 1805, with a trading fleet to Guahon, and provide the Spaniards with the requisite boats, which they build on their islands, in exchange for iron. It is also they who, in their own boats, forward the messages from the governor to Tinian and Saypan, and maintain the otherwise difficult communication between the Mariana islands.

There are here at present about ten or twelve of these Carolinian boats, and nobody remembers that similar ones were ever built at Guahon. Have not foreign boats deceived former navigators? Carolinian boats have been cast here in all times, and particularly, in the year 1760-70, a boat from Eap, for so far our accounts, founded on recollection, go back.

The present inhabitants of Guahon have been transformed into Spaniards.² They live and dress like the Tagalese about Manilla, cultivate rice for present use, prepare and drink the cocoa wine, chew the betel, and smoke tobacco, indolently enjoying, to an advanced age,³ the fruits of the forest, the produce of the fertile earth, and the bounty of heaven.

And how should industry flourish? The Governor of this distant part of the world receives his office for only a short time as a sort of benefice. He has the sole trade of the colony, that is, he retains the considerable sums, in ready money,⁴ which Spain sends for salaries, and for that is bound to give his inferior officers as little and as bad goods as he pleases.⁵ On the other hand, the Indian pays no tribute, cultivates his own tobacco, and has not to enrich the church by tithes.

The galleons from Acapulco now touch but very seldom at Guahon, and, now and then only, the Americans trading on the N.W. coast of America. The present Governor

1 *Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud, par Marion et Duclesmeur, Rédigé sur les Plans et les Journeaux de M. Crozet*, p. 204.

2 We expressed a wish to be acquainted with the peculiar manners, plays, dances, of the natives; and the Governor had an opera ballet of Montezuma performed before us, in theatrical costumes, which have been, since old times, in the college, in which were the Schools of the Jesuits.

3 A robust old man, of eighty-six years four months old, lives in Agaña, with his equally aged wife, the only companion of his youth and age; they have about them 135 descendants, down to the 6th generation.

4 About 18,000 piasters [i.e. pesos] annually, a sum for which we will, however, not vouch. Ed. comment: Money had already stopped coming from Mexico by 1813 (see Doc. 1814C).

5 Zuffiga, p. 6.

of the Marianas, has a ship of his own, a handsome brig, with which he keeps up an intercourse, and the necessary trade with Manilla, and carries on, besides this, the trade of the *Biches de mer*. He has begun to encourage the Carolinians to bring him this article, which is frequent on their islands, as his pilot, an Englishman,¹ has refused to fetch them on account of the dangerous reefs. This step may have a very great and beneficial influence on the farther civilization of these islanders.

The Jesuits, till the abolishment of their order, remained in possession of the missions which they had founded in the Marianas. They consigned to the flames a part of their books and papers when the Augustines came to succeed them, and then abandoned the field. As there has, for some time, been a want of missionaries, the spiritual care of the Marianas has been given to secular priests. The islands are divided into two parishes; that of Agaña and that of Rota, which latter includes a part of Guahon. Both of them are properly under the bishop of Cebu; who, on account of the too great distance, leaves the administration of them to the archbishop of Manilla.

The parish priests are young Tagalese from Manilla; for whom the Spanish language is sufficient for their duty. They live in Agaña, in the building of the mission.

On the island of Rota there is now a fixed settlement, under the superintendance of an officer, while, on the contrary, there are no habitations on the island of Tinian: it is only visited for the cultivation of rice. We were informed that there were in Tinian, oxen, hogs, and goats; in Saypan, oxen and hogs; and in Agrigan, hogs and goats, in a wild state.

Several Carolinians who have received baptism have settled at Guahon; we found but a few of them there at the time. Some had obtained permission from the Governor to visit their friends in their islands, and had gone there in the preceding year, with the fleet from Lamureck.

[How Hawaiians came to Guam]

It still remains to be explained why natives of the Sandwich islands can be counted among the inhabitants of Guahon on the annexed table (see Doc. 1817H).

The reader has found, in another part of this Voyage, a circumstantial account of the kidnapping of the people from Easter Island, which was perpetrated by the captain of an American ship, with violence and bloodshed, for the purpose of founding a settlement on the Galapagos islands.

The trade of this ocean makes it desirable for the navigators who possess it, to have similar settlements on the more eastern islands. Their connection with the Sandwich islands renders the stealing of people easy there; and the island of Agrigan, one of the

1 Ed. note: His name was Robert Wilson.

most northern of the Marianas, seemed to be particularly adapted for such a settlement, though it is mountainous, unfit for cultivation, and cannot even feed oxen; and affords no protected anchoring-place.

Captain Brown, was in Atooi in the year 1809 or 1810.¹ On this island, he was joined by Mr. Johnson, ship-builder to the king, who had fallen into disgrace, on account of an accident which had happened to a ship. They weighed anchor during the night, and carried off fifteen women who were on board. They approached the island of Onee-heow. A boat brought refreshments from shore. It was expected: seven men who were in it were taken on board, the boat was then hoisted up, and they directed their course to Agrigan. They missed the island; it was to the north: not to lose time in contending against the wind, they attempted to land on a southern island. They did so at Tinian, where they remained in two parties. One party, consisting of Johnson, with four men, and the Sandwich islanders, were to build a boat to sail to Agrigan; the other party, composed of the second mate of the ship, with three men, who had been discharged, intended to convert a long-boat, which they had bought off the captain, into a ship, for the purpose of carrying on commercial speculations on these seas. The Sandwich boat was left behind: both parties went over to Saypan, which island afforded better timber, and there carried on their work. But the Sandwich islanders remembered their liberty, vengeance, and their country. When the mate had finished his vessel, which they intended to make use of to return home, they took advantage, when the party was dispersed and unarmed, to fall upon them; the mate and one white were killed: war raged.

It was, in the mean time, made known in Guahon, that there were strangers in Saypan and Tinian; the Governor, D. Alexandro Parreño, sent thither, and it was in the course of these bloody combats, that, in June 1810, Johnson, with four whites, two negroes, the seven Sandwich islanders, and the fifteen women, were brought to Guahon, where he himself still remains.

In May 1815, by command of the captain-general of the Philippines, D. José Gardoqui, a settlement on Agrigan was broken up, and nearly forty men, of whom one was an American, three Englishmen, and the rest Sandwich islanders, brought to Guahon.

It is well known, from authentic information, that there is already a new settlement on Agrigan. In pursuance of the present order of the captain-general, no obstacle is to be thrown in the way of the settlement; the settlers are only to acknowledge the supremacy of Spain; and a Spaniard is to be sent as chief magistrate. Nobody has, however, yet been sent.

...

1 Ed. note: Judge Howay, in his *List of Trading Vessels*, says that the **Derby** was a 300-ton ship built at Salem in 1803, and was in command of Captain Benjamin Swift when she left Boston in September 1806. She was reported in California and on the NW Coast in 1807. Her instructions were for her to continue trading there in 1808. Therefore, her arrival at Tinian likely took place in 1809.



Kadu, the Carolinian friend of Chamisso. *From a watercolor by Louis Choris (In the Honolulu Academy of Arts).*

Respecting our knowledge of the first province of the Great Ocean.

Editor's notes: In Chamisso's mind, the first province of the Great Ocean is what we now call Micronesia. As a reminder, the Sandwich Is. are the Hawaiian Is.; Guahon is Guam; Pelew is Palau; Eap is Yap; Feis is Fais; Ulea is Woleai; Setoan is Satawal; Nugor is Lugunor (not Magur, nor Nukuoro); Tuch is Truk (now written Chuuk); Radack is Ratak (Marshall Is.), Bygar is Bikar, etc.

...

As we are now going to communicate the information respecting the islanders and people of this province in particular, derived from our own experience, and the information we have collected, this seems to be the place to give an account of the new authorities which we have to adduce.

These are the communications of our friend and companion Kadu, and those of Don Luis de Torres of Guahon, which are a supplement to Cantova's letter and chart.

[The story of Kadu]

It was at the beginning of the year 1817, in the extreme east of this province, in the group of Otdia and Kawen, on the island-chain of Radack, that we formed an acquaintance, and confirmed our friendship, with the amiable people who inhabit it. When we were afterwards sailing to the group of Aur, of the same chain of islands, the natives came in their boats to meet us. As soon as we had cast anchor, and they came on board, a man stepped out from among them, who was distinguished from the others in many respects. He was not regularly tattooed like the Radackers, but wore indistinct figures of fish and birds, singly and in rows, round the knee, on the arms and on the shoulders. He was of a more compact make, and of a lighter colour, and had more curly hair than they. He addressed us in a language that was quite different from that of Radack, and sounded entirely foreign to us, and we were equally unsuccessful in making him understand the language of the Sandwich islands. He made us comprehend that he intended to remain in our ship, and to accompany us in all our future voyages. His request was readily complied with. From that hour he remained on board our ship, and only once, at Aur, went on shore, with permission, and remained with us, a faithful companion, treated like the officers, beloved by every one, till our return to Radack, when, suddenly changing his intention, he resolved to settle there, to become an inhabitant, and to be a distributor of our gifts to our poor friends. Nobody could be more thoroughly sensible of the humane object of our mission than he was.

Kadu, a native of the island-group of Ulea, to the south of Guahon, not of noble birth, but a confidant of his king, Toua, who employed him to carry his commissions to the other islands, had on former voyages become acquainted with the chain of islands with which Ulea trades, from the Pelew islands in the west to Setoan in the east. He was on his last voyage from Ulea to Feis, with two of his countrymen and a chief from Eap, who was returning to his native place, when storms drove the boat from her course. The mariners, if we may credit their very uncertain reckoning, drifted about in the open sea for eight months. Their scanty stock of provisions lasted them three months; for five months they lived without fresh water, merely on the fish they caught. To alleviate their thirst, Kadu dived into the depth of the ocean, and brought up in a

cocoa shell cooler water, which, according to their opinion, was likewise less salty. The north-east monsoon at length blew them on the group of Aur, of the Radack chain, where they fancied themselves west of Ulea. Kadu had received information from an old man in Eap of Radack and Ralick; some mariners from Eap are said to have been once cast upon Radack on the group of Aur, from whence they found their way back, by way of Nugor and Ulea, to Eap. The names of Radack and Ralick were also known to a native of Lamureck, whom we met with at Guahon. Boats from Ulea and the surrounding islands are frequently cast upon the eastern island chains, and there are still living on the group of Arno, of the Radack chain, five natives of Lamureck, whom a similar fate brought there in the same manner.

The chiefs of Radack protected the strangers against the rapacity of their people, whose avarice was excited by the iron which they possessed. The more noble sentiments are always found among the chiefs.

The inhabitants of Ulea, who live in greater prosperity and have a more extensive trade than the Radackers, are in many respects superior to them. Kadu enjoyed a certain consideration at Radack. When we visited these islands, he might have arrived there about four years before. He had two wives at Aur, and had a daughter by one of them, who was just beginning to speak.

Our appearance caused terror and consternation at Aur, where no information had yet been received respecting us. The experienced Kadu, who was at that time on a distant island of the group, was immediately sent for, and they desired his advice how they should treat the mighty strangers, whom they were inclined to consider as wicked cannibals.

Kadu had learned much about the Europeans without ever having seen one of their ships. He encouraged his friends, warned them against theft, and accompanied them to our ship with the firm resolution to remain with us, hoping through us to see his dear native country again, as an European ship had once been at Ulea at a time when he was absent.¹

One of his countrymen, and companion in misfortune, who was with him, tried in vain to dissuade him from his purpose, and his other friends, equally in vain, assailed him with anxious representations: he was immovable. Another companion of Kadu, the chief of Eap, whom we met with in the suite of king Lamary, at Udirick, conceived the same resolution, the same hope as our friend. He was a weak venerable old man; his request was not attended to. It was difficult to persuade him to leave the ship, where he persisted in remaining in tears, in the composed attitude by which he meant to make us sensible of his resolution. We represented to him his age, and the fatigues of our voyage; he remained inflexible. We then told him that our stock was taken in only for a certain number of people: he proposed to us to leave our friend Kadu here, and take him in his stead.

¹ Ed. note: The U.S. ship **Mary** in 1804.

We cannot but commend the easy and becoming manner in which Kadu conformed to our customs; it was difficult for him to understand the new situation in which he was placed. He, a man of low rank, was suddenly placed among strangers so superior in power and wealth, treated like one of their officers, waited upon by the sailors in the same manner as the captain. We will not conceal the mistakes into which he sometimes fell, but which he so quickly and easily corrected, that they merited no severe reproof. When, shortly after he was received among us, chiefs from Radack came on board, he treated them with haughtiness, and assumed a behaviour which became only them. Some innocent raillery on their part was no more than he deserved: it never occurred a second time. He, at first, tried to imitate the walk and the manners of the captain, but gave it up of himself. It is not remarkable that he should, at first, consider the sailors as slaves. He once ordered the waiter to bring him a glass of water; the latter took him by the arm, led him to the water-butt, and gave him the cup out of which the others drank. He reflected, and studied our relations, and the spirit of our manners, to which he soon learned to conform, and to adopt our behaviour at table, as well as in general.

Kadu learned only by degrees the power of our spirituous liquors; some of us imagined that he, at the beginning, got the sailors to give him brandy. Some time after, when a sailor was punished, he was told that it was because he had privately taken some of the fire (the name which he gave to brandy). He never after drank brandy; and wine, of which he was very fond, but with great moderation. The sight of drunken men at Oonalashka made him carefully keep a guard upon himself.

At the beginning he adjured the winds in our favour, according to the custom of Eap; we laughed, and he soon laughed himself at these adjurations, which he afterwards only repeated in joke, to amuse us.

Kadu had feeling, sense, and wit; the more we became acquainted with him, the more partial we were to him. We found in his amiable character only a certain indolence to contend with, which counteracted our views; he only liked either to sing or sleep.

When we tried to draw from him information about the islands which he had visited, or respecting which he had some knowledge, he merely answered the questions which we put to him; and unwillingly the same question a second time, referring to what he had previously said. When, in the course of conversation, new particulars were mentioned, which we reproached him for having concealed, he coolly answered: "You did not ask me that before;" and besides this, his memory was not correct. His recollections revived by degrees, as occasion called them forth, and it appeared to us also, that the multitude and diversity of the objects which drew his attention effaced earlier impressions. The songs, in different languages, which he sung, and which he learned from the people among whom he had resided, served him, as it were, as a book, in which he sought explanation or confirmation of his assertions.

Kadu kept his journal by moons, for which he made a knot in a string; this journal appeared to us to be very irregularly kept, and we could not understand his reckoning. He was not inept at learning, nor without curiosity. He seemed to comprehend what we endeavoured to explain to him, respecting the figure of the earth, and the art of na-

vigation; but he had no perseverance, was soon tired, and went back to his songs. He took some trouble to learn writing, the secret of which he comprehended, but was not able to succeed in this difficult task. What we said to encourage him, perhaps, had a contrary effect. He interrupted his attempts, took them up again, and, at last, renounced them entirely.

He appeared readily to understand what we told him respecting the social institutions of Europe; of our manners, customs, and arts; but what most struck him, was the peaceable chivalrous nature of our voyage, with which he connected in intention to teach the new-discovered people what might be good and useful to them. By this, it is true, he chiefly understood what served for food; but he was also sensible that our superiority depended upon our greater knowledge in general; and he assisted, to the utmost of his power, our researches, where they would have appeared very idle, even to many of the better informed among ourselves.

When we arrived at Oonalashka, and he had contemplated this sterile country, entirely destitute of trees, he hastened to request us to plant some cocoa-nuts, which we had still on board, and to which he offered to add some belonging to himself, in suitable locations; he urged us to make the trial, representing the misery of the inhabitants, and was with difficulty persuaded that it would be quite useless. Nature, above all, attracted his attention and curiosity. The oxen in Oonalashka, which, for the first time, put him in mind that he had seen them before on the Pelew islands, constantly employed him, and he went every day into the fields to look at them. On the whole voyage nothing gave him more pleasure than the sight of sea-lions and sea-bears on St. George's island.¹

As Kadu, during the voyage, never neglected carefully to collect pieces of iron, broken glass, and every thing overlooked by us, which might be valuable to his countrymen, he looked on the shore at Oonalashka chiefly for stones, which might serve for whet-stones. We only once saw this mild man angry; it was when, in the course of our voyage, he looked to no purpose for these stones in the place in the ship where he had put them, and his complaint met with little attention; his sense of justice was wounded.

Kadu, in his poverty, was generous and grateful. He served such of us as made him presents; and made use of the opportunity at Owhyee, by the barter which he judiciously made with the little articles which we had given him, to make presents to us and the sailors who had obliged him, such as might be agreeable to each. He retained nothing for himself, except that with which he intended one day to enrich or to please his countrymen: thus he had left every thing he possessed to his friends at Radack; all but one treasure, a necklace, which he wore for a long time among us. One day, smiling,

1 When, after returning on board from the island of St. George, we conversed about the sea-lions, in humourously imitating the voice and gait of which Kadu amused himself and us, he was asked, with apparent seriousness, whether he had looked at the nests and eggs, under the rocks on the sea shore. However little versed he might be in the Natural History of Mammalia, the question surprised him, and he soon discovered that it was a joke, which made him laugh heartily.

with a tear in his eyes, he entrusted us with the secret of this necklace: he fought at Tabual (an island in the group of Aur of the Radack chain) in the ranks of his friends against the enemy, who came from Meduro and Arno; there he gained the advantage over his opponent, and was about to pierce him as he lay at his feet, when his daughter rushed forward and seized his arm; she obtained of him her father's life. This girl promised him her love; Kadu privately brought her considerable presents to her island; and he wore, for her sake, this pledge of love which she had given him on the field of battle.

We must particularly mention two traits in Kadu's character, his utter aversion to war, murder, and his delicate modesty, which did him honour, and which he never violated while among us.

Kadu abhorred bloodshed, though he was no coward. He had on his breast scars of the wounds which he had received in the war in defence of Radack; and as we were preparing our arms for landing on the island of St. Lawrence, and he was informed that this was not out of an hostile intention, but for self-defence, in case of danger among a people with whose sentiments we were not acquainted, and with whom we merely wished to deal to our mutual advantage, he demanded a sword, with which he might defend us if attacked, as he had not sufficiently practised firing with the musket while at Oonalashka.

With respect to the other sex, Kadu maintained a reserve worthy of praise. He remained at a distance from women who had other husbands; he, in fact, possessed great notions of propriety. What he learned on Owhyee disgusted him, and he spoke freely of the want of good morals in the Pelew islands. When drawn into the free conversation of men, he always took part in such a manner as to keep within the strict bounds of decorum.

The most lively sense, and the greatest talent for wit, are found among those people who are the least remote from nature, where the mildness of the climate affords to man an easy and pleasant life. Kadu was particularly witty, but knew how to observe due limits in harmless pleasantry, and ingeniously contrived to conciliate by little services and presents those whom his raillery had offended.

Our friend often repeated in the course of our voyage, that he intended to remain with us to its destination, and even should we discover his dear Ulea, he would not quit us, but accompany us to Europe, from which we might promise him a passage home to Ulea, as the purposes of commerce regularly lead our ships to the Pelew islands, whither the boats of Ulea regularly trade. We ourselves were still unacquainted with the other way by Guahon, but he cherished the wish, and this might have been fulfilled at Guahon, to find an opportunity in one of the islands known to him of sending an account to Eap of the fate and the present residence of the chief of that island, his companion in misfortune at Radack; his idea was, that his countrymen should build a ship, and come there to fetch him. He seriously occupied himself with these ideas.

We endeavoured to collect useful animals and plants, layers, and seeds of various kinds, which we wished to introduce into Radack. Kadu knew very well that we in-

tended to call there, and remained firm to his determination; we advised him to inform himself of every thing that could be useful at Radack, that he might instruct our friends, and teach them what advantages they might derive from our gifts, and how to manage them. He entered into our plan it is true, but the object was too remote, and thoughtlessness and indolence caused him to reap in the abode of pleasure but little advantage, which he afterwards blamed himself for having neglected.¹

We arrived at Radack, and landed at Otdia amidst the shouts of our few friends who had not engaged in the war. Kadu was unwearied, and assiduously assisted us in planting, sowing, and managing the animals, and in explaining and instructing the natives in every thing necessary. He was then still firmly resolved to remain with us.

When every thing was ready at Otdia, Kadu went to Ormed, the island of the old chief Laergass, to plant there likewise a garden. In this excursion, which was undertaken in boats belonging to people of Radack, he was accompanied only by the writer of this account. At Ormed the day was spent in labour, and the evening in social conversation. The women sung to us the many songs which had been composed on us during our absence, and in which our names were commemorated. Kadu told them of his travels, and blended lively fables with his narration. He distributed among them the presents which he had collected in the course of his voyage for his friends. On the following day, the last of our stay at Radack, immediately when the boat which carried us back to the ship was under sail, Kadu, whose lively serenity was changed into gloom, declared that he was determined to remain at Otdia, and would go no farther with the **Rurick**. He expressly commissioned his friend to acquaint the captain with this new unalterable resolution, and declining all representations to the contrary, explained the reasons which actuated him. He said he would remain at Otdia to be the guardian of the animals and plants, which, without him, would be neglected out of ignorance, or be destroyed without any use to these unthinking people. He would bring it about, that our gifts might procure the needy inhabitants of Radack a sufficiency of food, that they might no more be obliged to kill their children, and renounce that custom. He wished to bring about, that peace might be established between the northern and southern groups of Radack, that men might not murder one another. He intended, when the animals and plants had sufficiently multiplied, to build a ship and go over to Ralick, and to communicate to that country the benefit of our gifts. He would ask from the captain, returning every thing he had received from him, only a spade to dig the ground, and some useful tools. He depended in his undertaking on the assistance of his countryman and companion in misfortune, for whom he would send to Aur, where he then resided. He was also to bring his daughter with him, who, as he now learned, was very melancholy since his absence, and would take no rest. His wives had taken other husbands, only his child was an object of his tenderest affection.

1 Kadu soon learned to converse with the people of Owhyee; and he himself made us remark the great similitude of several words in their language, with the language of the islands in the first province of the Great Ocean.

Kadu now regretted the many useful things which he had neglected to learn at Ow-hyee, and asked our advice in these last moments on several subjects, to which he paid the greatest attention.

The boat in which we performed this trip against the wind, was a bad sailer; the sun was already sinking to the horizon when we came up to the ship, and happily found the captain on board. When Kadu's resolution was made known, he saw himself instantly and unexpectedly in possession of immense riches, such as are the objects of desire to princes and people in this part of the world, **κμητον δε σιδηρον**.¹ The affection was made manifest which he enjoyed among us, and every one was seen busy in adding out of his own stock, to the heaps of iron, tools, and other useful things which had been collected for him. Specimens of mats and stuffs from Owhyee; patterns of straw-hats, &c. were not forgotten.

When Kadu was engaged in packing up his bed-clothes and linen, he carefully separated his winter clothes, and offered them as a present to the sailor who had attended him, which the latter however refused.

The sun had already set, when Kadu was brought on shore with his treasures. Time would not permit us to give him a written testimonial. Only an inscription on a copper-plate, nailed to a cocoa-tree at Otdia, records the name of the ship and the date.

Kadu was then installed before the assembled inhabitants of Otdia, as *our* man to whom our animals and our plantations were confided, and who besides was charged with our presents to Lamary. It was promised, that we, who had been already three times at Radack, should return after some time, to look after him, and to demand an account. As a confirmation of our promise, and as a sign of our power (for we had hitherto only given signs of mildness and friendship) we fired off two cannon and a sky-rocket when we returned late in the evening to our ship.

When we weighed anchor next morning, our friend and companion was employed with the animals on the shore, and frequently cast his eyes towards the departing vessel.

One of the songs which Kadu frequently sung among us, celebrated, in the language of Ulea, the names of Samuel Borman (he pronounced it Moremal) and Luis. This song referred to the European ship which visited Ulea at the time when Kadu was absent on his voyage. Waghah appeared in Kadu's account as a large country, where there were oxen, iron, and other riches in abundance, whither King Toua once made a voyage, and from whence he brought three cannon-balls (two-pounders).

As soon as we landed at Guahon, we recognized the Waghah in this island, and the Luis of that song came friendly to meet us in the person of Don Luis de Torres, from whom we copy the following account, while we recollect him with sincere love and gratitude.²

1 Ed. note: Henry Kratz, the modern translator of Chamisso's journal has found this Greek quotation to come from Homer's Iliad, 10, v. 379: **πολυκμητον τε σιδηρον** which means "iron wrought with fire."

2 Ed. note: This particular account has already been reproduced in Doc. 1804A.

...
Since the voyage of Don Luis, no new misfortune has interrupted the communication. The Carolinians coming to Guahon become yearly more numerous. Their fleet of boats from Ulea and the surrounding groups, consisting of Lamureck and Setoan, collects at Lamureck. The voyage is undertaken from thence in the month of April; the distance to Fayó, the desert island, where they stop for some days, ¹ is reckoned to be two day's voyage, and from Fayó to Guahon three days. They return likewise by way of Fayó and Lamureck. Their time to return is in May, at the latest in June, before the west monsoon, of which they are much afraid, sets in.

Kadu mentioned an undertaking of the chief of Faroilep, to sail directly from this group to Waghal (Guahon). He wandered long about the sea, and arrived at last at Mogemug, without having found that island, and thence he returned home.

The fleet once missed Guahon, and was driven under the lee of that island. The seamen discovered their error in time; and, after contending with the wind, reached their destination, only with some delay.

This long voyage was once undertaken in a very small boat, which carried only three men. It sailed better than the two large vessels that accompanied it. The seaman, Olopol, of Setoan, brought it as a present to Don Luis. Olopol died at Agaña, and we ourselves have seen the boat.

Toua,² the king of Ulea, came himself to Guahon in the year 1807.

It was also in this year, or in the following, that a boat, from the eastern island of Tuch was driven to Guahon. There were fifteen men on board; the pilot's name was Kulingan. The strangers were well received; but a procession, which took place during their stay, accompanied with salutes of artillery, spread fear and terror among them. They hid themselves in the wood; and in the same night, without any provisions, went again to sea. Fortunately, they met, in their flight, the fleet coming from Lamureck, which supplied them with provisions, and gave them the necessary directions for their voyage home.

The fleet, in 1814, consisted of 18 sail.

The Carolinians procure, at Guahon, iron, glass-beads, cloths, &c., in exchange for boats, shells,³ and curiosities: the *trepang* may become an important branch of commerce. They are received in the most hospitable manner by the natives, during their stay at Guahon.

Don Luis de Torres has undertaken, with pleasure, to inform Kadu's friends at Ulea of his misfortunes, and his present abode; and to send them our presents in his name.

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- 1 Ed. note: As Riesenbergh has discovered, this Fayó had been subsequently misplaced on modern charts, where it corresponds to the location now occupied by Gaferut.
 - 2 Don Luis de Torres calls him Roua, as he calls the island Rug, which we, according to kadu, write Tuch [i.e. Truk, or Chuuk].
 - 3 These shells, among which are some of the most beautiful kind, are sent by the Governor of Guahon to Manila; from which place they are procured for our museums and collections.

Don Luis de Torres has given us farther information of a large and high island, of an unknown name, which was seen by the brigantine **San Antonio** of Manilla, Captain Manuel Dublon, on her voyage from Manila to Guahon, on the 10th of December 1814, in 7°20' north latitude, 151°55' east longitude. There is a very high mountain on it.¹

We had heard Kadu sing a song of Feis, which related to a ship, with which the islanders had traded in sight of their island, though she did not stop there. It celebrated the names of José María, and Salvador. We learned at Guahon, that in the year 1808, or 1809, the **Modesto** of Manilla, Captain José María Fernandez, which looked for the Pelew islands, to collect *trepang*, had missed them, and come in sight of Feis. When the **Modesto** afterwards reached the Pelew islands, she met there one of the natives of Feis, with whom she had traded while at sea; to continue the commerce he had hastened on before the ship. Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, governor of the Mariana islands, was on board the **Modesto**. We tried, at Manilla, but in vain, to obtain further particulars respecting this voyage.²

We relate here an event, after our friend Kadu, which may excite some interest. Six white men, who wore clothes, once landed at Eap, in a small boat fastened together with wooden pegs, without any iron. This boat was, in other respects, made entirely in the European manner.³ The strangers were hospitably received. One of them, named Boëlé, was adopted as a son, by Laman, the chief of the territory of Kattepar.⁴ Boëlé remained on the island, when the five others, after a stay of a few months, went again to sea. Kadu, who shortly after came to Eap, became acquainted with this Boëlé. He went naked on the island, and was tattooed on the thighs.⁵

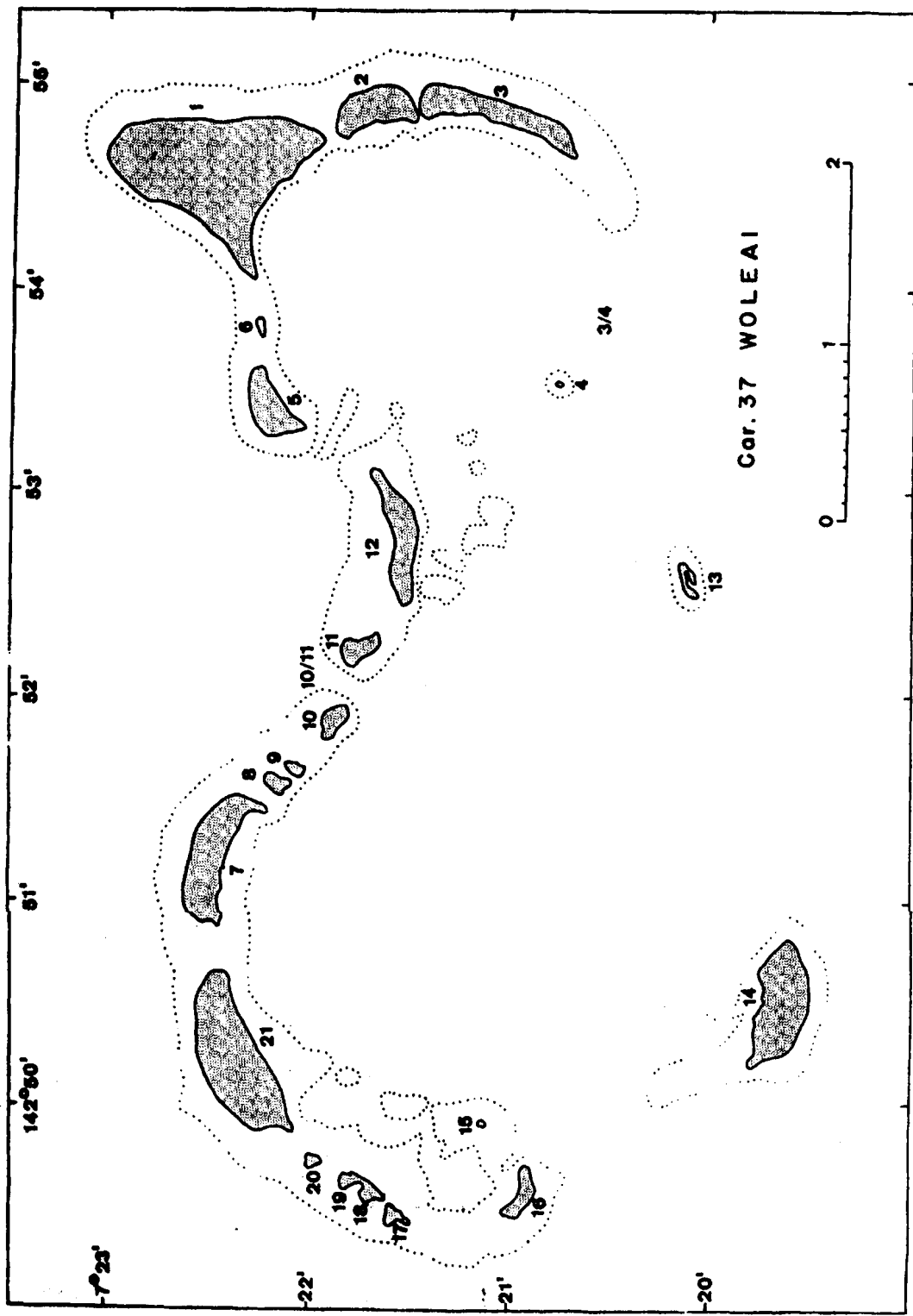
...

[The geography of Woleai]

The navigator who is content to name, at his own discretion, the islands he discovers, and whose situation he determines, inscribes his name on the sand. He who learns and preserves the true names of his discoveries, ensures the stability of his work, and really assists to erect the edifice, while the others only furnish the stones.

...

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- 1 Ed. note: This was Truk, or Chuuk, whose very name means "mountain."
 - 2 Ed. note: It had brought Medinilla directly to Guam, then gone back to Manila by way of Palau.
 - 3 Ed. note: Could they have been survivors from the La Pérouse's expedition?
 - 4 Ed. note: The Gachapar district on Yap, the one that maintained trade relations with the Central Carolines.
 - 5 Ed. note: This event, that took place in about 1806, may indicate the posting of a crew that was supposed to gather and cure *trepang* for some Spanish ship from Manila. It is known that private ships came to the Carolines at that time, but left no record, perhaps to avoid having to pay duties at Manila.



Ulea is a principal group of low islands. The names of 11 islands are marked on Cantova's original chart; Kadu has named 24 to us, and passed over the smaller uninhabited ones, namely:

According to Kadu.	According to Cantova¹	[According to Bryan]²
Ulea	Uleé	[1. Woleai]
Raur	Raur	[3. Raur]
Pelliau	Peliao	[2. Paliau]
Marion	Mariaon	[5. Mariaon]
Thageiliip	Fajaulep	[12. Tagaulap]
Engeligarail	Algrail	[1. Jalangigereil]
Tarreman	Fermet [i.e. Termet]	[9. Taramat]
Falalis	Falalis	[14. Felalis]
Futalis	Faralies	[10. Farailles]
Lüsagä	Oottagu [sic]	[15. Luisaga, see 21 below]
Falelegalä	Falulmeloc	[19. Faluelegalao]
Falelemoriet		[17. Faluelemariete]
Falelepalap		[18. Faluelegalao]
Faloetik		
Lollipoplich		
Woesafo		
Lugalop		
Jesany		
Seliep		[7. Saliep]
Pügel		
Tabogap		
Tarrematt		[same as 9.]
Piel		[16. Pial]
Ulimiré*		[21. Otagal]

*Ulimiré is the abode of Toua, the chief of the island-chain, and the native place of Kadu.³

...

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- 1 Ed. note: See HM12:460-461. The original Cantova text is used here, not Le Gobien's version.
 - 2 Ed. note: Edwin H. Bryan's Guide to Place Names (Honolulu, Bishop Museum, 1971).
 - 3 Ed. note: That leaves some islets without a corresponding modern name; that would account for 2-3 islets whose names have since changed (e.g. Falamalok, Elingarik, and Peregaregar) or taken the name of a new chief.

Uetasich is, according to Kadu, a shoal to the north of Ulea, which may serve mariners coming from Feis as a mark not to miss Ulea. But Uetasich is not to be seen if you take the right course. The water is of a white colour. The sea has no surf.¹

...

[The geography of Ulithi]

Cantova has given the names of 23 [rather 24] islands; Kadu mentions 26, among which the most of Cantova's may be recognized, namely:

According to Kadu.	According to Cantova²	[According to Bryan]³
Mogemug	Mogmog	[8. Mogmog]
Thagaleu	Sagaleu	
Essor	Ohieseur	[12. Asor]
Talalep	Falalep	[13. Falalop]
Elap	Guielop	[2. Gielap]
Cor	Eaur	[3. Iar]
Lussiep	Lusiep	[4. Losiep]
	Pulolul	[5. Bulubul]
Pugulug	Pugulup	[22. Pugelug]
Pig	Pig	[23. Pig]
Faleiman	Falaimel	
Feitawal	Faitahun	[20. Feitabul]
	Laddo*	[19. Lossau?]
Fasarai	Fatarai	[18. Fossarai]
	[Evoe]	[6. Eu, or Pau]
	Eavee	[27. Eau]
Pigelieli	Piguileilei	[35. Pigelelel]
	Soon	[34. Song]
	Froilem	[36. Sorenleng]
Lam	Lam	[37. Lam]
Elell	Eliil	[26. Ealil]
	Petangaras*	
	Meaengang	[16. Mangejang]
Malauli	Morourrul	
Tongrosz		
Malimat		[39. Elemat?]
Tarembag		

1 Ed. note: There is no shoal north of Woleai. Kadu may have had in mind Gamen Reef east of the island.

2 Ed. note: See HM12:461-462. The original Cantova names have been used here.

3 Ed. note: See map in HM1:413.

Song	[34. repeated] ¹
Elipig	[32. Elipig]
Eo	[6. repeated]
Eoo	[27. repeated]
Lasz	

*Ed. note: Petangaras and Laddo belong to Ngolu (see below).

[The geography of Yap]

Kadu named 46 districts, each with a petty chief, namely:²

According to Kadu	[According to Bryan]
Kattepar	[C11. Gatjapar]
Sigel	
Sumop	[B. Map I.?)
Samuel	
Sitol	[B8. Chol?]
Suomen	
Palao	[B19. Palau]
Runnu	[D1. Runu]
Girigai	[B1. Thilimad I.?)
Athebué	[B8. Atelu]
Tugor	[E2. Dugor]
Urang	[C4. Umung?]
Maloai	[D3. Moloai]
Rumu	[D1. Runu, or D5. Ramu]
Gilifith	[D11. Gillifith]
Inif	[H3. Nif]
Ugal	[H2. Gal]
Umalai	[H1. Malai]
Sawuith	[G6. Saveth]
Magetagi	[G2. Magachaguill]
Elauth	[G3. Anoth]
Toauwai	[G4. Toovai]
Ngari	[FX1. Garim?]
Gurum	[G1. Gorrer?]
Tabonefi	[F20. Tabunifi]
Summaki ³	
Sabogel	[C23. Vugol?]

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- 1 Ed. note: Chamisso recorded some names twice, because he could not recognize them in LeGobien's list.
 - 2 Ed. note: The names are listed in a column in order to try and identify their modern equivalent, according to Bryan's Place Names.
 - 3 Ed. note: Formerly populated by dwarfs (see below).

According to Kadu	[According to Bryan]
Samusalai	
Tainefar	[H6. Tafenith?]
Thorta	[C13. Tenfar?]
Uanu	[J5. Vinau]
Taumuti	
Sul	[C19. Thol]
Sütemil ¹	
Tap	[typo for Map?]
Ulienger	
Wutel	
Laipilau	[C15. Lebinau?]
Süllang	[C14. Leng?]
Thelta	
Urieng	[D15. Airetj?]
Meit	[C6. Mej?]
Feidel	
Tumunaupilau	[J8. Dalipebinau, former name of Kanif]
Sop	[typo for Mop?]
&c.	

Smaller islands along the coast of Eap are without either names or inhabitants.²

Eap has a language of its own, which is now spoken only in the following group: Ngoli [i.e. Ngulu]. It is a small low group, at a short distance from Eap to the south, and on the way to Pelli [i.e. Palau]. It has only three islands, and of these only that after which the group is called is inhabited, and this has not above 30 people. The names *Petangaras* and *Laddo*, in *Cantova*, relate to the other islands of the group...

...
Pelli, according to the pronunciation of Ulea, and, according to Kadu, more correctly *Palau*, is an archipelago of high islands, divided into two rows, which are constantly at war. The *Pelew* islands are perfectly known to us, and are regularly visited by our ships. They have a language of their own, and even the people seem to differ in many respects from the *Carolinians*.

...
All the islands to the S.W. of the *Palaos*, are low islands, or groups of islands, whose peaceable and inoffensive inhabitants speak the language of Ulea...

According to Kadu, the trading-boats go from Ulea to these islands, namely, as far as *Merir*, by way of the chain of the northern islands, as we have followed them from Ulea; but they return from *Merir* to Ulea by another way, viz. by *Sorol*, or *Sonrol*. It

1 Ed. note: Site of a sacred pond (see below), but not recognizable among modern place names.

2 Ed. note: Their names are: *Bi*, *Pekel*, *Tarang*, *Donitj*, *Tapelau* or *Blelatsch*.

is the Zaraol of Cantova, according to whom it is under the dominion of Mogemug, and is 15 leagues distant. It is marked on his chart, but the name is omitted.

Sorol, according to Kadu's statement, appears to have been peopled from Mogemug, and to have been under its jurisdiction. It is now wholly depopulated.

...
The relative situation of the islands may be more easily obtained from the accounts of the natives, than their distances. The points of the compass may be pointed out with precision; the distances, according to the time required for the voyage, and even here, all measure of time is wanting.

...
The canoes from the province of Ulea and Eap, which are driven to Radack, convince us that the monsoon reaches much farther to the east than we have supposed.

The seamen of these islands, who find their way back from Radack again to their home, and on the other side go to and from the Philippines, show us that their navigation embraces a space of 45 degrees of longitude, which is almost the greatest breadth of the Atlantic Ocean.

...
[The pandanus tree]

The most useful plant of Radack is the common pandanus of the South Sea islands (*Wob*). It grows wild on the sterile sand, where vegetation commences, and fertilizes the ground by the many leaves which fall from it. It luxuriates in the moist, low ground of the more fruitful islands. It is also diligently cultivated; numerous varieties, with improved fruits, which are to be ascribed to cultivation, are propagated by layers. Their seed produces the original species (the *Eruan*). There are above 20 varieties, which are distinguished by the exterior form of the fruit, or compound stone-fruit which they compose, and by the number of simple fruits or kernels which they contain. The masculine tree is called *Digar*; the wild growing feminine *Eruan*: varieties are: *Buger*, *Bugien*, *Eilugk*, *Undaim*, *Erugk*, *Lerro*, *Adiburik*, *Eideboton*, *Eromamugk*, *Tabenebogk*, *Rabilebil*, *Tumulisien*, *Lugulugubilan*, *Ulidien*, &c.

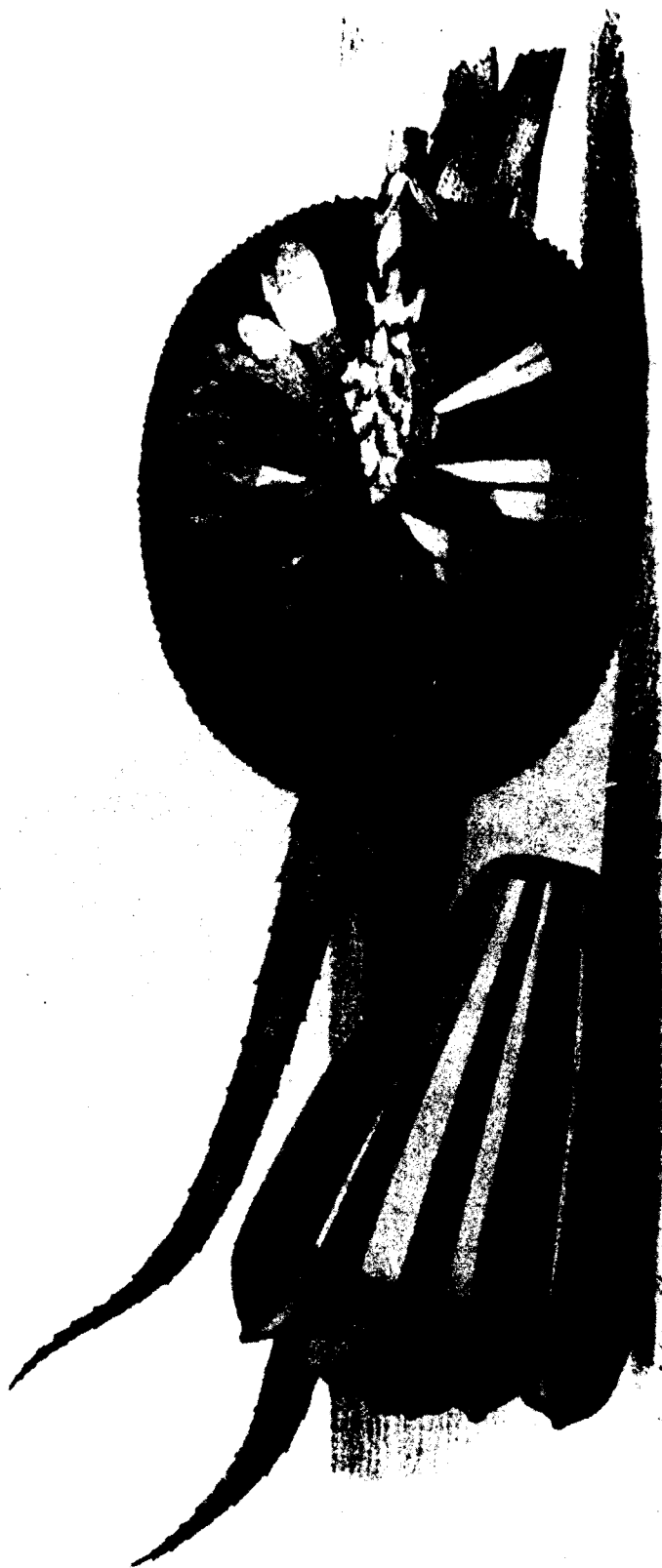
That part of the fruit, from which the people of Radack and Ralick draw their principal subsistence, is used in the Sandwich, Marquesas, and Friendly islands, for aromatic shining yellow wreaths. We observe, by the way, that the species *Pandanus* requires a farther and difficult investigation, because the characters which most botanists have chosen to distinguish the species, which they have enumerated, are insufficient.¹

The fruit of the pandanus constitutes, in Radack, the food of the people. The compound fibrous stone-fruits which compose the conical fruit, contain a spicy juice at their basis, the point where they are fixed. To obtain this juice, the fruit is first beaten with a stone, the fibres chewed, and pressed in the mouth. The fruit is also baked in pits,

1 Loureiro, [in his] *Flor. Coch.*, expressly observes, that the fruit of the *P. odoratissimus* is unfit to be eaten.







Fruit des Bayonnes (Pandanus sylvaticus) des Iles Rukob

des Iles Bayonnes

after the manner of the South Sea, not so much to eat it in this state, as to prepare *mogan* from it, a spicy dry confectionary, which is carefully preserved as a valuable stock for long voyages. To prepare the *mogan*, all the members of one or more families are employed. From the stone-fruits, as they come out of the baking-pit, the condensed juice is expressed by passing them over the edge of a shell, then spread out on a grate, covered with leaves, exposed over a slight charcoal fire to the sun, and dried. The thin slices, as soon as they are sufficiently dried, are rolled up tight, and these rolls then neatly wrapped in the leaves of the tree, and tied up.

The kernel of this fruit is good tasting, but difficult to be obtained, and is often neglected. From the leaves of the pandanus the women prepare all sorts of mats, as well the square ones with elegant borders, which serve as aprons, as those which are used as ship's sails, and the thicker ones for sleeping upon.

[The coconut tree]

After the pandanus, the cocoa-tree (*Ni*) holds the second rank. It is not only rendered valuable by its nut, which affords drink and food, vessels and oil for domestic use, but also and principally for its bast [i.e. coir], from which cords and strings are made. On the pandanus depends the food, and on the cocoa-tree the navigation of these people. The manufacturing of the ropes and strings is an employment of the men, and even the greatest chiefs are seen engaged in it. The fibres of the bast are separated and cleaned, by maceration, in pits of fresh water. The rope is spun at the same time with the two threads of which it consists, equal bundles of fibres prepared before-hand being added to each. The wood of the old cocoa-tree, rubbed to powder, and mixed to a dough, with the help of the juice of the husk of the unripe nut, is boiled in cocoa-nut shells, or roasted over the fire, and used for food.¹ Cocoa-nut shells are the only vessels in which the people can carry water about with them; they are preserved in longish woven baskets, made expressly for the purpose, with the eye upwards, and strung together. The cocoa-tree is planted and increased every where on the inhabited and uninhabited islands; but, notwithstanding the many young plantations with which you meet, it is only seen bearing fruit on the inhabited islands, and only on a few, and in the southern groups waving its crown high in the air. The cocoa-tree bears only very small nuts in Radack.

[The bread-fruit tree]

The bread-fruit tree (*Mā*) is not common in Radack, it is found only planted in the damp ground in the interior of the inhabited islands. Old trees are, however, found even in some of the poorer ones. Its wood, as well as its fruit, is valuable, being employed for the keel of their boats; the other planks are made of driftwood. They are joined together with strings of cocoa-bast, and the joints caulked with pandanus leaves. The

1 Ed. note: Kotzebue said the same thing about Marshallese eating coconut-tree wood, but this is hard to believe. It could have been sago palm instead.





Handwritten text, possibly a name or description, written vertically along the right side of the illustration.

bread-fruit tree also produces a resin, which is used for various purposes. The bread-fruit tree, like all cultivated plants, has several varieties. The only one that occurs here deviates very little from the original form; its fruit is small, and the kernels often perfect.

A useful bast is procured from the bark of three different species of plants found here in a wild state. The principal is a shrub of the family of nettle (a *Boemaria?*) the *Aromä*, which grows only upon richer and moister soil. The *Aromä* produces a white thread of uncommon fineness and strength. The *Atahat* (*Triumphetta procumbens*, Forst.) is a creeping plant; it is common, and, with the *Cassyta*, covers the most sterile sand. Men's aprons are chiefly made of its brown bast; they consist of loose strips of bast, which are sewn to a girdle of mat. It is also used for the ornamental borders in the finer mats. The fine white bast of the *Hibiscus populneus* (*Lo*), which we found in Radack on the Aur group, is used for the same purpose. In the Sandwich islands, and other places, strings are made of this bast.

From the bulbous roots of the *Tacca pinnatifida* [i.e. arrowroot], which is very frequent here, a nourishing flour is procured, but which appears to be seldom prepared, and little used.

Three species of *Arum* (*Caladium*, *A. Esculentum*, *Macrorhizon*, and *Sagittifolium*, the banana, and the *Rhizophora gymnorhiza*, are singly cultivated here and there, on different groups and islands. We found the banana first cultivated in Kawen, and saw it bearing fruits only in Aur. These species of *arum* do not find here the deep marshy ground which they require to form their roots, and are not calculated, in these islands, to constitute the essential food of the people.

Besides these plants, two of the rarer kinds, which are found wild, are generally planted round the habitations; two ornamental plants, a *Sida* and a *Crinum*, the sweet-scented flowers of which are mixed with those of the *Guettarda speciosa*, the *Volcameria inermis*, and, in Aur, *Ixora coccinea?* in elegant wreaths, which are worn in the long hair, which is fastened up, and in the ears. The people of Radack, though poor, are distinguished for their love of perfumes and elegant ornament.

The sea throws up on the reefs of Radack the trunks of northern firs and trees of the torrid zone (palms, bamboo). It provides the inhabitants, not only with timber for boats, but it also brings them, in the [faraway] wrecks of European ships, the iron which they want. We did not find among them any tools to work their wood, except the valuable metal obtained in this manner; and when we would not credit the assertion of our friends in this respect, we found ourselves such a piece of wood, with nails remaining in it on the shore, under the lee of one of the islands of the group of Otdia. They receive, in a similar manner, another treasure, hard stones fit for whetting. They are sought for in the roots and hollows of the trees which the sea throws up: iron and stones belong to the chiefs, to whom they must be delivered, on payment of a reward; punishment being inflicted, in case of concealment.

The sea brings to these islands the seeds and fruits of many trees, most of which have not yet grown there. The greater part of these seeds appear to have not yet lost the capability of growing, and we have frequently entrusted to the bosom of the earth the present intended for it. We have collected them, and found among them, fruits of pandanus species, which are only met with in the larger countries lying to the west, those of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the *Aleuriles triloba*, and other trees belonging to the general Flora of Polynesia, and which we afterwards saw in the west, on the Mariana islands. The greatest part of these seeds belong to the arborescent or creeping siliquose plants, which are found everywhere in abundance between the tropics. The seeds of the *Guilandina bonduc* are frequently found among them; and we met with the plant itself only once in the group of Otdia, on an island to the leeward. We observed that the seeds which, being cast by the tide over the reef, reach the inner, or lee side of an island, find more protection, a better soil, and circumstances more favourable for their growth than those which the surf throws upon the outside.

We frequently find rolled pumice-stones among the objects cast up by the sea, and compact masses of the *Cassyta*, resembling those which the *Zostera marina* forms on some of our coasts, and which are called on the French coast, in the Mediterranean, *Plotte de mer*.

Besides the *Mammalis*, which the sea nourishes, the dolphins, which the people of Radack kill only singly, and very seldom, as they are not numerous and powerful enough to surround them like other islanders in herds, drive them into their reefs, and catch them, the *Cachalot*,¹ and the more rare whales, only the rat, which is everywhere spread, is found in Radack, and which, as it has no enemy, has increased in a dreadful degree. Kadu, who seems to think that the rat is only to be found in the company of man, affirms that there are none in Bygar. In the more populous groups, for instance, in Aur, these troublesome animals are sometimes pursued. They are collected together by means of baits, which are half surrounded by fire-pits, and driven into the fire, which has been lighted for them. The rat is eaten by the women in Udirick, and our sailors also saw women eating them in Otdia.

Fowls are found in Radack in a wild state; they are not used for food, except in Udirick: in the other groups they are caught singly, and tamed for pleasure, without deriving any advantage from them. Here and there you find a fowl round the habitations, which, fastened by his foot to a string, and tied to a pole, reminds us of the Tagalese fighting-cock. A small white heron is likewise tamed. Besides the fowl and the pigeon of the South Sea (*Columbus australis*), there are only wood and water birds, and these are not in great numbers, in the inhabited groups. The *Sterna stolidus* [i.e. tern] is the most frequent, and fond of being in the neighbourhood of the surf.

The sea-turtle is caught at Bygar; of the class of *Amphibiæ*, there are, besides, four small kinds of lizards at Radack.

1 We saw, in the year 1817, a *Physeter macrocephalus*, near Radack.

The lagoons in the interior of the island-groups, are poor in fish. Outside, about the reefs, and at the entrances, there are swarms of sharks; but they seldom penetrate into the inner sea: it is said that these animals do not attack men at Bygar. We caught bonitos at the entrance of Eilu. The flying-fish is the most frequent in the neighbourhood of low islands. The Radackers catch it by torchlight, in the night. There are several sorts of fish which are not eaten, and are considered as poisonous. Kadu mentioned instances of persons poisoned in this manner. These species are eaten at Ulea, after a certain internal part (the liver?) has been taken out; and several (for instance, the *Diodon* and *Tetrodon* species) are even considered as dainties. Among the poisonous fish at Radack, two rays (*Raja*) are mentioned, which attain an extraordinary size; one of them has, like the *Raja aquila* and *R. postinaca*, a large thorn on the tail; the other has five. Both, according to Kadu, dart these thorns from them in their defence; and when they are lost, they grow again within twenty days. They are always taken hold of before. They are pursued on account of their skin, which is used to cover drums. Both species are eaten at Ulea.

There is a great variety, both of univalve and bivalve shells. Many of them are eaten, and the shells of different ones are variously used. The Triton's horn is used as a signal trumpet. The [*Tridacna*] *Chimagigas*, and other large bivalve shells serve as vessels, and are also used as instruments for cutting: the mother-of-pearl is sharpened into knives; and smaller kinds of snails are worn as ornaments, in elegant rows, round the head and neck.

Among the crabs, we noticed several small species of *Pagurus*, which, in the borrowed speckled shells of all kinds of sea snails, go into the interior of the islands to seek their food.

The varieties of naked *Moluscaæ*, worms, and zoophytes, are particularly numerous. We observed a cuttle-fish, several beautiful species of sea hedge-hogs and sea-stars, some *Medusæ* (but these not in all the groups), and a few *Holothuria* [i.e. sea-cucumbers, or trepang]. The poor inhabitants of Radack, who are often in distress for food, have on their reefs, in abundance, one of the animals (*Trepang*) after which the Chinese epicures are so eager, and frequently suffer want, without attempting to satisfy their hunger with these disgusting worms. The sea frequently throws on the reefs a small physalis (*Physalis pelagica*, Tiles). A worm which pierces the rocks below the high water mark, and lives in the inside of the lime-stone, and our common worm, are natives of these remote islands.

There are here but very few insects; we observed the *Scolopendra morsitans*, and the *Scorpio australasiæ*, of which the natives did not appear to be afraid; and the sting of which, according to Kadu, produces a local swelling, which is of short duration.

[Description of the Marshallese people and their customs]

The inhabitants of Radack are neither of large stature, nor remarkable bodily strength. Though slender, they are well built and healthy, and appear to attain a very old age, accompanied with a considerable share of cheerfulness, and activity.¹

Children are suckled for a long time, and receive the breast when they can already walk and talk. The Radackers are of a darker colour than the people of Owhyee, from whom they are advantageously distinguished by greater clearness of the skin, which is not disfigured, either by the effects of the kava, or by any cutaneous disease. Both sexes wear their long beautiful black hair neatly and elegantly tied up behind. The children have it hanging down, unconfined, and curly. The men suffer their beard to grow, which is long, though not particularly thick.² Their teeth are generally spoiled by the nature of their food; from the chewing of the woody, fibrous fruit of the pandanus; and, sometimes, in the front, are broken off. It is less frequent with the chiefs, for whom the juice of the fruit is generally pressed out, and separated over the edge of a shell. Men and women wear, in their pierced ear-lobes, a rolled pandanus leaf. The roll for the men is three inches in diameter, and for women, only half. It is, sometimes, covered by a very thin plate of tortoise-shell. Some older people had, besides, pierced the upper edge of the ear, to put flowers through it.

The skilful, elegant tattooing³ differs according to the sex; in each it is uniform. For the men it forms over the shoulder and breast a triangle pointed to the navel, which consists of several variously combined stripes: similar well-disposed horizontal stripes occupy the back and the stomach. With the women only the arms and the shoulders are tattooed. Besides this regular designing, which is only executed when they grow up, and is wanting in very few they have all, when children, groups of designs of stripes tattooed over their hips and arms, but more seldom in the face. Among these drawings we

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- 1 We must mention a natural deformity, which we observed in several wives of the chiefs of different groups, and in a young chief of the grup of Eilu: it respects the fore-arm. The *ulna* appears, in the bend of the hand, dislocated above, and the fore-arm, which is bent, or more or less checked in its growth, is in some cases scarcely a span long; the hand is small, and bent outwards. A child in Otdia, had a double row of teeth in its mouth. We met also with an instance of a person deaf and dumb.
 - 2 We were told of a contest in Tabual, in which a man from Meduro was killed, whose beard reached to his knee!
 - 3 In the spring of 1816 we overlooked this tattooing in Udiruk (Kutusoff's islands).

sometimes observed the figure of the Roman cross.¹ The place tattooed is very dark, drawn sharply and raised above the skin.

The dress of the men consists in a girdle with bast strips hanging down, to which is often added a smaller square mat as an apron; boys go quite naked till they have arrived at manhood. The women wear two longer mats, fastened with a string over the hips; the girls wear, very early, a small apron. The men frequently have, besides the flower and shell wreaths, with which both sexes adorn themselves, a necklace of stringed dolphin's teeth, with plates of the bones of the same animal, or of the turtle, hanging in front. For this ornament thin, round shells, or slices of cocoa-nut shells, are used. We likewise found among their ornaments the tail feathers of the tropical birds, the feathers of the frigate bird, and bracelets formed of the shell of a large univalve, and well polished.

The *Irus*, or chiefs, are frequently distinguished by their large stature, never by immoderate corpulency.² The tattooing in them generally extends over those parts of the body which are not tattooed in common people, the sides, the hips, the neck, or the arms.

The houses of the Radackers consist only of a roof supported on four posts, with a hanging floor [sic]. They are only high enough to admit a person to sit under them. You climb through a square opening into the upper room which contains all their little property. They sleep on this floor or in the open space below, and several open huts of the form of a tent round about, serve as separate sleeping apartments. The roofs are of cocoa or pandanus leaves; the floor is strewed with very fine fragments of coral and shells, which are found on the shore. Only a coarse mat serves for a bed and a block of wood for a pillow.

At first we did not take these houses, which we often found deserted, to be the constant residence of the people. These seamen sail in their ingenious boats³ with their family and all their goods from one island to another, and in this manner, after we had become intimate with them, the greater part of the population of a group always assembled near us.

The wild pandanus appears to be general property. A bundle of leaves of this tree (tokens of property) tied to the branch on which the fruit is ripening, secures the right of him who has discovered it. We have frequently, and particularly in the northern poorer groups, seen this fruit, which is the only food of the Radackers, devoured quite unripe.

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- 1 Nativss of the Mulgrave islands [i.e. Mili] who went on board the *Charlotte* had a cross suspended from their neck, after the custom of the Spaniards. We did not meet with this ornament in [northern] Radack, and endeavoured in vain to discover in the mark mentioned any relation to Christians and Europeans.
 - 2 The chief of the group of Ligiep is said to make an exception, and to be a particularly fat man.
 - 3 The author of these essays leaves it to more competent persons to describe scientifically these vessels, which agree in their essential particulars with the often-mentioned proas of the Mariane islands. Ed. comment: Years later, Chamisso himself described the Marshallese canoe very well (see C2 below).

Cocoa trees are private property. Those in the neighbourhood of the habitations, the fruit of which is ripening, are often seen with a cocoa leaf fastened round the stem, which is intended, by the rustling, to give notice if anyone should attempt to climb the tree. In the populous groups of Kawen and Aur, orchards are frequently surrounded with a cord instead of a fence.

Besides providing for their subsistence, our friends have no other employment but their navigation and singing. Their favourite, their only property, are their boats and their drum, which are their play-things in childhood. It is particularly in the evening, when they assemble in a circle round their bright fire, that they sit singing their favourite songs. Intoxicating joy then seizes every one and all join their voices in the chorus. These songs resemble those of the Owhyeeans, but they are ruder and more discordant; the gradually rising tones of the song degenerate at last into a scream.

It was first and principally in the group of Otdia that we became acquainted with the amiable people of Radack. These people, who met us with friendly invitations, seemed for a time to fear us, in the conviction of our superiority. The chiefs always showed the most courage and the greatest confidence. Familiarity never made our friends importunate or troublesome. The comparison of our immense riches and their poverty, never degraded them to begging, seldom seduced them to theft, and never made them violate trust when it was reposed in them. We daily wandered through their islands unarmed, slept with our treasures, knives and iron, by our side, under their roofs, went upon long excursions in their boats, and confided in their character, as people confide among us, in the protecting vigilance of the law. At their own voluntary request we exchanged our names. Whenever we appeared, the people came hospitably to meet us, and presented us with cocoa-nuts. We did not barter at Otdia, we made presents and received them in return. Some appeared to take as much pleasure in giving as ourselves, and, with great delicacy, brought us presents when none could be expected in return. Others behaved with more regard to self-interest. Where unheard-of events bring on relations never thought of before and custom is silent, the real character of men must show itself without disguise. The women conducted themselves with modesty and reserve, they retired when they first saw us, and appeared only under the protection of the men. In return for our small presents of rings, and glass beads, which they seemed to value less than odorous splinters of the wood of English black lead pencils, they presented us, in a graceful manner, with the ornaments which they then wore, their shell and flower wreaths. No woman of Radack ever came on board our ship.

Everywhere we met the picture of peace among an infant people; we saw new plantations, advancing cultivation, many children growing up, with a small population; the affectionate attention of the fathers for their offspring, pleasing unaffected manners, equality in the intercourse between chiefs and other men, no servility to the more powerful, and with greater poverty and less self-assurance, none of those vices which disgrace the people of the more Eastern Polynesia.

We first learned at Aur, that these indigent people also have their wars, and that the lust of dominion and conquest has extended its curse to them. They called upon us with

our formidable iron (we had not made them acquainted with the more destructive powers of our arms) to interfere like the powers of fate in their bloody feuds.

The powerful Lamary set out from Meduro, to subject, by arms, all the northern island-groups of Radack. He governed now over Aur, Kawen, and the north of the chain, and had his residence in Aur. The people of Meduro and Arno wage war against him and his kingdom. Their expeditions in thirty boats, each manned by six to ten men, have extended themselves to Otdia.

The late battle in Tabual cost the lives of four men, three on the side of Meduro, and one on the side of Aur. In a former expedition, about twenty were lost on each side, on the same island.

Lamary, in the beginning of the year 1817, visited the islands in his territory, to assemble his fleet of war-canoes, likewise consisting of thirty boats, at Aur, whence he intended to proceed against Meduro. We expected to find this prince in Eilu; he was already at Udirick, at which group he visited us in his boat in the open sea. When we returned, towards the end of the same year, to Otdia, the expedition was assembled in Aur. Lamary had missed the island of Mesid [i.e. Mejit], and being carried out of his course to other groups, had given up the reinforcements which he had expected there.

We will relate, at length, what we have learned of the **religion, and social order, the manners and customs** of our friends.

The inhabitants of Radack adore an invisible God, in heaven, and offer him a simple tribute of fruits, without temples and without priests. In their language, *Iageach* signifies God: the name of the god is *Anis*. When war or any other important affair is to be undertaken, solemn offerings are made, always in the open air. One of the assembly, not the chief, consecrates the fruits to the god, by holding them up, and invocation; the form is, *Gidien Anis mne jeo*, the assembled people repeat the last words.¹ When the father of a family goes out on the fishery, or undertakes any thing important, he offers among his family. There are, on several islands, holy trees, cocoa-palms, into the crown of which *Anis* descends. Round the foot of such a tree four beams are laid in a square. There does not appear to be any prohibition to enter the space enclosed, and the fruits of the tree are eaten by the people.

The operation of tattooing is associated in Radack with religious ideas, and cannot be undertaken without certain divine tokens.² The persons who desire to be tattooed pass the night in a house, on which the chief, who is to perform the operation, invokes the god; an audible tone, or whistle, is said to give his consent. If the token does not appear, the operation is not performed. Hence some persons never undergo it. If they were to transgress in this respect, the sea would inundate the island, and all the land be destroyed. The sea alone threatens these islands, and religious faith often suspends this

1 Ed. note: Only the last word "Jeo" appears in his Vocabulary.

2 Our friends always refused, on various pretences, to confer this ornament on us. They often represented to us the serious consequences, the swelling of the limbs, the severe illness. A chief of Aur once appointed one of us to pass the night at his house, that he might tattoo him the following morning; but when the morning came, he repeatedly evaded the importunity of his guest.

rod over man. Against this, however, conjurations prevail. Kadu saw the sea rising at Radack, as far as the feet of the cocoa-trees, but it was conjured in time, and retired within its own limits. He named to us two men and one woman, at Radack, who understood this conjuration.

The desert island group of Bygar has its peculiar god. The god of Bygar is blind, he has two young sons, of the name of Rigabuil, and the people who visit Bygar call each other, as long as they stay there, Rigabuil, that the blind god may take them for his sons, and do good to them. *Anis* must not be called upon in Bygar, the god would punish the culprit with severe illness and death. Under a tree, in Bygar, offerings of fruits, cocoa, &c. are brought. Certain forms of conjuration are efficacious and infallible to make the water come into the pits; if the result is unfavourable, something has been forgotten, and the words were not said right. It is every where as with us.¹ At Bygar the sharks are not allowed to do any harm to man: the god will not suffer it. The inhabitants of all the groups of Radack visit Bygar by way of Udirick, only those of Eilu are not permitted to do it immediately. They must remain a month at Udirick before they sail there, and on their return must spend another month in the same group before they partake of the provision brought with them. This provision consists in the flesh of birds and turtles, which they first bake, and then dry in the sun. The use of salt is unknown at Radack.

The marriages, the funerals, the feasts upon several occasions seem to have no reference to religion. We were not happy enough to come to an understanding with Kadu respecting an existence after death.

Though no particular marks of respect are shown to the chiefs, they, however, exercise an arbitrary right over all property. We, ourselves, even saw chiefs, to whom we had made presents, conceal our gifts from the more powerful. They appear to be subordinate to each other in several degrees, without our being able rightly to understand their respective relations. Rarick was the most considerable in Otdia; his father Sauraur, perhaps the real chief of the group, lived at Aur. Rarick and his son, a boy about ten years old, alone wore several stripes of pandanus leaves, in which knots were made, round the neck; and it seems to be a privilege. We have seen similar strips hanging to the houses of the chiefs, which, with dried fish-heads, unripe cocoa, and stones, have the appearance of consecrated objects. The succession is not direct from father to son, but from the elder brother to the younger, till after the decease of all, the first-born son of the elder brother succeeds. Women are excluded. When a chief approaches an island a signal is given from his boat, and his wants are immediately supplied with the best that is to be procured. This signal is given by the person who is in the fore part of the boat, by raising his right arm, and calling. This was also observed when the officers of the expedition sailed in the boats of the natives. The chiefs are distinguished by freer motion in their gait, which the common man is not allowed to imitate.

¹ For example, the belief in medicine, the last thing to which incredulity still clings.

The princes call their people together for war. The chief of each group joins the squadron with his boats. They undertake to surprise an enemy's group with combined force, and land. They never fight but on shore. The women take a share in the war, not only to defend their own country against the enemy, but also to attack; and in the squadron they form, though in smaller numbers, a part of the military force. The men stand foremost in the battle. Their weapons for distant combat are the sling, in the use of which they are not skillful, and a staff, pointed at both ends, which being thrown in the arc of a circle, turns round upon its centre, like the diameter of a wheel in motion, and penetrates with the end on which it falls. For close combat the dart, a stick of five feet in length, which is pointed, and furnished with shark's teeth or barbs. We saw only at Mesid a short crooked wooden sword, both sides of which were provided with shark's teeth. The women, unarmed, form a second line: some of them beat the drum, according to the word of command, first in slow and regular time (*Ringesipinem*), when the combatants, at a distance, exchange dart for dart, then in double quick time (*Pinnenente*), when they are engaged in close combat. The women throw stones merely with the hand: they assist their lovers in the contest, and throw themselves as deliverers and peace-makers between them and the vanquished enemy. The female prisoners are well treated: men are not made prisoners. The man adopts the name of the enemy whom he has killed in battle. Conquered islands are robbed of all their fruit, but the trees are spared.

Marriages depend on a free convention, and may be dissolved as [easily as] they are concluded. A man may have several wives. The woman is the companion of the man, and seems freely and voluntarily to submit to him, in a just relation to the head of the family. In their wanderings the men go on before, as protectors, and the women follow. When any subject is discussed, the men speak first: the women, when called upon, take a share in the conversation, and attention is paid to them. In the time of peace they have no other employment than what we call women's work. The drum, which awakens delight in all, is in their hands. Unmarried women enjoy their freedom, under the protection of decorum. The girl requires presents from the man; but the veil of modesty is drawn over all the connections which unite the two sexes. We observed that the customary caress by touching the noses, even among men in the Carolina islands, as well as in those of the Eastern Polynesia [i.e. Polynesia proper], was usual at Radack only between man and wife, and in the shade where familiarity is concealed.

The bond of exclusive friendship between two men, which is found in all the islands of the first province in Radack, obliges the friend to give his wife to his friend, but does not bind him to seek for revenge by blood.

We mention with hesitation and abhorrence a law, the reason for which Kadu ascribed to urgent want, and the sterility of the niggardly earth. Every mother is allowed to bring up only three children; her fourth and every succeeding one she is obliged to bury alive herself. The families of the chiefs are not subjected to this barbarity. Natural children are brought up in the same manner as the legitimate. When they are able

to walk, the father takes them to himself. When no father recognizes the child, the mother keeps it: when the mother dies, another woman takes care of the child.

The corpses of the deceased are entirely wound round with strings, in a sitting posture. The chiefs are buried on the islands. A large square space, surrounded with large stones, marks the place, under palms, on the inner shore. Those of the people are thrown into the sea. They treat in the same manner their enemies fallen in battle, according to their rank. A staff fixed in the ground, with annular incisions, marks the grave of the children who were not allowed to live. We have ourselves seen both kinds of graves.

A long time ago, an European ship was seen at Kawen, and remained a day in the neighbourhood of this group, without attempting to land. The chief, Saur-aur, our hospitable friend at Tabual, went on board this ship. (We observe that his name was at that time Laelidjü, he having since received his present name by an amicable change with a chief of the island chain of Ralick, who is now called Laelidjü, after him). The natives procured, in exchange, iron and pieces of broken glass from this ship.¹ Kadu possessed himself of two of these pieces when he was at Aur, and recollected them on seeing some similar pieces among us, which he collected for his friends. No song has preserved the name of this ship; no names are snatched from oblivion.

We are the first Europeans who have landed at Radack and become acquainted with these amiable people.² From principle and from inclination, from real sincere love, we endeavoured to neglect nothing that we could do for this people. On our first visit we put our friends in Otdia in possession of hogs, goats, and tame fowls: yams were planted, and melons and watermelons had sprung up, and throve well. On our return, after a few months, we found the place of the garden in the island of Otdia waste and desolate; not even a foreign weed remained to testify our good intention. The hogs had died of thirst, the fowls were not to be found; Prince Lamary had carried the goats to Aur, and had also transplanted there, from the island of Otdia, the yams, which alone had escaped the hostile rats. The old chief, Laergasz, had discovered some yams planted by us on an island under his dominion. He found this root had a good taste, and, after he had eaten it, carefully replanted the leaves. This process, which is observed in the cultivation of the taro, had deceived his expectations.

The proper object of our second visit was to be beneficial to our friends. We brought them goats, hogs, dogs, cats, tame fowls, potatoes from the Sandwich islands (*Ipomoea tuberosa*, Lour. Coch.),³ the melon, the watermelon, gourds of different kinds, those of which the fruit is used for valuable vessels, and others of which the fruit is eaten; the sugarcane, the grape, the pineapple, the apple-tree of the Sandwich islands (not an

1 Wood may be scraped with pieces of glass: and they use them almost as we do the plane. They have a real value.

2 Ed. note: They were not; Legazpi had landed at Mejit in 1565, and Villalobos had landed at Ralik even earlier.

3 Ed. note: The sweet potato. From an earlier quote, the classification came from Loureiro's *Flora of Cochin-China*, i.e. Vietnam.

Eugenia,¹ the tea-root (*Dracaena terminalis*), the lemon-tree, and the seeds of several useful plants on the Sandwich islands; the *Aleurites triloba*, the nuts of which are used as tapers, and produce oil and stuff for dyeing; two of the shrubs, the bast of which serves to manufacture stuffs, &c.

We have carefully sowed the seeds which our friend Kadu has undertaken to attend to.

May Kadu proceed in his fine vocation with wisdom and energy! May he succeed in effecting what, without him, could not be hoped! May his good heart produce the good which he wishes! May he, the benefactor of an amiable people, establish its prosperity, conduct it peaceably and liberally to a better situation, and soon induce it to renounce a law revolting to nature, which was founded only in necessity!

We must confess that our friend stands alone exposed to the envy of his equals, the avidity and power of his princes, and the treasures which our love has heaped upon him, may gather the tempest over his head. But our apprehension can go still farther: the real treasure in iron, which we lavished with pleasure upon Radack, may kindle a destructive war between the south and the north of this chain, between it and Ralick, and blood be the fruit of our liberality.

The poor and dangerous reefs of Radack have nothing to attract the Europeans, and we congratulate our simple friends on remaining in their obscurity. The amiabler *ess* of their manners, the charming modesty which adorns them, are blossoms of nature, which are not derived from any abstract idea of virtue. They would show themselves equally docile to our vices; and, as the victims of our passions, would draw down upon them our contempt.

Ralick, near to Radack, in the west, is a similar chain of low groups of islands, with the geography of which even the women in Radack are familiar. Ralick is more fertile and populous than Radack. The people, the language, the tattooing are the same. No children are murdered. The women do not accompany the men into war. The people are more prosperous and better fed than those of Radack: they wear a still larger ornament in their ears. Several men are mentioned by name, who were able to draw the extended ear-lobes over their head.

Between the two island-chains, hostile and amicable relations take place. A chief of Eilu showed us the scars of wounds he had received at Ralick. Ralick employed fifty boats in a war against Radack; the chiefs of Radack went over, and a friendly intercourse was again established.

A European ship once came to Ralick. The ship is said to have remained at anchor in Odja (a chief group in this chain) for a long time (a year it was said).²

1 Ed. note: Or star-apple.

2 Ed. note: Odja is Ujae. The notion of the passage of time was imprecise in Micronesia. No foreign ship could have stayed one year at just one island. This atoll was first discovered by the English ship *Ocean* in 1804, when the south part of the atoll was seen and the group named the Lydia Islands (see Doc. 1804F) but there was another ship in company.

We suppose that likewise at Ralick the southern groups are the richest. Bananas, roots, &c. are not found on all the groups.

[Notice of the Gilberts?]

Repith-Urur is represented to us as a considerable group of islands, known to the inhabitants of Radack by the many boats cast on their reefs from that group. The boats and costume of the people of Repith-Urur are the same as in Radack. The language is peculiar; the tattooing is different: it extends over the sides of the body, and is spread over the exterior part of the thighs and legs. There are no domestic animals there: the bread-fruit, the cocoa, the banana-roots, and, as at Radack, the fruit of the pandanus serve for their food.

The natives of Repith-Urur live in constant wars among each other. The man always has his arms about him, and, when he sits down to his meals, he lays one lance on this right, and another on his left. Human flesh is eaten at Repith-Urur.

A long time ago, a boat, with five men from Repith-Urur, came on the island of Relick [sic], of the Ralick chain. They fished, but caught nothing. There was no want of fruit. They killed one of their number, baked, and ate him. A second was butchered, and devoured in the same manner. The inhabitants of Relick overpowered them, and killed the three that remained.

In the island of Airick, of the Kawen [i.e. Maloelap] group, there live a man and a woman, from Repith-Urur, who were cast in boats on Radack. A second woman, whom the latter had with them, died of thirst at sea during their long wandering. These five people were still in Radack on Kadu's arrival there. While he was there, two boats from Repith-Urur arrived at the group of Aur, where he was at the time, in each of which there was a man and woman; they said they had been nine months at sea, and had lived five months on fish, and without fresh water. The natives of Radack wished to take up arms against these cannibals. The chiefs protected the strangers; a chief of Tabual received a man and a woman, and a chief of Aur the others.

Bogha is the name of an inconsiderable, low group of islands, with which the Radackers became acquainted by the following circumstance. A woman of Bogha was washed away by the tide, as she was drawing a load of cocoa along the reef from one island of this group to another. Her cocoa served her for a raft, and bore her up; she was driven by the wind and current past Bygar, and, on the fifth day, was thrown upon Udirick. This woman is still living in the island of Tabual, of the group of Aur. Bogha, in its

remote situation, appears to us to be the seat of a forgotten colony from Radack, the language of which is spoken there.¹

...

¹ Ed. note: More likely a colony from Ralick, since this group was either Ujelang, or Eniwetok, more probably the latter. Many islets of these two groups bear the name of Boga, and variants, such as Bogan/Pokon, Bogon/Bokon, Bogaerik/Bogairik, Bogonalap/Bokonalap, Bogen/Began/Boken, all for Eniwetok, whereas Ujelang has Bogan/Pokon, Bwokwan and its derivatives, e.g. Bwokwanibop, Bok, Bokan wor, etc. Would Boka be the Marshallese equivalent of the Polynesian Motu? Perhaps, as “bokan” is a construct form of “bwe”, meaning “left over, surplus, remainder.”

The Caroline Islands.

The ingenious Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, in 1605, was for looking to the south for the mother of so many islands (*en demanda de la madre de tantas islas*) which had already then been discovered in the Great Ocean. We have found this mother in the continent, to the east of which they are situated, as the sea-fowl are met with to windward of the rocks, which are their native country, whether they return to their nests every evening with the setting sun.

This image, which is particularly applicable to the islands of the first province, forced itself again upon us, as we returned, from the distant Radack, in the east, to the western Carolines; from the strayed child to the children in the mother's lap. A more bountiful nature receives us, and the same people, with the same amiableness, are more cultivated.

The seas in which the Carolinas are situated, are subject to violent storms, which mostly mark the change of the monsoon. These hurricanes, which the Spaniards on the Philippine and Marian islands call by the Tagalese name *Bagyo*,¹ sometimes destroy all the fruits on the low islands, so that the inhabitants are compelled to subsist for a long time only by the fishery. They endanger the islands themselves, against which they raise the sea. Kadu, at Mogemug, witnessed a hurricane, during which the sea washed away an island, which was indeed uninhabited, but covered with cocoa-palms and bread-fruit trees.

Captain [Henry] Wilson gives us a view of the nature of the Pelew islands, and their productions. Eap, the other high land to the west of the Carolina\$, appears to us, though it is without high peaks, as the seat of volcanic powers. Earthquakes are frequent and violent, and even the slightly built habitations of the natives are overthrown by them. When the earth trembles at Ulea, the coral reefs of Mogemug and Ulea are shaken, though with less violence. Kadu has not heard that the same happens at Feis. According to his observation, the nights are much cooler at Eap than at Ulea, though the days are equally warm. Eap produces whet-stones, which the low easterly islands obtain from thence. They are a kinder gift of nature than the silver [sic] which Cantova, on the testimony of the native, Cayal, ascribes to this island.² Kadu has explained to us this tradition. A white stone is found in the mountains of Eap, to which the chiefs have an exclusive right; their seats of honour are made of it. One block forms the seat, and another the back. Kadu has seen this stone; it is neither silver nor metal. A yellow stone has the same honour in Pelli (the Pelew islands).

1 Ed. note: Usually written "baguio;" it means typhoon (which is the Chinese word now used in English).

2 Ed. note: I repeat here that Cantova used the Spanish word "plata" which means "silver-plate" as well as money in general. The reference was to the stone money of Yap, not silver: see following sentences.

We may remember, in Wilson's Voyage, the seat of a chief carried away as a military trophy. A sort of potters' clay is used at Eap as well as Pelli, where they make longish vessels of it. This art cannot exist in the low islands without the material.

The several useful palms of the Philippines (*Palma brava*, *Palma de cabello negro*), which are mentioned among the plants of the Pelew islands, allow us to judge of the richness of their Flora. Eap enjoys, with Pelew, the advantage of a high land. We find among the productions of Eap the areca-palm (*Areca cathecu*), the bamboo, and three species of trees growing in the mountains, with the wood of which they build their boats, for which the lower islands only use the bread-fruit tree; the *Aleurites triloba*, the clove-tree (*Caryophyllus aromaticus*), which is not only not esteemed but despised, and also two other trees, which are useless, and of a bitter taste, and serve as a comparison for what is bad and ugly; the orange-tree, the sugar-cane, and, lastly, the *curcuma* [i.e. turmeric], which it is true occurs at Ulea and the other low islands, but in greater abundance at Eap. Kadu recognized, in the Sandwich islands, and among the seeds, which were thrown on the reef of Radack, many that were partly native at Eap, and partly in the low islands of the Carolinas. Feis has, of all the islands, the richest soil, and the most luxuriant Flora. The bamboo, which, on account of its manifold uses, was transplanted there from Eap, thrives well. The other groups of islands procure what they want from Eap. Ulea and similar low islands of these seas produce many kinds of plants that are not at Radack, and nature is far more bountiful to them. Don Luis de Torres has even brought plants from Ulea to Guahon, which were foreign to the Flora of that high country.

All these islands are rich in bread-fruit trees, roots, and banana. The inhabitants of the low islands seem principally to subsist on the bread-fruit tree, many kinds of which, bearing large fruit, are cultivated under different names. On the high islands, the roots are the chief support of the people. The sweet potatoes (*Camotes*)¹ which, together with the seeds of other useful plants, Cayal, three of his brothers, and his father, Corr, brought back to Eap from the Bisayas, Philippines, whither they had drifted, spread from thence to other islands; but, according to Kadu, it does not grow at Ulea. The roots of the *arum* species attain to perfection only on high land, and likewise in Feis. In the Pelew islands² different varieties of one kind are cultivated, some of which attain to an extraordinary size. The pandanus grows on all the Carolinas, where, however, the fruit is neither eaten, nor even used for an ornament. None of the improved kinds are found there. The agriculture of Eap must be admirable. Swimming plantations of *arum* are there ingeniously constructed on rafts of bamboo and wood on the water.

1 The Spaniards called the sweet roots Camotes, and they seem to have borrowed this word from the language of the Philippines. The Camote of the Tagalese and Bisayas was cultivated on these islands before the conquest.

2 In the Account of the Pelew Islands, there is everywhere used the word yams, i.e. *Dioscorea*, by mistake, for taro, or *arum*.

The Plantain is not cultivated so much for its fruit as for its fibres, of which the women weave or braid a pretty stuff, resembling mats. The pieces of this stuff are in the shape of Turkish shawls, three-quarters of a yard wide and several yards long. Black threads woven between, form an elegant pattern on both ends, and these threads hang down as fringes. This stuff is sometimes dyed with *curcuma*. It is described, in the Voyage of Captain James Wilson, in the **Duff**, who, in 1797, had intercourse with the islanders of the province of Ulea, where the art of making it is ascribed, without any reason, to the instruction of the Spanish missionaries.¹ According to Kadu, the banana plants are mostly cut down before they bear fruit, for the sake of the fibres.

Another plant, a *Malvacea*, furnishes a bast, which is likewise used in some islands for similar stuffs.

The paper-mulberry trees, and the bast stuffs of Owhyee, were equally unknown to Kadu. The curcuma-root, which is rasped to a powder, forms a considerable branch of the trade of Eap. The custom of dyeing the skin with this powder, is general, from Tuch in the east, to Pelli in the west, but is not prevalent in the groups to the southwest of the Pelew islands, neither did it prevail in the Mariana islands. The women always ornament themselves in this manner, and the men only on holidays, or in war, for battle; and thus too the bodies of the dead are adorned. The custom of chewing the betel, and of dyeing the teeth black, is exclusively confined to Pelli, Ngoli, Eap, and the Mariana islands, where it formerly also prevailed. It is only in the Pelew islands that a sweet syrup is obtained from the cocoa-palm. The drinking of *kava*, and the use of salt, are equally unknown in the above-said islands.

No domestic animals are to be found on the islands of the first province of the Great Ocean [i.e. Micronesia], except those which are brought by Europeans. We leave it to [Henry] Wilson to speak of the Pelew islands. According to Kadu, a very considerable time ago, a large ship had come to Mogemug, which had left some cats there. The species of this animal has extended from Mogemug to the west as far as Pelli, and to Ulea in the east. They are called in these islands by the Spanish name *Gato*. The people of Eap and Ulea, and Kadu himself, learned, from a very old man at Mogemug, to count from one to ten in the language of these strangers. So far, in fact, he counts in the Spanish language with fluency, and correct pronunciation. He has likewise seen, at Mogemug, two large earthen vessels (three or four feet high), which were left there by that ship. We have traced no other memorial of the mission of Cantova to Mogemug. Kadu heard nothing of the cannon left at the island of Falalep [by Cantova].²

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- 1 We can easily conceive, that the inhabitants ask for iron by the name by which Luito, nine years before, obtained much from the Europeans of Guahon (*Lulu*, Chamori, for *Parang*, Ulea). But we do not comprehend how it happens, that the numbers given are of no dialect of this sea known to us. We recognize only the general roots of the language. Ed. comment: Captain Wilson himself said: "we understood but little of what they spoke."
 - 2 Caschattel, lord of Mogemug at the time of the letters of Cantova, was known by name to Kadu, as a long deceased chief of this group.

The *Trichechus dugong* [i.e. sea-cow] is found in the waters of the Pelew islands, as in those of the Philippine islands.

Cantova mentions the chase of the whale by the inhabitants of the low islands. Perhaps what he relates might be understood of the dolphin fishery.¹

There are three kinds of dolphins in these seas, with a white, red, and black belly. As soon as any of these animals are observed from Ulea, small boats, to about the number of eighty, put out to sea, surround the herd, drive it on the shore, and, when they have approached it near enough, they pelt the animals with stones till they have thrown themselves on shore. In this manner they catch great numbers of them. Their flesh is considered a great delicacy. In the cutting up, particular rules have to be observed. A wrong cut causes the animal to keep from the island for a certain time. At Svilick [sic = Ifaluk], where the reef has only a narrow entrance, these animals are driven into the lagoon, and none of them are killed until a certain number (about fifty) are caught. This chase is executed on the islands belonging to Ulea, with particular success. In the others the art is not so well understood. The dolphins sometimes ascend the rivers of Eap, when the inhabitants intercept their return with nets, and harpoon them.²

The domestic fowl is met with on all the Caroline islands, though the inhabitants do not understand how to derive any particular advantage from it.

[Lizards and totems of the western Carolines]³

Against the account of Cantova, who reports to us what he heard himself from the natives of Eap, that a kind of crocodile is worshipped, or honoured there, we must quote expressly the testimony of Kadu.

In Pelli (the Pelew islands) is a sort of crocodile called *Ga-ut* (*Ye-use* according to Wilson). The *Ga-ut* lives always in the water, and has a flat tail. The sound, resembling the voices of children, which, this dangerous animal utters, may deceive persons who are ignorant of it. The *Ga-ut* of Pelli is not found at Eap. It was only once that one of them was seen there, and was killed, after it had devoured a woman.

A large species of lizard, called *Kaluv*, is found on the islands of Pelli and Eap exclusively, and is expressly stated not to be found at Feis. The *Kaluv* is much smaller than the *Ga-ut*, and its tail is round. It goes indeed into the water, where it may be dangerous to man, and eats fish, but it lives more frequently on shore, and crawls on the trees, where it sleeps during the day. Kadu recognized the *Kaluv* in the figure of the *Lacerta Monitor*, which Sonnini and Latreille give in the "Suites à Buffon."⁴ The flesh

1 Ed. note: A note of explanation should have been placed to that effect in HM12: 472.

2 The inhabitants of Eap have large nets for fishing, which are not, and perhaps could not, be used on the low islands.

3 Ed. note: See the sketch of such a symbol first observed by the pilot José Somera of the ship *Santísima Trinidad* in 1710 (HM11:251).

4 Ed. note: Kadu recognized the general shape of the monitor lizard to be the same. In his Vocabulary, Chamisso gave the word "iguana" as the name used in Guam for this lizard, but a modern Carolinian-English dictionary says that *Galuuf* is only a gecko.

of this animal is considered as poisonous at Eap, and is not eaten. The natives think it would occasion death, but they kill the animal whenever they can. [However, the white man named] Boelé, the adopted son of the chief and priest of the territory of Kattepar, and his companions (perhaps Europeans) ate the flesh without fear and without bad consequences.

Among the insects of Eap which are not found in other islands, Kadu mentions a very large scorpion, the sting of which, said to be mortal, is cured by the juice of herbs; and a small species of *Lampyrus*, which is only met with in some districts. The flea was entirely unknown to Kadu till he came to us.¹

Iron from wrecked ships, which are [rather is] thrown on shore at Ulea, Eap, and other islands, is more abundant than at Radack. None is said to be found to the southwest of Pelli. Driftwood is neglected everywhere.²

Cantova mentions a mixture of different races of men in the Carolines, respecting which our accounts are silent. It is possible that some Papuas of the southern countries may, by accident, have reached these islands, and some Europeans: Martin Lopez³ and his companions, or others, in different ways, as has since frequently been the case. But the race of the natives, is that which has spread over all the islands of the Great Ocean. Their hair seems to be more curly than that of the inhabitants of Radack. They let it grow long, and place a particular value on this natural ornament. It is only at Eap that that of the children is cut.

According to Kadu's observations, the inhabitants of the territory Summagi,⁴ in Eap, are of remarkably short stature. Deformities and natural defects are uncommonly frequent in that island. He once mentioned, as an example, a man without arms, whose head was uncommonly large; another without hands; another without thumbs; a person with only one leg, instances of hare lips, and of persons deaf and dumb.⁵ Even less remarkable cases are much more rare in other islands. A [venereal] sickness, which the Europeans have spread in most of the islands of the South Sea, seems, according to Kadu, not to be quite unknown at Ulea.

The inhabitants of the Carolinas in general are fatter and stouter than those of Radack. Tattooing is everywhere arbitrary, and has no reference to religious faith; the chiefs are not more tattooed than the common people.⁶

A piece of banana stuff, worn almost like the maro of Owhyee and Otaheite,⁷ is the usual dress, and only at Pelli the men are entirely naked, as was also formerly the case in the Mariana islands. The ear ornaments of the inhabitants of Radack are not worn at Pelli. The gristle of the nose is pierced through for putting sweet-scented flowers in.

1 Ed. note: As opposed to head lice, which were eaten at Ratak.

2 Ed. note: Everywhere in the Carolines, but not so in the Marshalls.

3 Ed. note: Rather Lope Martin, in 1566.

4 Ed. note: Given as Summaki in the previous list.

5 Kadu also saw a Eap a monstrous *Kaluv* that had two tails and two tongues.

6 Ed. note: Perhaps not then, but certainly one century earlier, e.g. chief Moac in 1710.

7 Ed. note: The loin-cloth, called *thu* at Yap.

The bracelet, made of the bones of the *Trichecus dugong*, which the chiefs of the Pelew islands wear, is described by Captain [Henry] Wilson. The chiefs at Eap wear a similar broad bracelet made of a polished shell.

[Carolinian houses]

The houses are everywhere large, and closed. You can come in at the door without stooping. Paved foot-paths, and square yards are before the houses at Eap, as in the Pelew islands, where we have been made acquainted with them by Captain Wilson.

[Carolinian canoes]

We must first of all contemplate this courageous seafaring people in their boats.

The boats of Nugor and Tuch, the inhabitants of which are distinguished by a distinct language, and those of the lower islands as far as Ulea, Feis, and Mogemug, which speak the same language, are, according to Kadu, of the same construction as the boats of Ulea. The inhabitants of Savonnemusoch, between Nugor and Tuch, who speak another language, do not undertake long voyages, and probably have other boats.¹

The comparison which Cantova has made between the boats of the Carolinas and those of the Marianas, enables us to judge what these were. The boats of the Marianas were similar to those of Ulea, which are, however, preferable, and better sailers. The two boats which Cantova observed, were overtaken by the west wind, with four others, when on their voyage from Faloilep to Ulea, and dispersed. Most of the people were natives of those two groups, and we take it for granted that their boats were of those islands. The first large boat, in which were four-and-twenty men, had three cabins, and on account of its remarkableness was particularly described; namely, "Une barque étrangère peu différente des barques Marianoises, mais plus haute;" the other, smaller one, "Une barque étrangère à celle des îles Marianes." He says further, when the distance of the islands from each other is to be estimated, "J'ai fait attention à la construction de leurs barques qui n'ont pas la légèreté de celles des Marianes."²

The construction of the boats at Eap and Ngoli, differs but little from that of Ulea. But the natives of Eap are very fond of using the boats of Ulea, which they procure in the way of trade. Pelli has a construction of its own; and the low islands, to the S.E. of

1 Ed. note: This statement is confused only because the author repeats that Nugor and Tuch (Lugunor and Chuuk) have a different dialect than that spoken at Ulea (Woleai). Kadu did not know the geography of the Mortlocks very well, as Savonnemusoch is but another part of Lukunor, according to Bryan's Place Names (Car. 12B-4).

2 And we believe that we have shown, in another place, where there was no other standard, that the distances were still assumed too great. Ulea is even placed at a less distance from Guahon, probably on account of the false determination of the situation of Faloilep, by Juan Rodriguez in 1696, on whom Cantova relied.

Pelli, have, again, another. Pelli, and these islands, are inferior in the art of navigation; and their boats do not visit the eastern islands.

The natives of Ulea, and of the islands in its vicinity, are the most skilful navigators; and Cantova also considers them as being more civilized than the others.¹ The main-spring of navigation is trade. The principal articles of trade are iron, boats, stuffs, and *curcuma* powder. We have spoken, in another place, of the trade with Guahon, where the people of Ulea principally sell boats for iron. Those of Feis, Eap, and Mogemug go to Ulea to purchase boats, in exchange for *curcuma* powder. Those of the eastern islands, which have bread-fruit trees in abundance, build all their boats themselves; and those of Nugor and Tuch barter stuffs at Ulea for iron. Those of Ulea go to Tuch and Nugor; and those of Savonnemusoch are visited in these voyages, but do not visit any other islands. In Pelli, the iron which the Europeans bring there is exchanged for *curcuma*. On the south-western groups of islands they exchange stuffs for iron, of which they are in want. A squadron of ten sail, five from Mogemug, and five from Eap, performed this voyage; and Kadu was personally acquainted with the seamen at Eap.

They are guided in their voyages by the starry firmament, which they divide into constellations, giving each its particular name. They seem to observe, in every voyage, the rising or setting of another constellation. A misunderstood expression of Cantova has caused the knowledge of the magnetic needle to be ascribed to them.² Cantova means only the division of the horizon into twelve points, which we have given with other denominations of the rhumbs and winds, in our vocabulary, after Don Luis de Torres, and Kadu. The steersman of a boat lays, according to Don Luis de Torres, a piece of wood, a little stick, flat before him, and considers himself guided by this, as we by the compass. It seems probable to us, that this stick, placed in the moment of observation, in the seas, where the winds are constant, may serve to represent to them the way they have to keep, with respect to the wind.

They count the days and months on the Caroline islands, and divide the year into seasons, according to the disappearing and re-appearing of the constellations; but nobody counts the years. What is past, is past. The song records the names which are worth preservation, and the multitude float carelessly with the stream.³

Kadu knew as little about his own age, as any of the islanders of the Eastern Polynesia. The life of these islanders, thoughtless, resolute, and only belonging to the moment,

1 "Les habitants de l'isle d'Ulea et des isles voisines m'ont paru plus civilisés et plus raisonnables que les autres." [The inhabitants of the island of Woleai and islands in its vicinity seemed to me to be more civilized and more reasonable than those from others.]

2 "Ils se servent d'une boussole qui a douze aires de vent." Ed. comment: The misinterpretation is due to Cantova's translator, Fr. Le Gobien, who should have translated the expression, not by compass rose but by "rose des vents."

3 *Carpe diem*. Ed. comment: Latin expression meaning: "Enjoy today." It is from Horatius (Odes, 1, 11, 8).

are free from many of the torments which undermine ours. When we told Kadu of the suicides among us, he thought he had heard wrong, and it appeared to him the most ridiculous thing we had ever told him. But they are, and for the same reason, impatient under foreign deliberate oppression; and history records in her annals, the suicide of the Marianos, under the Spaniards (the messengers of the Gospel?).¹

[The religion of the Carolinians]

In all the Caroline islands, only invisible, heavenly divinities are believed. Nowhere do they make the figures of gods; nowhere adore man's works, or corporeal things. Kadu knew very little of the theosophy of his people. What we have related after him, leaves many things to be wished for, and, perhaps, needs correction. We have thought, that we must translate, by the word God, his word *Tautup* (the **Tahutup** of Cantova) and Jageach, at Radack.² According to Cantova, the Tahutup are departed souls, which are considered as guardian genii. The god (Tautup) of Ulea, Mogemug, Eap, and Ngoli, is called *Engalap*; of Feis, *Rongala*; of Elath [i.e. Elato] and Lamureck, *Fuss*; and of the desert island of Fayo, *Lagé*. Is Engalap, the Eliulep of Cantova, Aluelap of Don Luis de Torres, the great God?

No man has ever seen Engalap. The fathers have delivered the knowledge of him to their children. He visits distant islands where he is acknowledged. The time of his presence seems to be the season of fertility. He is united to Rongala, god of Feis, by ties of friendship; and they hospitably visit each other. He seems to have no connection with Fuss, the god of Lamureck. At Ulea, and the more easterly islands (Lamureck, etc.), there are neither temples nor priests; and no sacred offerings take place. There are several temples built at Mogemug, Eap, and Ngoli; offerings are made there, and they have a religious worship.

Kadu has informed us, how it was at Eap, where he had lived for a considerable time, and affirms that it is the same in the two next groups. Both sexes have different temples, and different times for offering. No man is present at the offering of the women. At the offerings of the men, the chief acts the part of the offering-priest. He consecrates to the god a fruit of each kind, and a fish, by holding it up, and by invocation. The formula is, *Wareganam gure Tautup*, the people repeating the last word. The offered fruits are not eaten, but deposited in the temple. To prepare for these offerings, the people remain assembled, and without communication, for a month in the temple, where their food is handed to them from without. Every one consecrates the first piece of all the fruit and fish which he eats during the time, in the above manner, and then throws it away, without having tasted it. Neither songs nor dances take place in the temple. This solemnity is alternately for one month in one territory, and on the following in another.

1 Ed. note: Chamisso, who was not a practicing Christian but a Mason (see his Journal when in the Philippines), is not being fair here; the early missionaries in the Marianas reported that suicide was a pre-existing custom there.

2 Ed. note: See his Vocabulary, and HM12:468. Tahutup was like a family totem.

Kadu, being a stranger, did not attend the solemnities in the temples. He never went into them. Access to the temple is forbidden to every one, out of the time of offering, except to the chief or priest *Matamat*.¹

Rongala has no temples at Feis. But there are times at which he descends on the island, and is invisibly present in the wood. At that time, the people are not allowed to speak or tread loud; they then approach the forest, dyed with *curcuma*, and adorned as for a festival.

[The mythology of Woleai]

We will communicate faithfully, and in detail, the mythology of Ulea, according to Don Luis de Torres. Cantova, whom we beg to be allowed to compare here, relates the descent of the gods, almost in the same manner, and a little more circumstantially.² The pleasing fable of Olifat is entirely new.

Three persons are worshipped in Heaven: Aluelap, Lugeleng, and Olifat. The origin of all things is, however, as follows: before all time, there was a goddess, named Ligo-pup. She is regarded as the creator of the world.³ She bore Aluelap, the lord of all knowledge, the lord of glory, the father of Lugeleng.⁴ But it is not known who was Lugeleng's mother, or any thing respecting his birth. Lugeleng had two wives, the one in Heaven, the other on Earth. The heavenly one was named Hamulul, the earthly one Tarrisso, who equalled the first in beauty, and other natural gifts.

Tarrisso bore Olifat⁵ from her brains, after a four days' pregnancy. Olifat ran away as soon as he was born, and he was followed to cleanse him from the blood; but he said, he would rather do it himself, and would not allow any body to touch him. He cleansed himself on the trunks of the palm trees, past which he ran; for which reason they have retained their reddish colour. They called to him, and followed him, to cut off the navel-cord, but he bit it off himself; he said he would take care of himself, and would not suffer a mortal to touch him. He recollected that it was customary to give to newborn infants the milk of a young cocoa-nut to drink, and came to his mother, who gave him a cocoa to drink. He drank, and turned his eyes towards heaven, where he perceived his father Lugeleng, who called to him. He then followed the call of his father, with his mother. Both, therefore, left the world. When Olifat arrived in Heaven, he met there several children, who were playing with a shark, round the tail of which they had tied a string. To remain unknown, he pretended to be leprous. The children thereupon kept at a distance, and would not touch him. He asked them for the fish to play with, but

1 Ed. note: Now written "Machmach."

2 Ed. note: See HM12: 465-469.

3 According to Cantova, Ligobuub, sister and not mother to Eliulep (the Aluelap of Torres) creatress of man. The first of gods are, however, Subucur, and his wife Halmelul, the parents of Eliulep and Ligobuub.

4 Lugueileng, according to Cantova, who calls his mother Letuehiel, born at Ulea.

5 Oulefat, says Cantova.—He does not name the wives of Lugueileng, but makes the terrestrial mother of Oulefat to be born in the island of Falalu, in the province of Hogoleu [i.e. Chuuk]. This island is not known to Kadu; it is called Felalu on the chart of Don Luis de Torres.

they refused him. One of them, however, had compassion and gave him the string to which the fish was fastened. He played with it for a short time, and then returned it to the children, desiring them not to be afraid, but to continue playing, the fish would do them no harm. He, however, bit all of them, except the one who had been kind to Olifat. Olifat had cursed the shark, which before had no teeth, and was harmless. He then went through Heaven cursing all creatures, on similar occasions because he was provoked in the glory. As nobody knew him, and he had not yet come to his father, who was alone able to recognize him, his life was sought to be taken. He came to a place where a large house was building; he asked the workmen for a knife, to assist in cutting cocoa-leaves for the roof, but they refused him; one, however, gave it to him and he cut a bundle of leaves, but he cursed all the workmen except the one who had favoured him, so that they were changed into immoveable statues. Lugeleng, however, the master of the house, inquired for his workmen, and he was told that they had been turned into immoveable statues. By this Lugeleng and Aluelap knew that Olifat was wandering about in Heaven. They asked the man who was still employed in cutting cocoa-leaves for the house, whether he had not seen any thing about, and he answered, that he had seen nothing but a *Canduru* (a kind of sand-snipe, into which bird Olifat had changed himself). They sent the man to call the *Canduru*, but when he did it the bird was frightened at the voice, and flew away. The man reported it, and the gods asked him what he had told the bird. He answered that he had told him to come. They sent him again, and commanded him to order the bird to depart, because he obstructed the chiefs. He immediately did so, and the bird instantly came. He forbid him to go farther, and to sit in the presence of the chiefs, and the bird immediately did what he was forbidden. As soon as he was seated, Lugeleng commanded the workmen who had been petrified in the wood to be called together, and they soon came, to the great astonishment of the spectators, for Lugeleng and Aluelap alone knew that it was Olifat.

The workmen now continued with the building, and dug deep holes in the ground to erect the posts. This appeared a fortunate opportunity for those who intended to kill Olifat, on account of the much mischief which he caused. Olifat, however, was acquainted with their intention, and concealed about him some dyed earth, coals, and the rib of a palm-leaf. He now digged in the hole, and made a side opening to hide himself in it. But they imagined that it was now time, threw the post in, and mould round its foot, and thought to squeeze him to death. But he took refuge in the side opening, spit out the dyed earth, and they thought it was his blood: he spit out the coals, and they thought it was his gall. They now imagined that he was dead. With the assistance of the rib of the cocoa-leaf, Olifat made his way through the middle of the post and escaped. He laid himself as a beam directly across the post from which he had come, and was not perceived. When the day's work was over, the workmen sat themselves down to their meal. Olifat sent an ant to fetch him a piece of cocoa: the ant brought him as much as it was able. By his power he enlarged it to a whole nut. He then cried aloud: "Take care below, I am going to break my cocoa-nut." They recognized him by this exclamation, and were much astonished that he was alive. They considered him to be Alus, the

evil spirit.¹ They still resolved to kill him, and told him that he should only finish his meal; they would afterwards give him a commission. They sent him to the house of Thunder to bring him his meal. Olifat took a reed and went away. He came to the house of Thunder, and said imperiously and rudely: "I have tired myself by bringing food for your misshapen mouth." He gave him his meal, and went away. The thunder intended to fall upon him, but he concealed himself in his reed. The thunder could not find him, and gave up his search. Olifat came again forward, and created the greater astonishment, as he came back after this trial without any hurt. The workmen again sent him out to bring the meal to the fish *Fela*.² Olifat entered the house of the fish *Fela*, but as he was not at home himself, he threw the meal to those who were there, saying: "Take it yourselves," and departed. When the fish came home, he asked for him who brought the meal. The family told him, that somebody had thrown the food to them, but they did not know who he was, nor whither he had gone. The fish now began to throw a hook, fastened to a long line, to all the winds; and when he at last threw it to the north, he pulled out Olifat, and killed him. After a lapse of four or five days, without Olifat appearing, those who sought to kill him in Heaven, consoled themselves, and thought he was now dead. But Lugeleng looked for his son, and at last found him dead, and full of worms. He raised him up in his arms, and awakened him. He asked him who had killed him. Olifat answered, he had not been dead, but had been sleeping. Lugeleng called the fish *Fela* to him, beat him with a club, on the head, and broke the upper jaw: hence the form which he now has. Aluelap, Lugeleng, and Olifat, now entered into glory, where they are engaged in administering justice.

Others fix the number of divinities at seven, namely: Ligopup, Hautal, Aluelap, Litefeo, Hulaguf, Lugeleng, and Olifat.

To the question whether other islands had the same belief, several answered, That this was the belief of the whole world, and the world would perish when Aluelap commanded it.

For comparison we shall communicate the doctrine of the former inhabitants of the Mariana islands. Velarde, tome ii, fol. 291.³ Puntan was a very wise man, who had lived many years in the void space, before the creation of the Heaven and the Earth. When he was about to die, he commissioned his sister that she should make the heavens and earth out of his breast and shoulders, the sun and moon out of his eyes, and the rainbow out of his eyebrows.

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- 1 "*Nombre que dan al Diablo*." Ed. comment: Spanish phrase meaning: "name which they give to the Devil." Cantova actually said: *Elus melabut*, or evil spirit (HM12:466).
 - 2 This is the fish whose upper jaw is so much shorter than the lower one. Ed. comment: The halfbeak is a fish with a greatly extended lower jaw; its scientific name is *Hemiramphus*.
 - 3 Ed. note: Father Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J. *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus* (Manila, 1749).

Thus in our modern mythology:—

Or Ymis holdi	Literally: Out of Ymer's flesh,
Variörth om scavpvth	Was the earth created;
Enn or beinam biörg,	But out of [his] bones rocks;
Himinn or havsi	The heaven out of the skull
Ins hrimkalda iotvnn.	Of the ice-cold giant;
Enn or sveita siör.	But out of his blood the sea.

Vafthrusdismal XXI. Edda saemundar, p. 13.

Though there is no public service at Ulea to the gods or the divinity, we were yet assured by Don Luis, that the people were not without pious sentiments. Individuals sometimes lay fruits, as offerings to the invisible beings, and nobody is blamed for taking this offering and eating it.

[Divination as practiced in the Central Carolines]

Cantova mentions a peculiar manner of enquiring into one's future destiny. The mode of proceeding is the following: They tear two strips from each side of the rib of a cocoa-leaf, repeating the syllable, *Pué-pué-pué*,¹ one after the other, then hastily make knots in every strip, repeating the question they intend to put respecting their fate, in intelligible words. The first strip is laid between the little and the ring finger, with four knots in the inside of the hand, and the other with a decreasing number of knots between the middle and the fore-finger, and between the fore-finger and the thumb. According as the number of knots hanging over the back of the hand coincides with, or differs from the number of fingers, one, two, three or four, the indication if fortunate or unfortunate.

At Ulea, as among other people, many customs, depending on their belief, are observed, and many conjurations prevail. We have mentioned the cutting of the dolphin. A small fish is caught very often, with which children are not allowed to play. Should it happen that any person held this fish by the tail, so that the head hung down, all the fish would, in the same manner, seek the bottom of the sea with their heads at the next fishing trip, and none would be caught. Many people are not allowed to eat of the fruits of the banana bunch. Only that person who has eaten one of the bananas is suffered to eat the rest.

On the desert island of Fajo,² as at Bygar [i.e. Bikar], fresh water is conjured into the water pits. There is a species of black-bird, which is under divine protection on this island, and not permitted to be eaten.

The people of Eap are famed for their skill in conjuration. They understand how to conjure the sea, to lay the storm, and, in a calm, to call up the wind from the favour-

1 Ed. note: Written *bweey* in a modern Carolinian-English dictionary, ref. Jackson & Mark, where it is quoted in relation with the eventual success of a fishing trip.

2 Ed. note: That is, the true [West] Fayo, now labelled Gaferut on modern maps.

able quarter. They understand, by throwing, with conjuration, an herb into the sea, to excite the waves, and to raise the most dreadful storms. To them is ascribed the destruction of so many boats from Feis and Mogemug, nay, even the gradual depopulation of these islands. In a piece of fresh water, in the territory of Suteuil, there are two fish, only a span long, but extremely old; they keep constantly in one line, with their heads turned towards each other. If one of them is touched with a switch, so that it moves forward, and they cross each other, the islands are shaken to their foundations, and the earthquake does not cease till both occupy their former situation. Above these fish, and the water in which they live, a house is built, and over it watch the chiefs, at whose death there sometimes occurs an earthquake.

A certain Eonopei (he is now dead, his son Tamanagack is a chief of the territory of Eleal)¹ once showed our friend Kadu a remarkable specimen of his art. Eonopei prepared a round flat cake out of taro dough. It was night and full moon. He began, with conjurations, to eat his cake. In proportion as he bit into the edge of it, the full disk of the moon was impaired and hollowed out, more and more, in the form of a sickle. When he had thus, for a time, magically eaten at the moon, he altered this process and his conjurations. He now began to knead the soft dough of his cake, which remained, again into a full circle; at the same time the disk of the moon equally increased, and at last the moon shone quite full. Kadu, during this time, sat next to the conjuror, looked at every thing, the moon and the cake, with the greatest attention, and wondered how the circle of each could, simultaneously, first decrease and then increase. We make no comments upon the account of our simple-minded friend, of whose veracity we have not the least suspicion, and leave it for more learned commentators, to apply it to an eclipse of the moon; which we cannot, however, suppose could be foretold at Eap before the discovery of writing.

Feasts and banquets, which take place on several occasions, such as the piercing the ears of children, the cutting of their hair at Eap, tattooing, &c. seem to have no religious significance.

Singing and dancing, mostly inseparable, everywhere constitute the chief delight, the chief amusement. There are different kinds of festive sports, which are led up by the different sexes, or by both united, and of which each bears a different character and a peculiar name. Their songs are, however, not accompanied by any musical instruments, and even the drum is unknown in the Carolinas.

The chiefs seem to be subject to each other, according to a kind of feudal system. Opinion raises them high above the lower people, and extraordinary demonstrations of respect are paid to them, with which we are sufficiently acquainted by Cantova's Letters, and (for Pelew) from the Account of the Pelew Islands. They bow before them to the ground, and only crawl to them. The boats lower their sails in sight of the island of Mogemug, the residence of the principal chief of the group of this name. This reverence to noble, perhaps divine, descent, does not appear to interfere in purely human connec-

1 Ed. note: Not given in the earlier list for Yap, unless it corresponds to Elauth, the modern Anoth.

tions between chiefs and other men, notwithstanding the relative rank, to which due regard is paid.

The principal chiefs have great authority, and exercise penal justice, according to the principle of the strictest retaliation: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."¹

According to Cantova, criminals are only punished by banishment. We will relate a story, according to our friend Kadu, in which it is evident with what great lenity crimes are less sought to be revenged than repressed. We fancy we hear the national tale of the *Fin-voleur* [i.e. smart thief] from the mouths of our nurses.

On an island of Mogemug the trees were regularly robbed of their best fruit, without the people, who carefully watched each other, being able for a long time to discover the thief. They were at last aware, that an apparently well-disposed boy got up every night and committed the robbery. They chastised him, and watched him. He however deceived their vigilance, and did not leave off his practice. They shut him up during the night; they tied his hands on his back, but the sly thief knew how to frustrate all these precautions, and continued as before. They brought him to a remote, uninhabited island of the group, which barely afforded food for one man. Here they left him alone. They, however, soon perceived that it had been of no avail, and their trees were still robbed as before. Several persons rowed over to the desert island, and found the young man feasting in great abundance on the fruits of their property. The trunk of a tree served him for a boat, and he went out every night on his depredations. They destroyed this vessel, and left him, having deprived him of the power of doing mischief in his solitude. They had now rest. After some time, they wished to know how he did, and some persons went again to the island. They heard and saw nothing of him. After they had in vain called and looked for him in the woods, they returned to the shore, and found that their boat was gone. The sly thief had gone with it to sea. He sailed over to Sorol. On this group he did not leave off his tricks, but projected greater undertakings. He persuaded the chief of Sorol to make an attack on Mogemug. He was to surprise the chief in the night, and murder him, and seize upon the supreme power. The confederates came by day in sight of Mogemug. They lowered their sails, awaiting the night in the open sea. The boat was, however, observed, and they were surrounded on their landing. The instigator was punished with death. The people of Sorol returned uninjured to their island.

The succession at Ulea, as at Radack, descends first to the brothers, and then to the sons of the eldest son.

According to Kadu, the chiefs give to the eldest son the name of their father, to the second the name of their wife's father, to the third again the name of their father, and so on; other people, on the contrary, give to their eldest son the name of the father of their wife, and to the other children different names; and it is said to be the same at

1 Ed. note: A reference to the Law of the Talion (i.e. retaliation) of the ancient Hebrews.

Radack. According to Don Luis, the degree of consanguinity is indicated in the names, and it is to be recognized by them whose son or nephew he is.

The amiable exchange of names, a general custom in Eastern Polynesia, is unknown on the Carolinas, and Kadu at first denied that it was customary at Radack, though he himself gave us examples of it in the sequel.

Marriages are concluded without any solemnities. The man makes a present to the father of the girl whom he marries, consisting of fruits, fish, and similar things. The value of this gift is according to the rank of the father of the bride, for marriages also take place between persons not equals. If only the father, or only the mother, is of the class of the chiefs, the children are accounted to belong to this class. In the first case the man and husband shows to his wife, and his children by her, all the exterior demonstrations of respect due to their rank. A plurality of wives is allowed. Marriages are dissolved, as they were concluded, without any ceremony. The husband sends his wife back to her father. The husbands also cohabit with their wives when they are pregnant, but not when they have a child at the breast. The latter is only customary at Radack; the former, contrary to Wilson's assertion, is expressly observed at Pelew. There a chief, who has generally several wives, has his place, with any one of his wives who is in this state, supplied by a chosen man. We shall speak particularly of the customs of Pelew. Married women in other islands are entirely devoted to their husbands. They are bound by duty, and the uncorrupted morals of the people seem to guard their virtue. Unmarried women are allowed their liberty, according to custom. They pass the nights in their own large houses. Infanticide is undeared-of; the prince would have the unnatural mother punished with death.

What is related respecting the **burial** of the dead at Radack, is also customary at Ulea, and the islands lying more to the east. According to Kadu, the corpses of all persons, without distinction of birth, are buried on the islands at Feis, Mogemug, and Eap. We, however, see at Mogemug, after the great tragedy which concluded the history of the Carolina missions, the customs of Ulea observed towards the dreaded strangers whom they had murdered, and must believe that Kadu erred with respect to Mogemug. At Eap the burying-places are in the mountains. The mountaineers¹ fetch the corpses of persons who have died in the valley, and for this office receive a present of fruits, roots, &c. It appears that none of the friends follow it to the grave.

A bond of inviolable friendship is concluded in all these islands, exclusively between two men, which binds the friends together with particular force. The chief and the common man can also conclude such a bond, without infringing on the relative rank of the parties. Though this kind of friendship is found on all the islands, yet different duties and privileges are attached to it at different places. At Eap, on every kind of engage-

1 Ed. note: Knowledge acquired in the 1880s and 1890s tells us that these so-called mountaineers were a lower caste of people.

ment, one friend must stand security for his friend, and where he is injured, or killed, he is obliged to revenge it. To similar obligations a new one is found at Ulea. When the friend claims the hospitality of his friend, he gives him his wife during the time of his visit, which is not done at Feis, and farther west. We have seen, that at Radack the duty in the first respect is less binding; in others, the same as at Ulea.

The touching of the noses, as on the islands of Eastern Polynesia, is the customary salutation.

[War-making. Peace restored by symbolic cannibalism]

Of the Carolinas, only Pelew, Eap, Tuch, and the remoter islands, with which Tuch is at variance, are acquainted with war. The other islands, as Ulea, enjoy an uninterrupted peace. Our kind-hearted companion frequently and joyfully repeated: "There, there they know nothing of war and combat! There man does not kill man! and he who sees war, his hair will turn white!" War has not always prevailed at Eap. Formerly, the island recognized the authority of a paramount chief, and there was peace. But since the death of Gurr, the last supreme chief, the chiefs of the different districts often settle their disputes by arms. In case of any wrong, or offence, the triton's horn is blown. Both parties approach each other armed. They negotiate. When satisfaction is refused, and no compromises can be agreed upon, they fight. The war lasts till one of the class of chiefs has fallen on each side, and the opposite party eaten a part of his flesh. Every one only just lifts a piece to his lips. This is an indispensable ceremony. As soon as this condition has been complied with, peace is restored; and it is confirmed by marriages between the two parties.

The character of these islanders is, however, mild and hospitable as those of the other groups. The stranger at Eap and Pelew goes without danger between the belligerent parties, and enjoys an equally friendly reception among both.¹

The people of Eap throw the dart in an arc, with the assistance of a hollowed piece of bamboo, in which the unarmed end of the weapon is held and receives the impulse. By this means they throw it an extraordinary distance. This weapon seems to agree in the essential parts with those of the Aleutians and northern Eskimos. They have also the two-pointed lance of the Radackers. When the combatants have approached each other, this lance is thrown straight, and merely by the hand. They at last fight man to man. The chief leads on to war with the triton's horn. The military expedition approaches towards the hostile territory in boats and rafts of bamboo. The landing is attempted to be opposed. The decisive combats take place on shore.

The people of Tuch use, for close combat, the dart, and, at a distance, the sling. Their throw is far and sure; they manage this weapon with astonishing skill. They also constantly wear them in time of peace tied round the head, and use them to kill birds, to beat down fruit from the trees, and the like. Kadu learned to use the sling at Ulea from

¹ Ed. note: To be compared with the situation one century earlier. See remarks by Cantova below.

the natives of Tuch, and he often passed his time among us in this exercise, in which he was, however, very unskilful.

[Character of the natives]

Don Luis de Torres extolled, in his friends of Ulea, what gave us pleasure to praise in our friends at Radack: they are kind, friendly, elegant, and modest. A woman never came on board the [ship] *Mary*. They are good-natured, affectionate, generous, and grateful. They have the memory of the heart. Any thing, a useful instrument, for example, which they have received as a gift from a friend, retains and bears among them as a lasting memorial, the name of the friend who bestowed it. Thus Kadu intended to give our names to the animals and plants we had introduced there, to keep us in eternal remembrance.

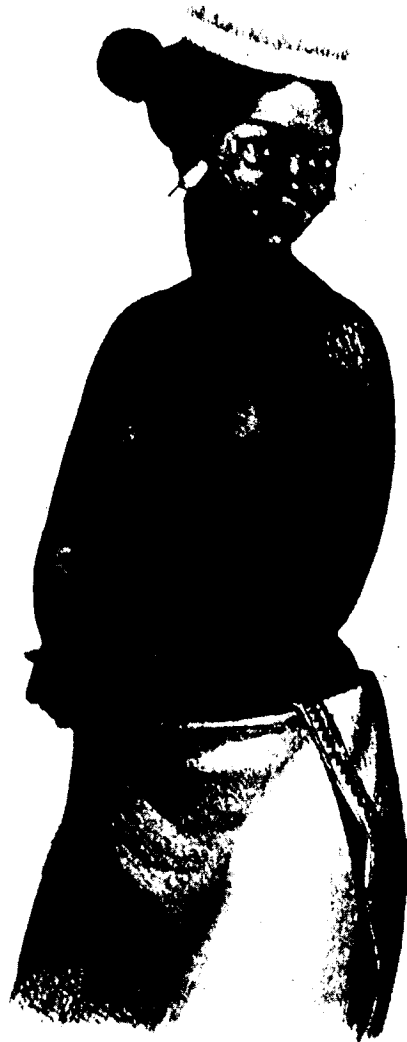
Of the natives of the Pelew islands (*Palaos, Panlog*), Cantova gives a terrible picture.¹ According to the accounts he received, they are hostile cannibals. They appear to us, in the account of the grateful Henry Wilson, who owed his return to his country to the generous hospitality, in the most favourable light, the partial colouring of affection, adorned with every virtue; and the fact proves, that they exercised most of these virtues. We live with Wilson among this people, see with our own eyes, and judge ourselves. Since Wilson's time, English, Spaniards, and Americans have continually visited the Pelew islands; several Europeans have settled there, and the *Trepang* is constantly collected on their reefs for the mart of Canton. Kadu, who had been at the Pelew islands, gave us a comparison between the two people.² This comparison, according to the opinion of our friend, was not favourable to the natives of the Pelew islands. He particularly censures them for total want of modesty, so that they brutally follow the impulse of nature in open day. He excited in us the picture of excessive licentiousness, such as is found in the Sandwich islands.

A few leaves of a journal, communicated to us at Cavite, by a Spaniard, who had passed nine months in the Pelew islands, are drawn up in the language of abuse, not of criticism.³ He makes less impression on us than our honest friend, whose inculpations he, however, circumstantially repeats: "The man "knows" the woman in the sight of everybody. All are ready to give up their wives for a trifle," &c.; but he also accuses them of eating human flesh, and scarcely allows them the figures of men. We lay down his melancholy writing after having merely mentioned it: they are probably no longer the innocent and unsuspecting friends of Wilson. What they have learned from us has not made them better.

1 Ed. note: The quotation he gives is translated in HM12:464.

2 Ed. note: That is, that of the Western versus the Central Carolines.

3 Ed. note: According to Chamisso's journal, during his stay at Cavite, he stayed with a French émigré by the name of Santiago de Echaparre [=Echevarri?]. This man was perhaps the unnamed author of this journal.



**Woman of Kaben Island, Maloelap
atoll, Ratak, Marshall Is.**

C2. His published journal

Source: Adelbert von Chamisso. A Voyage around the World with the Romanzov Exploring Expedition (Honolulu, UHP, 1986); translated and edited by Henry Kratz, and excerpts reprinted with his permission.

From Chile to Kamchatka.

...
On May 19, as we sought out the Mulgrave Islands, a gust of wind unexpectedly blew in the opposite direction from that of the prevailing wind, brought the sails into confusion, and ripped apart some rigging. The captain was struck by a piece of dislodged rope that came hurtling through the air, and sank to the deck stunned. This incident, which spread terror among us, fortunately had no evil consequences.

On the 21st we discovered a reef that had sparse verdure only in a few points and from which only a few coconut trees raised their heads. On the 22nd two artfully constructed boats came toward us from this reef, tacking dexterously against the wind. The pleasant people, wearing their finery, invited us to their land but, feeling their weakness and our strength, did not dare to come any closer to us. A boat was launched, upon which Gleb Simonovich and Login Andrevich took their places, and we rowed toward them. But even this way we were unable to inspire confidence in them. They threw us presents, a decorative mat and a fruit of the pandanus, and quickly headed toward the island, inviting us to follow them. These were Radak people. They gave us presents first and left without our returning the gifts at this first encounter.

Chapter X. Departure from Hana-ruru. Radak.

...
Now I will return to Radak and the Radak people.
After what I said in my "Notes and Opinions" there remains to be told here only the story of our appearance between these reefs and the report of how we made the acquaintance of that people whom I learned to love above all the other sons of the earth. The weakness of the Radak people removed our mistrust of them. Their own gentleness and goodness allowed them to have confidence in the more powerful strangers. We became friends without reservation. In them I found pure, uncorrupted customs, charm, grace, and the gracious bloom of modesty. In strength and manly self-confidence the O-Waihians are far superior to them. My friend Kadu, who, a stranger on these islands, joined our company, one of the finest characters I have met in my life, one of the people I have loved most, later became my teacher about Radak and the Caroline Islands. In my essay "On our Knowledge of the First Province of the Great Ocean" I have had occasion to mention him as a scientific authority, and I have there attempted to put together his picture and his story from the disparate features of our

life together. Be indulgent, friends, if I repeat myself sometimes; here I am speaking of my love.

The island chain of Radak lies between 6° and 12°, the groups seen by us between 8° and 11°30' N latitude and 188° and 191° W longitude. I note only that I mentioned a reef or shallows called Limmosalülü to the north of Arno, which is missing on Mr. von Kotzebue's map, and refer for the rest, as far as geographical matters are concerned, to Mr. von Kotzebue and Mr. von Krusenstern.

I shall return to the day by day account of our voyage.

[Mejit]

On January 1, 1817, the weather had cleared and the wind subsided. The high water showed that there was still no land downwind. Bonito swarmed around us. In the afternoon land was discovered, just visible from the deck at sunset. A little low island: Mesid [sic]. The bright moonlight kept us from danger during the night. On the morning of the 2nd we approached the south side of the island with a very weak wind. Seven small boats without mast or rigging, each manned by five to six men, paddled up to us. We recognized the ship design and the people of the island groups we had sighted the previous year. The clean, attractive people behaved well, when invited they came confidently closer to the ship without anyone's daring to climb aboard. We began to barter with them, and they acted with great honesty. We gave them iron, mostly, all they had to offer us was their ornaments, their delicate shell wreaths. The captain had the yawl and the *baidare* set out to try a landing. Lieutenant Shishmarev commanded the yawl, and I followed with Eschschoitz and Choris in the *baidare*. The crew was armed. The boats surrounding the ship followed us when they saw us rowing toward shore. Others joined them from the island, so that as we approached about eighteen similar vessels drew a circle around us, and I counted six more of them on the beach. A number of men stood on the shore, women and children were not to be seen. I estimated the number of those visible at about a hundred, Lieutenant Schishmarev twice as many; at any event, a relatively much larger population than on the other groups of the same island chain that we had visited. In the face of our inferior number, which made the islanders more forward, and in consideration of our superiority in lethal weaponry, Gleb Simonovich decided not to step onto the land. In fact, one of our people had already drawn a bead on a native who while swimming had grasped a paddle of our *baidare*. The trading was continued in the vicinity of the beach. The people gave everything they possessed for iron: coconuts, pandanus fruits, mats, delicate wreaths of shells, a triton horn, a short two-bladed wooden sword set with shark's teeth. They also brought fresh water in coconut shells. They tried to get us to land, one of them tried to get into our boat. The scene was comparable to the one near the Penrhyn Islands. We let them have quite a lot of iron and drew back to the ship.

The length of Mesid Island from north to south may be about two miles. We approached it on the narrowest southern side, where the people's dwellings are located. The coconut palms, irregularly distributed, rose only a little above the height of the low

forest, whose chief constituent is the pandanus tree. Below the green foliage roof the white coral floor can be seen stretching into the distance. The view is comparable to that on Romanzov, but the latter is probably less barren in appearance.

We headed toward the west, and in the evening with a weak wind we had lost sight of the island.

On the 3rd we saw several snipes and sandpipers, a whale (*Physeter*) and some pelicans, one of which was shot. We changed course and headed for the SE.

[Wotje]

On the 4th, toward noon, when we were about to give up any further search, we came upon a chain of islands that stretched from east to west as far as the eye could reach. On the green spots where reef and surf were joined no coconut trees rose, and nothing betrayed the presence of man. In the evening we reached the western tip of the group and found ourselves in their lee in a calm sea. The reef, denuded of land, took a southeasterly direction. We sailed along it and discovered gaps in it that gave us hope of penetrating into the inner lagoon, which presented a calm, mirror-like surface. During the night the current drove us toward the northwest. In the morning of the 5th land had disappeared. Not until nine o'clock did we reach the point where night had befallen us.

Lieutenant Shishmarev was sent out to explore the entrances, and at the second one his signals announced that a pass had been found for the **Rurik**. Then a column of smoke arose from one of the distant islands. We greeted that sign of human habitation with exultation. No vessels of the islanders were to be seen.

The day was already declining. The boat was called back, and in order to be able to maintain ourselves throughout the night at our present stand, a kedge anchor was carried out to the reef and fastened there; and the **Rurik** advanced under sail up close to the foaming surf in order to receive its rope. "Thus the mariner finally holds fast to the very rock against which he was to go aground." The blowing northern trade wind kept us from destruction by the length of a rope.

Here around the reef and its openings we were surrounded by bonito, flying-fish, and innumerable sharks, which followed our boat threateningly. Two were caught and eaten.

On the 6th the wind changed before daybreak and, going over to the east, drew us toward the foaming surf. Dropping the cable, we went under sail. As soon as the sun had risen we turned back. At ten o'clock in the morning, surf roaring on both sides of us, we passed under full sail with the wind and current behind us, through the Rurik Strait into the inner sea of the Otdia group of the island chain of Radak.

As the lagoon empties and fills with ebb and flood, the current flows out at the gaps in its edge at ebb tide and in again when the tide rises.

Sent out with the boat, Lieutenant Shishmarev discovered a safe place for the **Rurik** to drop anchor at the westernmost island.

The bold and clever maneuvers that Mr. von Kotzebue executed at the entrance to this and other similar reefs must excite the interest even of those who have no knowl-

edge of navigation. The European who, far from home, deals with peoples over whom he thinks he has an advantage, is tempted by many fits of conceit that he must not be over-anxious to fall prey to. These sons of the sea, I said, will be surprised indeed when they see our giant ship with outspread wings like a seabird move contrary to the direction of the wind that carries it, penetrate the protecting walls of their reefs, and then move toward the east in the direction of their dwellings. And behold! I was the one who had to look on in surprise, as, while we laboriously tacked about and gained very little on the wind, they in their artfully constructed craft went straight ahead on the same route we went in a zig-zag fashion, hurried on ahead of us, and dropped their sails to await us.

[Marshallese canoes]

On Otdia, using the most experienced natives, Mr. von Kotzebue had had a large accurate model of one of these vessels fashioned and had devoted to the contrivance the attention that it demands from a seafarer. His narrative deceived me in my expectation of finding sufficient data in it about the Radak *oa*. Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque*, gives three different views of it. The side view [Plate 11] is true, but the profile is incorrect. The foot of the mast always rests on the projection outside of the body of the vessel on the side of the outrigger, as can be seen on the outline in Plate 12. But on this outline the mast inclines further toward the outside and the outrigger beam than is consistent with reality. On the whole, these drawings are inadequate. The boat of the Caroline Islands, on Plate 17 [rather Plate 18], which essentially corresponds to that of Radak, is better depicted. No description can evoke a picture of the described object, and still I must attempt with a few swift words to give the reader some indications of the boat in question. It has two identical ends, both of which are equally adapted to become bow or stern when it is in motion, and two unequal sides, one of which remains before the wind, one away from the wind; away from the wind bordered by a straight surface, before the wind a little curved, narrow, deep, with a sharp keel, somewhat turned up at the ends, is the ship's hull, which acts only as a floating body. Diagonally across the middle of it and elastic projection is fastened, which extends out over the water on both sides, shorter downwind, longer on the wind side, where this light span toward its end is bent downward, and it is attached to a floating beam that runs parallel to the hull. On this projection, outside of the hull on the windward side, is the mast, which, fastened to several guy ropes, is inclined toward the end that is to be the bow, and to which a simple three-cornered sail is hoisted, one corner of which is fastened to the bow of the ship. Steering is effected with a hand paddle from the rear of the boat. The sailors stand or lie on the outrigger and take their position closer to the float when the wind is strong and closer to the hull when it is weak. On this same projecting part boxes are attached on both sides of the boat, in which provisions and other property are preserved. The largest of these vessels can carry up to thirty people.

I will here list the measurements of one of these vessels, which was scarcely of medium size:

Length of the boat's hull	17 feet 6 inches
Width	1 foot 10 inches
Depth	3 feet 7 inches
Distance of the float from the boat's hull	11 feet 0 inch
Length of the span beyond the hull to leeward	3 feet 0 inch
Height of the mast	19 feet 6 inches
Length of the yard arms	23 feet 4 inches

On Aur Mr. von Kotzebue measured two boats of 38 feet in length.

I shall not endeavor to put the reader asleep with an extensive account of daily experiments and observations during our sojourn in this harbor. The intention was, after we had recovered the anchor left on the reef (which took place on the 7th), had made the astronomical observations considered necessary, and had reconnoitered ahead with the boats, to penetrate more deeply into the group where we were justified in supposing the permanent dwellings of the people to be.

This western [rather northern] part of the chain presented a sad sight. The islands closest around us were bleak and without water, but man had left his traces behind, and the recently planted coconut tree testified to his concerned activity. It is really hard to foresee everything that can happen in a little world like ours. Once our fatuous cook fell upon this planting in order to consume the hope of future generations for a dish for our table. I scarcely need say that it did not happen again.

On the fourth island [counting from the west] there were, along with a water hole, straw roofs that, resting on low posts, seemed to be planned only as a protection for occasional visits to the area. The breadfruit tree was also planted along with the coconut tree. On this island a boatful of natives landed on the 6th and then went out to sea again to observe us from a shy distance. We did not succeed in enticing the natives to come near us, and they also took anxious flight away from the boat in which we rowed toward them. They threw a few fruits to us and invited us to land. It was the first act, as in the previous year on the high seas near Udirik.

The boat showed up again on the next day, and then we followed the people to their island. As we approached, the women stepped back into the thicket. The men, at first only a few, came hesitantly toward us with green branches. We also broke green branches. The peaceful greeting "Eidara," already often heard, was called out to us, and we returned it in the same way. No weapons were held in readiness toward us, the feared strangers. After we had cemented friendship with the first ones, the others came up, and the women were called. The people seemed to us to be joyous, friendly, modest, generous, and not concerned with profit. Both men and women gave us all the ornaments that they wore, their delicate shell and flower wreaths, their necklaces etc., and it seemed to be more a charming symbol of love than a gift.

The captain himself came to this island the next day but did not find our friends there anymore, they having probably gone on their way to spread the joyous message of our peaceful disposition.

Of the animals that we had taken aboard at O-Wahu, only a few goats were still on hand. Mr. von Kotzebue set them out on the island, where they at first served to terrorize the islanders. With our pious intent of introducing this useful species on the island it had remained unobserved that in the tiny herd there was a he-goat [not, let us hope, the only one] who—*horribile dictu!*—was castrated. Whether from shame at not being up to his duties or from poison or disease, he died immediately, and his bloated body was found on the beach the next day. Besides the goats, a cock and a hen were left on the island, they immediately taking possession of a house. We later discovered that chickens are native to these reefs. Finally, a few roots and plants were planted and sown. A few small gifts were left behind in the houses.

Khramchenko found people on the island the next day, some men, different from those with whom we had made friends. At ebb tide the islanders walk along the reef to distant islands. He was received and treated in the friendliest fashion. The presents we had set out lay untouched wherever and however we had left them. They produced, when he distributed them, a lively joy. But the goats caused the utmost terror.

On January 10 Lieutenant Shishmarev was sent out with the longboat to reconnoiter. The wind gave him difficulties. He saw only uninhabited islands and returned in the evening. On the 12th we went under sail, the weather was unfavorable, and we soon had to return to our old anchorage.

On the 14th the captain himself undertook a second trip along the island chain with an officer and passengers.

A native vessel had landed on Goat island, and the people, when we went past, called to us and tried to entice us to land with fruits and gifts extended toward us. On the next island to the east we received the first visit from Rarik, the chieftain of this group. He came with two boats. In the first, in which he rode himself, Mr. von Kotzebue counted twenty-five men. Rarik, leaving his other men in the boats, came ashore with three and brought the commander of the foreign people his presents, perhaps his homage. In this manner did the princes of Europe once approach him who had power over them. However, Rarik did not stand before a conqueror, and found friendship rather than humiliation. The young man preserved a model bearing at this first meeting, which was so important for him, and his hesitant companions seemed to be more fearful for him than he was himself. We always found more self-confidence, more courage and magnanimity, among the leaders than among the people. It lies according to the nature of things, in the circumstances: in the Levant the Turk is also distinguished from the rajah. Rarik, who later became my very intimate friend, was especially distinguished by gentleness and good nature, but not by any special intellectual gifts.

Kotzebue and he sat down opposite each other, and around the two of them we and the other Radak people formed a circle. The young prince called out loudly to those remaining in the boats to give them information about everything that attracted his attention and was a new experience for him. "Jrio! jrio!"—the cry of amazement—was frequently raised and echoed in a long, drawn-out fashion from everyone's mouth. We sought first mutually to discover each other's names. Kotzebue, Rarik, all of us were

named. We asked the name of the Radak man who sat at the chief's left. "Jeridili?" the latter replied interrogatively, looking at the former. We picked up the word, and the youth let it pass for his name, in the way we took it, he is still known as Jeridili to us. The laughter that then arose we did not understand until later, when Kadu informed us that *jeridili* means "left" and is not a personal name.¹ I think that it was already at this first encounter that Rarik offered the captain the friendly exchange of names. On a later occasion Jeridili offered this, his name, to Doctor Eschscholtz for his, which he did not yet know and about which he asked. Eschscholtz did not understand him, and I stepped in as interpreter between them. "Dein Name" ["Your name"], I cried out to my friend. "Deinnam," the Radak man repeated. "Yes, Deinnam," the Doctor affirmed, and so the two of them unabashedly exchanged their false names with each other.

Our friends had deprived themselves of all their ornaments for us. Now the captain had some ironware brought from the boats: knives, scissors, and other trifles. "Iron! Iron! *Mäl! Mäl!*" Then one could see the real value of this precious metal. *Mäl! Mäl!* Even those left on the boats could not withstand this development; all the orderliness was gone. Everybody crowded about to look at the treasures, our excessive wealth! But no raw outbreak of cupidity, no display of bad manners.

During our long sojourn on Radak only a few attempts at theft were made upon us. Indeed, if foreigners had exposed so much gold carelessly to the greed of our lower classes, they would not have as good a report to give of the honesty of Europeans as we had of these people.

Everyone was amply rewarded. Mr. von Kotzebue made Rarik comprehend that he was seeking his dwelling place and invited him to enter our boat and pilot us there. Rarik understood him, all right, and climbed bravely into our boat, but the opinion of his companions, whose worries had not been entirely eliminated, seemed to be against this, and he too seemed to be powerfully drawn by another enticement: those animals of which he had heard, those wonderful, long-bearded animals, the seeing of which had been one of the goals of his journey. It occurs to me that on other islands of the South Seas where the Europeans have brought them, goats are not unjustly numbered among the birds, for they are not hogs, dogs, or rats. These have their names, and apart from them there are only birds or fish. Finally Rarik gave in to temptation. He leaped into the water and swam out to his boats, with which he set his course toward Goat island.

On the 15th we stayed overnight on the ninth island, where we found only deserted houses. It was richer in humus than Goat island, and the vegetation on it was more luxurious.

On the 16th we stopped at noon on the thirteenth island and had travelled a distance of only nine miles from the ship. Here we received the second visit from Rarik, who came walking along the reef with two companions and was glad to see us. His boats soon came after him, sailing against the wind, and put in to shore next to our boats.

1 Ed. note: Not confirmed by a modern dictionary. Perhaps he simply asked: "What is he saying?"

Now he invited the captain to climb aboard his boat and sail to his island. We promised to follow him, and he started off. In the afternoon we travelled another mile and a half to the fourteenth island, the one with the high forest line that I have mentioned especially in my "Notes and Opinions." From there the reef stretched to the northeast, away from any land for several miles; the next island could barely be seen on the horizon. A ship could anchor at the island we were on. The captain had the sails raised, and with a fresh breeze we reached the **Rurik** the same evening.

On the morning of January 18 the **Rurik** went under sail. The wind was favorable and did not compel us to tack until the afternoon; the weather was clear, and the bright sun, which lit up the depths, made the use of the lead unnecessary. At four o'clock we anchored at Ormed, the seventeenth island, counting from the west, which, about twenty miles away from the westernmost one, forms the northern [rather NE] corner of the group. From this well-protected anchorage we overlooked the northeastern [rather eastern] part of the group, the bulwark, densely studded with smaller islands, which opposes the prevailing wind in a northeastern direction. We were in the more inhabited part of the group.

A boat, on which we recognized one of Rarik's companions, brought us a gift of fruit. But their fear was not yet conquered, and no-one dared to board the ship.

On Ormed, the most fertile of the islands of this reef, upon which, however, the coconut tree still does not rise above the forest, a very old, worthy man, Chief Laergass, received us. He was magnanimous and unselfish beyond any other person I have known. He wished only to give, to bestow, and did it a a time when no counter gifts could be expected any more. By this characteristic he differed very much from Rarik, who lacked these virtues.

The population of the island seemed to consist of about thirty people. Their permanent dwellings were no different from the roofs that we had seen on the more westerly islands. As we were just enjoying the hospitality of the old chief and decorated ourselves with the ornaments that the daughters of the island handed to us, a terror disturbed the comfortable atmosphere. Our little Valet, uncounscious of his fearfulness, came running up cheerfully; and when everyone fled from this unfamiliar monster, and he began to bark, we had no small difficulty in restoring lost confidence.

The Radak people, who had known no mammal other than the rat, bore a timidity toward our animals, dog, hog, and goat, that was difficult to overcome. But little Valet was the most frightening one of all to them, running merrily and nimbly after everyone, and at times barking. Big Valet, which the captain had brought with him from the Bering Strait, was no such monster; he would not have anything to do with anyone. He expired in Radak, in the Aur group. Probably the warm climate was detrimental to him.

On January 20 we left this anchorage and, sailing along the reef, after a short trip we came to Otdia, the chief island of the group of the same name, which, the largest in circumference, makes up the extreme eastern part of the circle. We found a good anchoring ground in the lee of the island, and we lay secure, as in the best harbor. Beyond Otdia the reef curves to SSW and then away from land toward the west and the Rurik

Strait. The length of the group from west to east amounts to nearly thirty miles, and its great breadth from north to south about twelve miles. Mr. von Kotzebue counted sixty-five islands in its area.

Otdia was, as they had indicated to us on Ormed, Rarik's dwelling place. I was sent ashore first. Soon, however, he, decorated very elegantly, got into his boat, came up to the ship, and fearlessly climbed aboard as the first of the Radak men to do so.

These clever mariners, whose skill compels our admiration, naturally devoted the most rapt attention to the gigantic structure of our ship. Everything was observed, investigated, measured. It was an easy thing to scramble up the masts to the flagpole, inspect the yards, the sails, everything up there, and to rock back and forth joyfully in the breezy net of the rigging. But it was another thing to let oneself down through the narrow hole and to follow the enigmatic stranger from the joyous realm of air into the terror-provoking mysterious depths of his wooden world. At first only the bravest could do that, as a rule the princes; I believe that our good Rarik had one of his vassals precede him.

How could one entice one of these islanders, or an O-Waihan, accustomed to enjoying the glories of his festivities outside in nature under the canopy of his coconut palms, into the dark labyrinthine corridors of one of our theaters, only dimly lit in the daytime, and convince him that there would be festivities in this eerie locality, like unto a thieves' den. Indeed, sadness overwhelmed me when I read that in Athens a theater of our type is being built to perform ballet in.

Down below in the cabin was the big mirror. Goethe says in the *Wander Years*: "eElescopes have something altogether magic about them. If we were not accustomed to looking through them since youth, we would shudder and quake every time we put them to our eye." A brave and learned officer told me that with regard to the telescope he had what is generally called fear, and in order to look through it he had to really force himself with all his might. The mirror is another similar magic instrument with all his might. The mirror is another similar magic instrument that we have become used to but that still preserves its eerie reputation in the world of the fairy tale and of magic. The mirror generally gave rise to the most unbridled hilarity in our friends, once they were past their first astonishment. But there was one who was terror-stricken by it, left silently, and could not be brought in to it again.

In Hamburg I once came without warning into a house in the long foyer of which silver bars were stored on both sides as high as a man. I was affected curiously by the power slumbering in them, and it seemed to me as if I were walking through an overcrowded powder magazine. Naturally something similar must have transpired within our friends when they observed our iron cannons and anchors.

Our friends' treasures consisted of a few pieces of iron and a few hard stones that the sea had cast up upon their reefs and that were useful for whetting the iron. The former they had found in the wreckage of ships, the latter entangled in the roots of trees that had been torn from the ground. Their boats, their ornaments, and their drum: those were their possessions. Nowhere is the sky fairer, the temperature more uniform, than

on the low islands. The sea and the wind keep a balance, and there is no lack of quickly passing showers to keep the forest a flowing, luxurious green. You dive into the dark blue flood to cool off when you are overheated from the sun directly overhead; and you dive into it to warm up when you feel the cool of the morning after a night spent outside. Why must the earth be so niggardly to those to whom the sun is so kind! The pandanus whose sweet, spicy juice they suck out, on other islands serves only as a redolent decoration. Their food seems more appropriate for bees than for people. Almost nowhere is the soil adapted to the cultivation of edible roots and plants, which they are very intent upon. But everywhere, planted around their dwellings, a beautiful, sweet-smelling lily plant testifies to their industry and their sense of beauty.

Perhaps they could obtain more appropriate food from fishing and hunt the sharks that haunt the entrances to their reefs. We have seen them eat only very small fish, and we obtained only very small fishhooks from them.

We tried with love and persistence to open up new branches of food for them. According to Mr. von Kotzebue's narrative of his second voyage, of the animals and plants we brought them the yam root at least seems to have been maintained, so that our good intentions were not completely defeated.

But, without being too terribly bound by the chronology, I must relate a few things about our friends, with whom, once they had overcome their first shyness, we lived on a most familiar footing.

On the island of Otdia, which is over two miles long, about sixty people had their usual dwelling places, but frequent moves took place, and our presence attracted guests from the most distant parts of the group. We wandered alone over the island every day, joined every family, and slept under their roofs without concern. They came aboard the ship, where they were equally welcome, and the chiefs and most distinguished among them were drawn to our table, where they learned to adapt to our customs easily and well-manneredly.

Among the inhabitants of Otdia a man soon stood out, who, though not of noble birth, distinguished himself above all the others by his quick perception and gift of communication. Lagediak, the man of our confidence, from whom we learned most and through whom we hoped to gain a reception for our teachings among the people, later exchanged names with me. It was from Lagediak that Mr. von Kotzebue first obtained important information about the geography of Radak. Through him he got knowledge of the navigable passes in the southern reef of Otdia, of the neighboring group of Erig-up, of the other groups of which the island chain consists. Lagediak drew his map with stones on the beach, with slate pencil on the slate, and indicated the directions that could be marked according to the compass. With him Mr. von Kotzebue laid the foundation for the interesting work he has furnished about Radak and the more western island chain. The first step was taken, then it was a matter of going further.

Lagediak understood very well our intention of introducing species of useful plants still unknown here for the good of the people, of cultivating a garden and distributing seeds. On the 22nd a start was made at laying out the garden. The ground was cleared,

the earth dug up, yam roots set in, melons and watermelon seeds planted. Our friends were gathered about us and watched our work sympathetically and attentively. Lagediak explained our enterprise and was incessantly at pains to distribute and impress upon the others the teachings he had learned from us. We distributed seeds, for which there was a pleasing demand, and in the next few days we had the pleasure of seeing several private gardens develop according to our model.

During this gardening work, that took place as detailed on the 22nd, something occurred that I shall narrate in order to illustrate a character trait of our dear friends. As I looked at the spectators I became aware of a pained wincing on several faces at once. I turned toward the seaman who to make space for the garden was digging up shrubs and clearing the woods. He had just used his axe on a fine sapling of the breadfruit tree, so rare and valuable here. The misfortune had occurred, the tree had been felled. Even if the man had sinned unknowingly, the commander had to openly remove from himself all responsibility for the deed. Thus the captain angrily upbraided the sailor, who had to give up his axe and retire from the scene. Then the good Radak people interceded for him appeasingly and propitiatingly. Some went after the sailor, whom they tried to comfort by caresses, and pressed gifts upon him.

Already on the next day the rats, which are present on this island in unbelievable numbers, had destroyed a lot, and pulled most of the seeds out of the ground. But our second visit to Radak the next fall we left cats behind on the island. On his second voyage in the year 1824 Mr. von Kotzebue found that they had gone wild and multiplied, without any diminution in the number of rats.

The forge was set up ashore on January 24. It with its tremendous wealth of iron was under the protection of a single seaman, who slept near it. On one of the following days an old man attempted to obtain a piece of iron by force, in which undertaking he was prevented by his outraged compatriots—also by force. That cannot be called a theft. But even when a real theft was committed the greatest displeasure was exhibited on the part of the Radak people and the loudest disapproval was expressed.

It is fairly obvious what an attractive spectacle the unsuspected treatment of the precious iron in the fire and under the hammer must have been for our friends. The entire population gathered around the forge. Friend Lagediak was one of the most attentive and courageous of those present. For it does demand courage to observe the unknown play of the bellows and the scattering sparks up close. For him a harpoon was first forged, then a second one for Rarik, and a few trifles for others before the work for the **Rurik** was begun.

We still had a few O-Waihian pigs, males and females, that could be disposed of and that we had destined for our friends. We had taken pains to accustom everyone to the sight of these animals on the **Rurik** and to impress upon them that it was their flesh that served us as food, which many had tasted and enjoyed at our table. The hogs were brought ashore and kept in a pen that had been prepared for them in the vicinity of Rarik's house. A seaman was placed in charge of the still-feared beasts. We counted most on Lagediak, who was impressed by the importance of our gift, for the success of

the well-meant experiment, which in the end, as was to be expected, failed. The neglected animals later were set free and perished soon after our departure.

A few chickens, our last ones, we had also presented to Lagediak.

Living in pleasant community with the Radak people, I studied assiduously the constitution of their Neptunian dwellings and hoped to collect something more than useless evidence toward a better understanding of the coral reefs. The corals themselves and the madrepores would have demanded a whole lifetime of study. The bleached skeletons of those that are preserved in collections are only of slight value; still, I wanted to collect them and take them home with me. Eschscholtz had endeavored while swimming to make a complete collection of all the species occurring, had brought selected examples of them aboard ship, and had stacked them in the chicken coops for bleaching and drying. It is true that polyp bodies in this condition do not exude a very pleasant odor. When he went to see to his corals one morning they had all been thrown overboard, lock, stock, and barrel. On the southern end of Otdia where gaps in the upper stone layers of the reef allow little lagoons to form in which one can enjoy a bath in calm water and at the same time comfortably investigate and think about the puzzles of those formations in the midst of blooming coral gardens, I had staked out a space in the sand of the beach in which I exposed corals, sea urchins and everything of that type that I wished to preserve, to the drying sun. In my plot of ground I had set up a staff with a bunch of pandanus leaves tied to it, the sign of property. Under this protection my property had remained sacred to the good Radak people on whose path it lay, and no boy at play had ever touched the slightest thing in the designated area. But who can foresee everything? Our seamen obtained shore leave one Sunday and undertook a walk around the circumference of the island. They discovered my drying-place, completely destroyed my laboriously contrived collection, and then looked me up good-naturally to tell me of their discovery and to give me fragments of my broken corals. Nonetheless, I put together another nice collection of the madrepores of Radak and presented them, filling an entire chest, to the Berlin Museum. But an evil fate seems to have reigned over this part of my endeavors. My Radak lithophytes, with the exception of *Millepora cœrulea* and *Tubipora Chamissionis*, Ehrenb., were either set up in the royal collection without tags, or not set out at all, and sold for cash along with other doublets, so that Ehrenberg, in his monograph on the corals, could cite his interesting point of view only with respect to the two mentioned species.

Rarik once accompanied me on a walk to my bathing-place and coral garden. When we had arrived there I indicated to him that I wished to bathe and began to undress. In view of the amazement that the whiteness of our skin occasioned to our brown friends, I, less sensitive than he, thought the occasion would be welcome to him to satisfy a very natural curiosity. But when, being ready to climb into my bath, I looked around for him, he had disappeared, and I thought he had deserted me. I bathed, made my observations, did my investigations, climbed out of the water, got dressed again, investigated my drying operation, and was just about to start out on the way home when the bushes parted, and out of the green foliage the good-natured face of my companion smiled out

at me. In the meantime he had decorated his hair with the flowers of *Scævola* in a most elegant manner and had also prepared a wreath of flowers for me, which he handed me. We returned arm in arm to his dwelling.

A similar considerate modesty was general among the Radak people. No-one ever hovered around us in our bath.

It was agreed that I should spend this night ashore, in order to observe the people in their domesticity. When we arrived the captain had already returned to the ship in his boat, and it seemed quite natural to everyone that I should join the family as guest. They were busy preparing the *mogan*, the pandanus dough. We spent the evening under the coconut trees on the shore of the lagoon. The moon was in the first quarter, there was no fire burning, and I could not secure any to light my pipe. We ate and talked. The conversation, the subject of which was our splendors, was conducted happily and in long sentences. My dear friends tried hard to entertain the foreign guest, singing songs that inspired them to the greatest joy themselves. Should one call the rhythm of this discourse song? Should the beautiful natural movements they made while they sat be termed a dance? When the Radak people drum had become silent, Rarik called upon me in turn to tender a Russian song. I could not deny my friend this simple request, and now, with a voice that was infamous among us, I was to appear as a model of European musical skill. I acquiesced to this mockery of fate, stood up, and declaimed, strongly accentuating meter and rhyme, a German poem, namely Goethe's "Let today in this noble circle." I hope that our immortal German Grandmaster will forgive me: the Frenchman on Radak presented that as Russian song and dance! They listened to me with great attention, imitated me in the most pleasing fashion, when I had finished, and I enjoyed hearing these words repeated, even with distorted pronunciation:

"Und im Ganzen, Vollen, Schönen
Resolut zu leben."¹

At night I slept at Rarik's side on the platform of his large house. Men and women lay above us and below us, and often conversation alternated with sleep. In the morning, I went back to the ship, to return to land again immediately.

I have described one of my days on Radak. They passed by gently, with little variation—the one description may suffice. The delicacy, the elegance of the manners, the excessive cleanliness of this people was expressed in each slightest detail of their behavior, only the smallest number of which are suitable for being written down. Can the behavior of a family be described in which once in our presence a child behaved indecently? The way in which the delinquent was removed, and how in the face of the outrage that the incident excited the homage due the prestigious strangers was saved, and the child encouraged to a better way of life? In this connection, too, a denial is just as telling, and how can I speak of things that were always withdrawn from our eyes?

1 "And resolutely to live life completely, fully, beautifully."

Our popular bringing up, together with folktales, fairy tales, and proverbs, naturally work toward infusing us with great reverence for the dear divine gift of bread, to disparage which is a great sin. To throw the smallest piece of bread on the ground was a sin in my childhood that was punished unmercifully and inexorably by the rod. In the needy people of Radak a similar feeling can be expected with respect to the fruits on which its nourishment depends. One of our friends had handed the captain a coconut to drink from, the latter tossed the shell aside with the edible meat still adhering to it. The Radak people anxiously called his attention to the disdained food. His feelings seemed to be hurt, and in me the old teachings whipped into me by my governess were roused.

I note in passing that our friends did not learn of the potency of our weapons until the final days of our sojourn on Otdia, when the captain shot a bird in the presence of Rarik and Lagediak. That the shot frightened them terribly is readily understandable, that Rarik afterwards begged the captain not to shoot the musket when he saw him, lay in his character.

To the south of Otdia the reef bears, beside several smaller and desolate islands, only two fertile and inhabited ones. The first, Egmedio, differs from all the others through the fact that only on it does the coconut tree tower high above the forest, and only here are trunks and the roots of dead trees present. It was the dwelling place of Chief Langien, whose visit we had received on the **Rurik** already, when he had brought us a gift of coconuts and invited us to visit him on his island. The other island takes up the south-eastern corner of the reef, which from there to the west bears only small uninhabitable islands.

On January 28 a trip was undertaken in two boats to investigate the passes that Lagediak had told us about. We headed toward Egmedio, where Langien, who was sojourning on Otdia at the time, had hurried ahead to give us a friendly welcome as host at home, and he was a hospitable, cordial man, whom our visit greatly pleased. The island seemed to be inhabited only by him, his wife, and a few other people. I pleased him by putting in a little garden. On the same day we had investigated one of the passes, the Strait of Lagediak, the **Rurik** could not have managed this pass without danger. Because of the unfavorable weather we gave up trying to reach the next strait and sought shelter for the night. The closest desolate islands were not adapted to this, and we had to go back to the one that made up the corner of the group. Here we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting an old friend coming toward us: jolly Labigar welcomed us on his own territory and brought us coconuts and pandanus fruits. Here he lived alone with his family. On the island of Otdia we had come to know the entire population of the group. I put in a little garden for the hospitable, friendly man (at this time the only seeds I had left were watermelon seeds). We had made camp on the beach, and when in the morning we roused ourselves from sleep, Labigar and his family were round about us, quietly and patiently waiting for us to awaken, in order to hand us a coconut for an early drink.

On this morning (January 29), we reached the ship. The other pass was reconnoitered later, on February 3 by Gleb Simonovich in the longboat and called Shishmarev Strait after him. Any ship can easily, safely, and without tacking pass in and out of this one with the prevailing tradewind.

On January 30 a bucket with an iron hand on it was found to be missing by some of our people who had been sent out partly after water and partly after wood, an article with which we had to provide ourselves here for the entire length of our trip to the north. Rarik was seriously urged to recover the stolen property for us, but in this affair, about which all the others loudly expressed their disapproval, he was found to be in a state of lassitude that cast a shadow upon his character. Not until the next morning after a long conversation was held with the chief, did one of his people produce the bucket from the tangle of the woods. Thereupon it was announced that any further attempt at theft would be severely punished on our part. I shall not keep the only case secret when we had the opportunity of making good our threat.

Lagediak was dining with us on board ship. The thief of the bucket had accompanied him, but he was denied entrance to the cabin, and, lying on the deck, he watched us through the window. Lagediak handed him something to taste, and a shiny knife was also handed him to look at. The knife never came back to our table but rather found its way into the man's *mudirdir* (the male garment, a girdle of matting held in place like an apron by strips of bark). He was observed, and when he was about to leave the ship he was seized, searched, sentenced, stretched out, and whipped.

At the time our names had already been incorporated into short bits of song and thus rescued from oblivion. Deinnam, Chamisso, and others:

*Ae ni gagit, ni mogit,
Torian Chamisso.¹*

Memorial coins, minted for us; memorial stones, set for us, and which, even though without inscription or shape, will be the bearers of the oral traditions and legends connected with them. In *Egil's Saga* the metrical memorial verses, which, recited at memorable events, are stamped in this manner and given permanent form through alliteration, assonance, and rhyme, often have no clear connection to the deed the memory of which is chained to it.

Our intention of leaving Otdia in order to visit Erigup, Kaben [Maloelap], and other groups was announced and we desired and expected that the one or the other of our friends would accompany us on this trip. Rarik was constructing a new boat, after which he promised to make the trip with us; but the work never seem to get finished. Lagediak wished to travel with us on the **Rurik** but was detained because of Rarik's boat construction. Rarik, Langien, and Labigar were going to accompany us on another boat, but that plan, too, was given up. We had to abandon our preconceived hope.

1 “—?— Chamisso drinks, and eats the shelled coconut.”

On February 7, 1817, we weighed anchor at dawn, our friends stood on the beach, but none of them came aboard. Only one boat followed us under sail from Ormed. Probably the old man Laergass. He had visited us a few days before. He was appreciative of our gifts and kind, like no-one else. He probably wanted to be the last one to say goodbye to us. We lost sight of his boat when, outside of the strait, we doubled our sails before the favorable wind.

[Erikub]

When we sailed away from Otdia the land of Erigup was already visible from the masthead. On the 7th and 8th of February we completed the charting of this poor, sparsely green group, which is said to be inhabited only by three people. We saw no-one on the beach of the only island on which coconut trees were visible but did not rise above the woods. On the windward side of the group a pass was investigated that probably could not be managed without danger.

[Maloelap]

We left Erigup to search for Kaben. The group is about forty-five miles away from Otdia, and Lagediak had described its situation fairly correctly.

On the morning of the 11th we were before the pass on the windward side of the group that is situated most closely to its northwest corner. The wind was strong. Two boats came out of the pass toward us and observed us from afar. Seized by a gust of wind, the one vessel capsized. The other did not concern itself with the incident; here the boatmen are sufficient unto themselves. We saw them, now sitting on the keel, now swimming attached to lines, towing the boat toward the shore, from which they were over a half mile distant. Three other boats came up to us from the large island to the NW and invited us ashore.

The pass is broad, but the channel shallow in which we had to wend our way through banks of coral to enter. The transparency of the water allowed us to look down into the mysterious coral gardens at the bottom. We dropped anchor before one of the smallest and poorest islands of the group.

Kaben has about the size and the longish shape of Otdia, but from NW to SE it turns one of its long sides toward the tradewind, and the chief land, the island of Kaben, makes up the northwest tip of the group. On the windward side the reef is richly crowned with fertile islands. (Mr. von Kotzebue counted sixty-four of them in the whole circumference.) The coconut palm rises with tall trunk above most of them. The breadfruit tree is common. Three species of *Arum* are cultivated, which, however, give only a poor yield, and we encountered the introduced banana plants on one of the islands. The population is in keeping with the greater fertility of the soil. The people seemed to us to be more prosperous, more self-confident, more daring than on Otdia, and, animated by our presence, their boats, of which they possessed many, criss-crossed the lagoon at all times and in all directions, so that it resembled a busy harbor.

On Kaben we had more casual contacts with several people, and the images of the friendly figures are already confused in my memory; yet, some still stand out especially from the general run, and the friendly, merry, courageous prince's son on Airik, so full of life, I shall never forget.

On the island before which we lay at anchor we found only young coconut plantings and deserted houses. On the 12th two large boats came from the east and approached us. We called out a peaceful greeting to them; they returned our greeting and came up fearlessly; we cast them a line, to which they fastened their vessels, and a chief, accompanied by a single man, ascended to the deck. He immediately sought out our chief, handed him a coconut, and placed his wreath of flowers upon his head. We were able to make ourselves understood well with the astonished people, and no mistrust reigned between us.

Mr. von Kotzebue, who had already lost his name to Rarik, here offered to exchange it with the enraptured Labadini, lord of Torua. The bonds of friendship were sealed.

The chief stayed overnight on the nearest island. The night was stormy; on the 18th we could neither go under sail nor go ashore.

On the 14th we left our anchorage, and by tacking about pressed more deeply into the interior of the group in the east. Our friend followed us in his boat, stuck to the wind more sharply than we did, and did not sail much slower. In the afternoon we dropped anchor before a small island richly shaded with palm trees, and Labadini came on board. This island, called Tian, also belonged to him, but it was not his normal dwelling place, and he urged us to follow him to Torua, which we promised to do on the next day. We went ashore together, and when we landed he carried the captain through the water.

On this island, where the unfavorable weather still kept us on the 15th, we enjoyed the more comfortable prosperity of the charming people. We were hospitably invited under every roof, kindly received by every family. A cord of coconut fiber served instead of walls to enclose a few plantations and groups of fruit trees. We saw the white heron, tamed by cropping his wings, and a few tame chickens. Labadini regaled the captain with a cleanly prepared meal of fish and baked breadfruit. We sailed with as little worry on his boat as we did on ours, and on both days, when we returned to the ship, such a number of coconuts were brought us that they were enough for the entire crew for several days. In return we had iron distributed. We brought coconuts from Kaben to Unalashka.

On February 16 we went under sail again, and, following the chain of the islands, which took on a more southern direction, we surveyed their entire population, which the wonderful spectacle of the strange giant ship under sail brought down to the beach.

From a larger island, called, as we later learned, Olot, a large boat pulled out, in which there might have been twenty to thirty people. They showed us coconuts and shouted and waved us toward them. We sailed on, and the vessel followed us. Labadini's boat, which was also following us, appeared in the distance. A large island, from which the chain trended south, offered us a sheltered harbor, where we dropped an-

chor. It was Torua, Labadini's residence. The boat from Olot pulled up alongside, and the lord of the island, the young chief Langediu, immediately climbed aboard the **Rurik**. He offered Mr. von Kotzebue an exchange of names, which the latter, who always retained what he gave away, accepted without scruple. The procedure was calculated to cause a quarrel among the chiefs. Labadini, who soon appeared, turned away offended from us, and here, on his island, we had traffic only with Langediu. With this animated, clever, and mannerly young man the captain reviewed his geography of Radak and completed it.

Torua, twenty-four miles from Kaben as the crow flies, is twice as large and relatively less populous than Tian. Here we were regaled with the unpalatable dish that the Radak people make out of grated coconut shell. Here or on Tian we were also handed the sourdough prepared from the breadfruit, which is sufficiently well known from accounts of voyages to O-Tahiti and which Europeans cannot stomach. We remained at our anchorage for three days, secured many coconuts, and distributed a lot of iron. The sailor who handed out the iron was in especially high esteem with the natives, and he was flattered by all.

On the 19th we weighed anchor and headed southward along the reef, which here bears a green wreath of very small islands. After a distance of ten miles its direction changes, and the lagoon is drawn out in the shape of a sack toward the southeast, where the group ends in a final land mass. A larger island at the bottom of this bay within the lagoon drew our attention, and we directed our course toward it. Before we reached it land was sighted from the masthead beyond the reef in the south. It was the Aur group. We anchored outside Airik, that large island.

We went ashore while the captain remained occupied aboard ship. A boat from Airik had already visited us at Torua. We were received with obliging cordiality. We were handed coconuts, and we seemed to be old, long-awaited friends. This island is the most populous and most fertile of all those we have seen. It alone possesses six or seven large boats. A youth or boy, who was still without the men's decoration of tattooing and who seemed to be paid more respect by the people than we had seen shown to other chiefs, seemed to us at first to be the lord of the island. But a young, likewise untattooed girl also shared the same honors, and a woman seemed to be elevated above them both and was enveloped in a nimbus of aristocracy of which I saw no other example in Radak. It is also the only case that I saw of a woman enjoying authority. That the different honor and power of the chiefs did not depend on their wealth and possessions alone was obvious; but I have never been able to garner any information about this inequality.

The youth, who embraced me cordially, came aboard ship with me immediately. An older man, who seemed to be assigned to guard him, accompanied him. Joyous, friendly, animated, curious, clever, brave, and mannerly. I have seldom seen a more charming creature. He impressed the captain, to whom he was immediately presented, the same way. With his companion he measured the dimensions of the ship and the heights of the masts. The cord, which was used for this purpose, was carefully preserved. To put on a show for him I brought out my rapiers and fenced a pass with Eschscholtz.

Then he positively glowed for joy: he had to play this game, too. He courteously requested a rapier, and joyously, full of dignity, he took up a position before me, trusting himself and me, and presented his naked breast to the cold iron of the stranger. Think about it—it was beautiful.

In the afternoon we went ashore again, and the youth conducted the captain to his mother. She received the distinguished guest and his gifts in silence and in exchange ordered two rolls of *mogan* and coconuts to be handed to him. Mogan, the most valuable thing that a Radak man can give, cannot be purchased, even for iron. They then went to the sister, who had a band of girls around her, from whom, however, she sat apart. Here there were merriment and singing. During these visits and everywhere on the island a dense circle of spectators formed around the chiefs and their eminent guests.

At all hours the **Rurik** was surrounded by the natives' boats and overloaded with visitors. The islanders were here superior in number to us, and their familiarity became burdensome and disquieting.

On the 20th a large boat came from the west, in which we counted twenty-two people. It was Labeloa, the chief of Kaben, who had followed us here and presented the captain with a roll of mogan. He told us that it had been he whose boat had capsized before the entrance to the group.

A detail had been sent for water. In the evening, when it was getting dark, the boatswain's mate shouted from ashore that a seaman was missing. The captain fired a cannon and set off a rocket. The man, whom the islanders had not restrained for any hostile purpose, joined his fellows, and the boat rowed back to the ship.

On the 21st yesterday's terrible cannon fire was the general subject of discussion, and we found more respect and reserve among the people. On our part, we did not change our behavior. Eschscholtz indicated quite matter-of-factly to inquirers that our captain had travelled up into the sky, but was back again. We visited our friends here for the last time. Access to the old chiefess was denied the captain. We obtained a huge number of coconuts on this island.

We left Airik on February 21 and headed for Olot, Langediu's island, which the captain had promised to visit. Labeloa, who wished to accompany us to Aur, followed us in his boat, but when he saw that we were anchoring at Olot, he set his course for Kaben but did follow us to Aur.

Olot lags behind the other islands we saw in population and fertility. Still, taro was cultivated on Olot, and we also saw the banana here. Even as on all of the islands of Kaben at which we had landed I myself sowed watermelon seeds, exciting the most active interest of the islanders, and distributed their seeds to the chiefs, I did so here, too. While I was so occupied, my knife was pilfered. I addressed myself in this matter to Langediu's authority, and not in vain: my property was returned to me immediately. Labadini was here with Langediu, and good relations seemed to have been restored. Both chiefs were richly regaled with gifts.

[Aur]

On February 23, 1817, we left Olot and the island group of Kaben, from which we sailed out of the same strait through which we had entered. We headed for Aur, in whose precincts we entered under full sail through a narrow pass, skillfully steering between coral banks. The group, of slight expanse, could be surveyed from the lagoon. It is thirteen miles long, six wide, and consists of thirty-two islands. At five o'clock in the afternoon we dropped anchor before the principal island, which forms the southeastern tip of the group.

Immediately several boats of the natives surrounded us. We shouted "Eidara" to them, and the chiefs immediately climbed aboard and with them the strangers from Ulea [Woleai]: Kadu and Edok, whom fate had made his companion. My friend Kadu! I read over what I said about this man in the treatise "On our Knowledge of the First Province of the Great Ocean," to which I must refer you and memory warms my heart and dampens my eyes.

The Radak people were horrified at Kadu's swiftly made decision to remain with the white men on the giant ship. They tried everything to change his mind. His friend Edok, deeply moved, tried himself to pull him down into the boat by force. Kadu, however, moved to tears, pulled away from him and pushed him, as he said farewell, back into the boat.

The anchorage here had disadvantages that moved the captain to seek a better one in the lee of the island of Tabual, which, eight miles away from Aur, forms the north-eastern tip of the group. He had indicated this decision to the chiefs, and on the morning of February 24 they followed us there in five large boats. The population was larger than it was even on Kaben and the number of large boats greater.

According to Mr. von Kotzebue, the high chiefs of the people with whom we here came into contact, who, gaining confidence, drew him into their council and importuned him to intercede with the superiority of our weapons in the prevailing war, of which they gave us the first indication, were as follows: Tigidien, a man with a snow-white beard and hair and bent with age, the lord of the Aur group, Kadu's patron, and in the absence of King Lamari the first of the chiefs; the second after him, Lebueliet, an old man, the lord of the Kaben group, where the island of Airik was his usual dwelling place, the husband of that chiefess, the father of those children, whom we had met there; the third, youngest and most vigorous, Tiuraur, the lord of the Otdia group, the father of Rarik.

Lamari was the king of the whole north of Radak from Aur on. The king of the three southern groups, Meduro, Arno, and Mille, was Lathethe, and there was war between the two of them. Lamari was now travelling over his subject islands in order to call up his vassals and his war squadron to Aur and from here launch an expedition of war against his enemy.

Compare in this regard my essay about Radak. I will repeat here only because Mr. von Kotzebue, poorly informed, has reported differently: in these wars the islands attacked are plundered of all their fruits, but the trees themselves are not damaged.

Mr. von Kotzebue gave Tighedien weapons! Lances and grappling hooks! Tighedien had brought him a present of several rolls of mogan. The circumstances and the impending war may have contributed to the high value that was placed upon mogan and to the difficulty we had in acquiring any. This delicious sweet confection is the only foodstuff that can be shipped for longer trips. It is the sea biscuit of these seafarers.

When our boats returned to the ship from the shore, they were loaded down with as many coconuts as they could carry.

At Tabual Kadu obtained permission from the captain to go ashore, from where he would return to the ship. We ourselves wandered across the island on this day and found it richer in humus than the most fertile of the islands of the Kaben group. We found taro and banana cultivations in a thriving state. When we returned from our walk we found our Kadu, surrounded by a large circle of Radak people, talking animatedly, emotionally, deeply moved, while all around him listened to his talk tensely—captivated, touched—and several broke out in tears. Kadu was loved in Radak, even as he came to be loved among us.

Various vessels from the Kaben group arrived, the one from Airik, another two or three with Labeloa from the island of Kaben, the latter with a very violent wind. From our anchorage the land of Kaben could be seen from the masthead.

On Tabual I made a last attempt to obtain a tattoo. At that time I would gladly have purchased that beautiful covering with all the pain that everyone knows it costs. I spent the night in the chief's house, who seemed to have promised to undertake the operation the next morning. The next morning, however, the operation was not undertaken, and only later could I make sense out of the refusal from Kadu's remarks.

In spite of the war being waged between the south and north of Radak and the passionate hatred that often burst forth when these unhappy conditions were mentioned, a chief of Arno lived on Tabual without danger, beloved and honored.

On the 26th we went ashore on Tabual for the last time and took leave of our friends. All night long the Radak drum and song resounded under the palms on the beach of the lagoon.

On February 27, 1817, early in the morning, we sailed out of the bay of Aur through the very pass through which we had entered. We headed north, all day long under the wind from Kaben, on the 28th across the wind from Otdia, and before nightfall we caught sight of the Eilu [Ailuk] group, which lay to windward. Kadu recognized the group. He had already been there, and likewise on Udirik, and, well versed in the geography of Radak, he told us the directions in which Temo [Jemo] and Ligiep [Likiep] lay.

On the morning of March 1, 1817, we were at the southern tip of Eilu, which is formed by the island of the same name. We followed the south and east side of the enclosure, where the reef is devoid of any land, and sought a passage through. Three boats came toward us into the open sea, and our companion Kadu carried on a lively conversation with his astonished old acquaintances. The latter showed us the broader passes into

their reef fortification more to the north. Of the three only one appeared to be navigable for the **Rurik**. Evening was already coming on.

On March 2 we again sought the reef, which the current had drawn us away from. The wind blew toward us through the narrow channel, and it seemed scarcely possible that we could squeeze through. Lieutenant Shishmarev explored the passage. Between two perpendicular walls the strait was fifty fathoms wide and of sufficient depth. The ship had to be turned into the strait and at the same time conducted in by the strong current. If it obeyed the helm sluggishly, it would be ripped apart on the coral wall. The bold maneuver was executed swiftly and successfully—it was a fine moment. All sails were stretched to the wind. Deep silence prevailed on the **Rurik**, where everyone harkened to the word of command. On both sides of us the surf roared. The word is called out, and we are in the lagoon. In the passage itself a bonito had taken the hook, so that we exacted a gate toll.

The Eilu group is fifteen miles long from north to south and only five miles wide. All land is on the windward side. It is covered with scant amounts of verdure; the coconut palm rises above the forest only on Eilu to the south and Kapeniur in the north. The lagoon is shallow and filled with banks of coral and shoals that threatened us with danger. Toward noon we went to anchor in the vicinity of Eilu.

Three boats surrounded us immediately, and Kadu had enough to say for himself and for us. Lamari, whom we hoped to meet here, was already on Udirik, and the chief of Eilu, Langemui, resided on Kapeniur. Kadu went ashore with the Radak people, where we later followed him. Here we saw the pandanus being eaten when it was still quite green, and the breadfruit was entirely lacking. A few plants of the taro species cultivated on Kaben testified to human assiduity and the reluctance of nature. These good, needy people regaled us with a number of coconuts, with which we perhaps were more richly provided than they. They expected no reward for it. We distributed iron, and I sowed watermelon seeds, as I had done all over on the other groups.

At dawn of the 4th we got under way, and after a difficult journey did not arrive at Kapeniur until late in the day and there dropped anchor. We lay securely and comfortably in the vicinity of the land, which sheltered us from the wind, and it was decided to tarry here for a few days to get sails and rigging in shape for the journey to the north that awaited us.

Langemui first visited us on board ship and brought the captain some coconuts. He was a very old, gaunt man with a pleasant, lively spirit, even as old age seems to retain a youthful state of mind on these islands. According to our unreliable estimate, he may have been about eighty years old. He bore several scars on his body. These, when he was asked about them, caused him to give us the first information we had about Ralik, the island chain farther to the west, with whose geography every woman, every child on Radak is familiar. People are a lot like nature: what you already know you can easily find repeated examples of, but to find out what you do not know you need skill, you need luck. After Langemui's description, he having obtained his wounds on Ralik, Mr. von Kotzebue drew up a chart of these islands that can be seen in his account of the

voyage. At Udirik he had a second point where he had himself told the direction of the northern group, and in the late fall he had the opportunity to test and correct his work on Otdia. In my "Notes" I have included Kadu's statements about Ralik. According to him Sauraur, whom we had known in Aur, had been in Ralik after Langemui, had there acquired by exchange the name he now bears, and had established friendship with the natives. Ralik belongs to the same cultural world as Radak and seemed at the time, like Radak, to be divided into two hostile kingdoms.

On Eilu there was a young chief from Mesid who had arrived here after he and his little fishing boat had been carried away from his island by a storm. He was thinking of joining Lamari for the journey back, as he was about to travel to Mesid to fetch reinforcements. Our seafarers consider it daring to seek a point of land that is not visible for more than six miles, over a distance of fifty-six miles, without a compass and fighting against wind and current, a journey that must take the Radak people about two days and a night. They would not dare to undertake such a risky affair. We learned in the fall that Lamari had missed Mesid this time, and, giving up on the help that he expected from this island, had turned to the other groups of Radak.

On Kapeniur there was another chief, who, apparently much older than Langemui, was possessed of the same active and merry disposition.

On March 7 the wind changed about from north to west, and a constant rain interrupted the work on the **Rurik**. The 9th and 10th were likewise rainy days. On the 11th the work begun was quickly finished. We were ready to sail.

In spite of the devastation that the rats had wrought, several watermelon plants had grown most satisfactorily from the seeds I had sown on Kapeniur, and their propagation seemed assured.

Speaking only of this one plant species: I carefully entrusted an unbelievable amount of watermelon seeds to the ground at suitable spots on the reefs of Radak. The entire yield of seeds of all the watermelons that were consumed on the **Rurik** in California and in the Sandwich Islands ended up in Radak, either planted by me or entrusted to the hands of industrious natives. Upon our second visit to Radak I conducted a second sowing on Otdia and consigned another considerable amount of seeds to Kadu's loving care. According to Mr. von Kotzebue's last voyage and last visit to Otdia in the year 1824, this most willing of plants, which has followed Europeans wherever there is no lack of a mild sun, seems not to have maintained itself on Radak. Indeed, it is easier to do evil than to do good!

In the middle of the Eilu group two sharks were caught from the ship on different days. I was told that the one had three living young in her body, each three spans long, two in an egg, the third alone. Normally in lagoons that are encircled by coral reefs there is no danger from sharks.

The water in these inner seas had little luminescence.

When the good Langemui learned of our intention of leaving Eilu the next day, he became saddened. During the night we saw lights moving along the reef. Quite early in

the morning our friend came aboard and brought us a last present: flying-fish, which he had had caught by torchlight, and coconuts.

We left Eilu on March 12, 1817. The wind, which was favorable for our exit, permitted us to pass through a narrower pass farther toward the north. A shark was caught right in the pass. At three o'clock in the afternoon we sighted Udirik and Tagi [Taka], which, as we had already confidently recognized, were the groups we had sighted the previous year. Approaching nightfall compelled us to avoid the vicinity of the land. On the morning of the 13th we found we had been driven eight miles to the west. We soon reached the channel that separates the two groups, sailed through it, and before noon found ourselves in calm water sheltered from the wind by Udirik. No pass in the encircling reef permitted the **Rurik** to enter the inner lagoon of the group. Lamari had to be here, and we wished to meet the powerful potentate of this Neptunian kingdom, who, proceeding from his cradle, the Arno group, had united the northern part of Radak forcefully under his sole rule.

Several sails could be seen, and, after crossing the reef, they came out into the open sea. Two boats first approached the **Rurik**, and the occupants recognized our friend immediately and called to him loudly by name, prefixing a particle to it: "La Kadu!" All timidity was overcome. They came alongside, they climbed on deck. Among these men was the companion who shared Kadu's fate whom I mentioned in my "Notes and Opinions," the old chief from Eap [Yap], who immediately resolved to stay with us and could be dissuaded only by the threat of force. Kadu harbored a gentle pity for this man who tried to force him off the **Rurik** and later tried to work out some scheme that would allow news of him and his present whereabouts to get to Eap.

I boarded one of the natives' boats together with Kadu with the intention of landing on the island. Soon after we pushed off from the ship Lamari arrived there on another boat and climbed on deck immediately; a stately, corpulent gentleman with a long black beard and with one larger and one smaller eye. No external signs of subjugation on the part of his companions toward him were seen to be given.

In the meantime we tacked about before the reef, which even these boats did not seem to dare to cross at high water. We finally approached the island, to which two men swam over through the surf. Lamari followed us and conversed with us. Of all the boats I saw only a single one penetrate into the lagoon from the open sea at this time, even though all of them had easily sailed out from it. The one I was on had been recently repaired. It carried fourteen people, and it was not one of the largest. We returned to the ship with some coconuts. It was noon. Kadu, who was again earnestly told that we were now leaving Radak never to return there, stuck unmoved to his decision. He distributed his last possessions among his hosts. We did not wait for the other fruits these islanders promised us. We set our course for Bigar.

The uninhabited reef Bigar, which, according to the reports of the Radak people, is situated to the northeast of Udirik and is visited by the seafarers of this group for the purpose of catching birds and turtles, was inaccessible to us. We fought two days against the wind. The western current of the ocean, which is exceptionally strong to the north

of Radak, drove us back twenty-six miles to the west on March 14, and twenty miles on the 15th. We lost against the wind instead of gaining, and, defeated in our own art by these seafarers whom we call savages, we gave up any further attempt to reach Bigar.

One might suppose that the Radak people had given us the direction in which they steer to get to Bigar as the one in which this reef really lies, and that it therefore lay to the west of us while we sought it to the east. But then on the other hand, the same geographers would have had to indicate a much more eastern situation for the Udirik group when approached from Bigar. In any event, the trip over and back presupposes a sufficient knowledge of the current and a reliable estimate of its effect.

[Wake Island]

We set our course for the islands seen by Captain Johnstone on the frigate **Cornwallis** in the year 1807. Frequent sea-fowl, whose flights Kadu observed in the evening, seemed to be conducting us there. We sighted these islands on March 19, 1817. The sickle-shaped, desolate group has a length of thirteen and a half miles from north to south. On his chart Mr. von Kotzebue sets their center at 14°40' N latitude, 190°57' W longitude. Lieutenant Shishmarev, sent out in a boat, could find no passage in the wall-like naked reef that borders them to leeward.

In the meantime a shark of extraordinary size took the hook. Excited by the hope of securing this valuable prey for us, Kadu undressed, ready to plunge into the sea to give assistance. The monster broke away, hook and all, and escaped.

We continued our journey northward.

Chapter XI. From Radak to Unalashka.

On March 13, 1817, we had seen Udirik of Radak and on the 19th the last reef belonging to the domain of Polynesia [sic]; now we turned from a pleasant world to the gloomy north. The days became longer, the cold became noticeable, a foggy gray sky lowered itself above our heads, and the sea exchanged its deep azure color for a dirty green. On April 13, 1817, we caught sight of the Aleutian Islands. The real purpose of the journey now lay before us: beyond Unalashka our thoughts raced toward the Arctic Sea. With fresh minds and full of energy we all promised each other, officers and men, that now that we had had pleasure from nature, we would find joy within ourselves during this more serious segment of our voyage and our life.

The present was not without charm for me. The result of Kadu's statements about his known world, from the Pelew Islands to Radak, can be perused by the reader in my "Notes and Opinions." But to get what was written down there into words, to determine these facts, that was the task, that was the pleasurable torture of this period. First the medium of understanding had to be expanded, developed, and practiced. The language was composed of the dialects of Polynesia that Kadu spoke and a few European words and expressions. Kadu had to become accustomed to understanding, and, which was harder, to making himself understood. Concrete and historical things could soon

be negotiated, and the narration was without difficulty. But what else did the curtain conceal! His answer never went beyond the question. Natural history books with illustrations settled many doubts about questionable objects. Further inquiries were made on the basis of the letter of Father Cantova about the Carolines in the *Lettres édifiantes*. Then Kadu's joyous astonishment was great when he heard so much about his native islands from our mouths. He confirmed, corrected, many a new connecting point presented itself, and every new path was diligently followed. But our friend also often caused us similar astonishment. Once I was talking with Eschscholtz while Kadu seemed to be dozing in his chair, and, as many strange expressions had become mixed in our shipboard language, we were counting in Spanish, very correctly and with good pronunciation, from one to ten. That brought us to Mogemug and the last traces of Cantova's mission. The land of Waghah, which Kadu's songs told about, the land of iron, with rivers and high mountains, a larger land inhabited by Europeans and visited by Caroline Islanders, long remained an enigma for us, and we did not receive its certain solution until we were on Waghah itself, that is Guajan [Guam], where we immediately greeted Don Luis de Torres with the song that glorifies his name on Ulea, which we had learned from Kadu, who had sung it often on the heights of Unalashka.

I beg the pardon of those whom I must contradict. My friend Kadu was no anthropophagus, as fine as the word might sound, nor did he ever regard us as cannibals who had taken him along as part of the ship's provisions. He was a very understandable man, who, if he had harbored this understandable suspicion, would never have so stubbornly insisted on travelling with us. Nor did he ever construe people on horseback as centaurs. In both cases he can only have gone along with a joke or have made a joke himself.

It is true that when he saw us fail to find the much closer Bigar, toward the end of such a long-lasting voyage he began to wonder if perhaps we had also lost the promised land of Unalashka. "*Emo Bigar!*" ["No Bigar!"] remained proverbial on the **Rurik**. Kadu observed the change of the stars in the sky attentively; the way some stars rose in the north and others sank into the sea in the south, he saw us observe the sun every midday and saw us steer according to the compass. Repeatedly the land rose before us when, where, and as we had predicted it; and then he learned to trust confidently in our superior science and skill. These were naturally immeasurable for him: How could he have been able to value and compare their accomplishments and how judge what lay on the edge of their domain? The information I gave him about balloons and travel by airship did not seem any more incredible and fabulous to him than that of a horse-drawn coach. But do we ourselves have any yardstick for this judgment other than what we are accustomed to and not accustomed to? Does not that which has become commonplace to us seem by that very token to be unworthy of attention, and for the very same reason does not that which has never been attained seem unattainable? Does it not seem quite natural to us that a boy should drive geese, and fabulous to talk about domesticating the whale?

In Unalashka and everywhere that we landed Kadu saw us pay attention to all the products of nature, investigate them, and collect them, and he understood much better than ignorant members of our own people the connection of this unlimited intellectual curiosity with the knowledge upon which our superiority rested. Once in the course of the voyage I happened to pull a human skull out from under my bunk. He looked at me questioningly, and in order to amuse themselves with his surprise, Eschscholtz and Choris did the same thing and moved toward him with skulls in their hands. "What is this?" he asked me, as was his custom. I had no trouble at all in getting across to him that we were interested in comparing the skulls of the variously formed human races and peoples with each other, and he promised me right off of his own volition to procure a skull from his tribe in Radak for me. The short time of our last stay on Otdia was filled with other cares, and there could be no question of his keeping his promise.

I shall give a short report of our voyage to Unalashka.

...

Kadu, who, another Odysseus, had led a very active and adventuresome life in the tropics on a stretch of ocean whose extent is approximately equal to the width of the Atlantic Ocean and had never seen the liquid azure of the water congeal, had never seen the luxuriant green of the forest wither, Kadu in these days first saw the water become a solid body and fall as snow. I believe that I had never before told him the gruesome tale of our winter so that he would not consider me a liar, at least until the sad fulfillment of my words.

On April 17 we promised our friend sight of land the next day, which we described to him with its high, craggy, and whitely gleaming peaks. The wind abated, and the chain of the Aleutian Islands became visible for the first time on the evening of the 18th.

We found ourselves to the west of Unalashka. The snow had melted on the southern slopes... On April 21 at sunset the snow-white peaks of Umnak afforded us a remarkably magnificent sight at sunset in a blood-red glow against a background of dark clouds...

...

Chapter XIII. From the Sandwich Islands to Radak.

Farewell to the Radak people.

On October 14, 1817, the islands of the O-Waihan kingdom lay behind us, and with banners flying our hearts and minds turned toward Radak. We had made a special effort to supply gifts of lasting value to our dear and valued friends. With our last farewell to them we would also take leave from those foreign parts that, when they were still far away from us, drew us on with such tremendous attraction and now still held us back enticingly. Beyond Radak there were only well-known European colonies to retard us on our way homeward, and the rest of our trip resembled the evening walk of the tired pilgrim through the lengthy suburbs of his native city.

In order to delay my imminent separation from the Polynesians that the last few lines have made real to me, I should like to concern myself with them some more, I'd like to

find something else to say about them. I would compose many more chapters if you would listen to me as long as I could talk. For example, I should like to furnish the author of *Sartor resartus* with an article for his "Philosophy of Clothes."

We do not desist from boasting in an aesthetically vain manner of having given up the hoopskirt with *paniers*, the high heels, the *frisure à la grecque*, the powder, the rouge, the *ails de pigeon* tresses, etc. in which at the time of my youth we still saw beauty, but we do not look down with shame at the cut of our dinner jacket and all the repulsive distortions of the human body with which we take such pains to adorn ourselves. I have seen the celebrated beauty after whom one might name the days of our history that preceded Polignac's ordinances—I have seen Mademoiselle Sonntag so disfigure herself in natural roles, where nothing compelled her to do so, that the artist saw himself compelled to turn away in disgust from the idol of the times.

But you smile and ask me if I am speaking of Polynesians here! I find beauty in simple, unadulterated nature, and I know of no other way of praising it, as is my intention, than to contrast the unnatural with it.

I find that everywhere beauty is coupled with expediency. For man the most beautiful thing is the human form, it cannot be otherwise. Its healthy uniform development in all of its parts alone determines its beauty. The larger angle of vision determines the beauty of the face because man as a thinking being rises above animals and finds the expression of his humanity reflected in the increase of that angle.

On the one hand clothing serves our sense of shame, which wants to clothe the body partially, and on the other hand fills our need of seeking protection from external influences. Only the barbarian invokes its help for disfigurements, in which he takes pleasure. The Polynesians' clothing satisfies our sense of shame without cloaking the noble build of these powerful, healthy, handsome people. The O-Waihians' cloak, which is put on and discarded according to need and whim, and which respect compels them to remove when in the presence of a superior—especially the wider, more flowing variety that the rich wear—is just as beautiful as it is practical.

But tattooing? Tattooing is a very general practice. Californians and Eskimos both engage in it more or less, and the Mosaic prohibition indicates that the peoples from whom the children of Israel were to keep themselves separated also were devoted to it. Tattooing, very differently applied on different islands of the Great Ocean, on Radak forms an artistic whole. It neither covers nor disfigures the body but rather blends in with it in graceful adornment and seems to enhance its beauty. We must criticize the way the O-Waihian women wear their hair, because it deprives them of their natural adornment. Among the Radak people, however, both sexes take great pains with their hair, and the attractive strings of shells with which they garland themselves enhance very effectively the shine of their black curls and the brown of their delicate skin. Their ear adornments, which are held in place by their enlarged earlobes, may put one off, but I must confess that I have found them to have a pleasant effect.

When we force ourselves into our hideous clothes we renounce the expression of body and arms; mimefades in importance among us North Europeans, and we haard-

ly glance at the face of the speaker. The volatile, talkative Polynesian speaks with mouth, face, and arms and with the greatest economy of words and gestures, so that expeditiously the shortest and fastest expression is chosen, and a gesture takes the place of speech. Thus, affirmation is expressed by a movement of the eyebrows, and it is only the foreigner, who repeats his question several times because of his slow understanding, who forces the word *inga* [?] out of the mouth of the O-Waihians.

Our shoes and boots have restricted our use of the feet to walking. They render other quite different services to the four-handed Polynesian. He holds and directs with his feet the object on which he is working with his hands, the mat he is weaving, the cord he is twisting, the piece of wood on which he is attempting to bring forth fire through friction. How clumsily, slowly, and awkwardly we must bend down in order to pick up something that lies at our feet. The Polynesian grasps it with his foot, which passes it to the hand on the same side, and he has neither moved from the spot on which he was standing nor ceased to speak. If something is to be removed that lies on the deck of a ship, one of them grasps it with his foot and passes it to another. It passes from foot to foot and overboard, and the watch, which has its attention focused on their hands, notices nothing.

The Master's words come to mind and lead me even farther from my goal: "Charm proceeds only from perfect power." Perfect power does not merely seek what is right, it finds it with certainty, and what is right is beautiful. Every attempted arbitrary adornment is disfigurement and deformity. I know of no more charming sight than that of the Indian juggler who plays with a cannonball that is astoundingly obedient to him. My artist's eye revels at the sight of the development of the human form in all of its beauty, while at the same time I enjoy myself like a child with this childlike man who is just playing and enjoying himself. Indisputably, I have seen the European juggler perform much more difficult tricks, but the silly, repulsive person spoiled my pleasure in his artistic performance because he quite seriously demanded the kind of admiration for his empty playing that I reserve for heroic deeds alone. There is the same difference between the gay, amusing magicians such as I saw in my youth and today's boring *professeurs de physique amusante*. Their refinement has broken their necks. But to return to my Polynesians: I compare them to the Indian juggler, who belongs to the same ethnic stem as they do.

[Johnston Island]

We caught the tradewind and sailed before it. On the morning of October 20 we saw many snipe and seafo wl. At two o'clock in the afternoon those bare cliffs hove into sight that are so dangerous to navigation and that had first been sighted by Captain Johnstone in the frigate **Cornwallis** in the year 1807. The previous year we had sought them in vain. Their highest, most visible point lies, according to Mr. von Kotzebue, at 16°45'36" N latitude, 169°39'21" W longitude. Hidden reefs stretch out around them for a considerable distance. Snipe and seafo wl were often seen on this stretch of our

trip. To the north of Radak we found the strong westward current we were already acquainted with. On the 21st a flight of ducks passed us headed southeast.

[Wotje]

On the 24th a snipe landed on the ship. On the 30th we had a view of Otdia, and as we were about to enter the Strait of Shishmarev, a storm overtook us from the southeast, something that was not without danger in the vicinity of these reefs. The rain came down in buckets, and a small *Physeter* [whale] swam around our ship.

The wind, which shifted over to the east again, blew violently through the night, and we tacked about in sight of land.

We arrived at Otdia at ten o'clock in the morning on October 31, 1817. A sail hove in sight from the west; we overtook it. We recognized our friend Lagediak, who greeted us enthusiastically. At five o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at our old anchoring place before Otdia. Lagediak came aboard the ship immediately and brought us some coconuts. His joy was indescribable: he could hardly keep it in check enough to give us a report of our friends and of the state of the islands in general.

Kadu, for whom as a child of nature distant things were remote on luxuriant O-Wahu, who did not collect his thoughts enough to think about the old dear friends to whom we were taking him until he was in the close quarters of our house of boards, Kadu, I say, from the moment he had caught sight of and recognized the reefs of Otdia, belonging to the present and seizing it firmly, was a complete Radak man among the Radak people. He brought them presents, stories, fairy tales, joy and exulted with them in rapturous pleasure. But always in control of himself, as he was when action was involved, he was incessantly active and started a job while others still hesitated. He did this with all his heart in the way we desired. He was our right hand among the Radak people, and up to the last day he was one of us without reservation.

I myself, after I had through my earnest endeavors convinced Kadu to talk about Radak, had collected, compared, and studied his statements and had only to compose the more abstract chapters on their beliefs and their language, etc. After I had become more familiar with the customs, mores, and conditions of this people, I now had a clearer view of them and could read and get an overview of what before I could only write down laboriously.

The Radak people, too, were much closer to us now. Kadu's connection with them and with us was the bond that united us. With respect to us our friend became for them what he was for us much more easily and rapidly. We were now one family.

But we were to spend only three days on Radak, and it was necessary to work and get things done, not study in idleness.

The greatest part of the population of the group had left with Lamari's war squadron. Of our friends only Lagediak and the old man of Ormed, Laergass, had remained behind, the latter the only chief and for the time being the ruler of Otdia. Only twelve men and a few women and children were present at all. Shortly after our departure Chief Labeuliet from Aur had come there and had appropriated a part of the iron we

had given them. At the time the goats were still alive—he had also taken those with him. Later Lamari had arrived and had appropriated the rest of our iron and our other gifts. He had remained some time to carry out the preparation of mogan and at his departure had left only a few fruits for the scanty maintenance of those who had remained behind. A few yam roots were still alive in our garden, and he had had them dug out and taken them along to transplant in Aur.

On November 1, 1817, we first went ashore. The desolate spot where we had cultivated the soil was a depressing sight. Not a miserable weed, not even the chickweed, remained to bear witness to our pious intention. We set to vigorously, not discouraged because, not entirely unexpectedly, our first efforts had remained fruitless. The garden was renewed and cultivated more extensively, but of all our seeds and seedlings a part was set aside so that we could make a similar attempt on Ormed. Some, which were in greater supply, were also distributed among our friends. Kadu, spade in hand, spoke very forcibly to the spectators, instructing them and supplying them with many goodly bits of useful information. We ate and slept on land that night. We had saved up a few watermelons for this day, and these, together with a few roots, which the captain had had prepared, were distributed among the Radak people, thus serving to illustrate Kadu's remarks. In the evening our friends sang us several of the songs that had been composed in order to preserve our names and the memory of our coming.

On the second day the dogs and cats were brought ashore. The former ran off into the woods, while the latter joined the humans. However, they immediately threw themselves upon the rats and devoured several of them, and I saw that I could put my mind at rest, assured that they would be preserved at the expense of a troublesome parasite that must be combatted.

Goats and pigs, to keep them away from our planted areas, were to be taken to another island. The Radak people were still hesitant to deal with these animals that were still unfamiliar to them. Kadu took on the task right away and carried it out. From that island he was to travel on to Ormed in order to take care of the garden spot there. When he had finished his trip he met the arriving Laergass and came back to the ship with him. This old friend, kind and generous, brought us breadfruit and coconuts and complained because we had not cast anchor before his island. After a short stay both boats went back to Ormed under sail. I quickly resolved to go along and climbed into the old man's boat. Kadu, who headed for Otdia first, was to follow us. On this same evening I planted the sugarcane, which was already suffering from lack of moisture, and began with the work of the garden. Kadu arrived. The one day I spent with these charming children on Ormed, completely in accordance with their habits, without reservation, without any foreign intervention, has left me with the gayest, freshest memory that I brought home from my entire trip. The population of the island, three men and numerous women and children, were gathered with us on the beach around a socially blazing fire. Kadu told his stories, into which he wove roguishly amusing fairy tales, and the girls joyously sang the numerous songs that had been composed for us. The older people

withdrew and went to their rest. We drew farther apart, and by turns there was wise conversation and gay singing far into the night.

I have spoken of the innocence of customs and unrestrained relations, of a gentle feeling of shame and moral decency. Did the Saint-Simoniens have a dream of these sea-engirdled gardens when they failed in their task of doing what cannot be done and thought that they could turn time forward until in a circle it came to where it once might have been?¹ Now a slight example of Radak propriety. In the circle I sat next to a young girl on whose arm I observed a delicately tattooed drawing that, even as it was perceptible to the eye because of its dark-blue color, seemed perceptible to touch through the slight swelling of the delicate skin, and I allowed myself to succumb to the temptation, gently allowing my hand to pass across it. That should not have taken place, but how could the young girl censure this harmlessly meant breach of etiquette on the part of the respected and esteemed guest who was a stranger to their customs and also did not understand the language well? How could she put an end to this and at the same time protect herself from it? I did not notice at first that my actions had been improper, but when the song that had just been sung was over, the girl stood up, found something to do somewhere else, and when she returned she sat down, as friendly and joyous as ever, not in her old place next to me, but in another, among her companions.

The next morning the planting and seeding were accomplished, at which tasks Kadu exhibited the greatest industry. On this occasion I discovered taro and *Rhizophora gymnorhiza* on Ormed, a few examples of which I had seen cultivated even on the inhospitable reef Eilu, but which I had not previously perceived on the Otdia group. As soon as the task was finished, Kadu cried: "To the ship!" We parted from our friends and set our sail to the wind.

What follows in the course of events I have narrated in another place (see "Notes and Opinions," "On our Knowledge of the First Province of the Great Ocean," at the beginning, and "Radak" at the end). I have nothing to add to what can be read there.

[Farewell to Kadu]

You! my friend Kadu, made the better choice: you parted from us in love, and we also have a right to your love, having harbored the intention of lavishing good works upon your second fatherland and having exerted ourselves in that direction. You have learned the good that we had to offer, and it took possession of you, you have undertaken to continue the good work in accord with our pious intent; may He who guides the fates of men bless your work and protect you in your dangerous mission! May He keep Europeans away for a while from your bleak reefs, which offer them no temptations. At first they would only bring you the filth from O-Waihi. But what would you have done in our old Europe? We would have played a vanity-satisfying game with you,

1 Ed. note: A reference to Claude-Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon, French philosopher and economist, born in Paris (1760-1825). He founded a school based on the doctrine of collectivism; he was against private property.

we would have exhibited you to princes and potentates; they would have hung medals and tinsel around your neck and then forgotten you. The loving guide whom you would have needed, my good fellow, would not have stood at your side. We would not have remained together; you would have found yourself forsaken in a cold world. No position among us would have been suitable for you, and if we had finally prepared the way for you to return to your fatherland, what would we have made of you before?

[Seven years later]

With Mr. von Kotzebue's second journey and his visit to Otdia in April and May 1824, the history of Radak comes to an end for us.

His arrival in Otdia spread a terrified panic among the natives. After he had been recognized, the old friends appeared again: Lagediak, Rarik, Laergass, Langien, Labigar appeared, but Kadu was missing. The friends showed signs of great shyness and hesitancy. This was explained by the fact that the copper plate, which had been fastened to a coconut palm in the year 1817, had disappeared. Of everything that we had brought to Radak, Mr. von Kotzebue saw only the cat, gone wild, and the yam. The grapevine, which had grown up to the top of the highest trees, had dried up.

Allegedly, Kadu was on Aur with Lamari, with whom he had reached an agreement, and under his care the animals and the plants that had been transferred and planted there were said to have increased to an extraordinary extent. Allegedly only the grapevine had perished. Mr. von Kotzebue adds that the size of his ship had unfortunately prevented him from looking up Kadu on Aur.

We received these unsatisfactory reports with a doubtful heart.

Kadu had gone along with the war party for which Lamari was preparing in the year 1817. He had fought in a European shirt and a red cap with the sabre in his hand, and the iron, all the iron, had given Lamari the upper hand. He had returned home victorious.

The men of Odia [Ujae], the island chain of Ralik, had recently attacked Kaben under their Chief Lavadok, and to avenge this incursion Lamari was now preparing to carry the war to Odia.

So the friends said.

Lagediak secretly urged Mr. von Kotzebue to assume sovereignty over Radak and offered him his support in this undertaking. When the latter, not concurring in this plan, made ready to depart, he begged him to take his son along with him to Russia but could not bear to part with the child when he learned that Mr. von Kotzebue had visited Radak for the last time. But when the ship was about to set sail, Lagediak brought his friend a final gift: young coconut trees, which he wanted to see planted in Russia, as, as he had heard, there were no coconut trees there.

[Likiep]

On November 4, 1817, we left the reef of Otdia and sailed out into the Strait of Shishmarev. The weather was fair, the wind faint. We sailed past Erigup and steered, accord-

ing to the directions given us by Lagediak and our other friends, in search of Ligiep. At four o'clock in the afternoon we were in sight of this group, but the wind failed us completely as we drew closer. Finally a weak breath of air from the north pulled us out of what was becoming an embarrassing situation. A boat came toward us and observed us from a distance. We identified ourselves, at which point all shyness disappeared from these people. They drew close, fastened the boat to the ship, and climbed confidently on deck. Lamari on his expedition had given us a good testimonial. They brought us the usual gifts, coconuts and their delicate strings of shells, and dealt without suspicion or reservation with their people's old, well-known friends. They urged us to visit their islands and praised the beauty of the daughters of Ligiep to us. This is the first time that this kind of talk struck our ears at Radak. Their gifts were not extended without being returned. They were astonished at our liberality and at our wealth of iron. We gave them, as well as we could, news of Otdia and their friends.

Without Kadu it was hard for us to communicate with one another on Radak, and so we learned little from the inhabitants of the island of Ligiep. The Radak people, I might say, like the English are very unobliging when it comes to understanding their language in the mouth of a foreigner. They fail to recognize the words of their language that we endeavor to reproduce. Their way then is to repeat what they hear from us, and thus they deceive us, as we cannot help construing such a repetition as an affirmation.

We saw only the most inhospitable part of the group. The more opulent islands, over which the coconut palms raise their fronds on high, Mr. von Kotzebue did not see until the year 1824. The breaks in the reef seem to promise convenient passes even for larger ships to enter and leave with the prevailing trades. The people seemed to us to be better nourished and more prosperous than those on the other groups of Radak, and we were prepared to find them so.

On Otdia Mr. von Kotzebue had repeatedly gone over the geography of the other island chain with Lagediak, who, it turned out, himself had often been on Ralik. Here, at the point of departure of Radak's seafarers when they travel there, he again had himself told the direction of the Kwadelen group belonging to this chain, and, in accordance with previous information garnered, the west was indicated to him.

In the evening the breeze freshened, we took leave of our friends and steered toward the west. But we were not destined to discover this or any other group of Ralik. In the year 1825, to the west at the longitude of Udirik, where according to our information the northernmost reefs of Ralik were supposed to be situated, Mr. von Kotzebue discovered three different island groups that were overgrown with tall coconut palms but were uninhabited.

Chapter XIV. From Radak to Guaján.

On November 5, 1817, we had lost sight of Ligiep, the last island group of Radak. The captain had decided to set his course for Guaján in the Marianas. We first caught sight of Sarpana or Rota and soon after of Guaján on November 23. The purely nega-

tive result of this passage, on which we traversed the chain of Ralik and the stretch of ocean that the Caroline Islands take up on some maps, is not without importance in a hydrographic respect. The seafarer who is to travel this sea for purposes of exploration should be referred to the table labelled Aerometer Observations, so that he may avoid the course that we followed.

Mr. von Kotzebue notes that the sea to the west of Radak and in the stretch where the Carolines were sought (between the 9th and 10th, and in the last three days up to the 11th degree north latitude) had a paler blue color, had a greater salt content, and deep under the surface had a noticeably lower temperature than elsewhere at the same latitude in the Great Ocean, and concludes from this that it might be less deep there. When we steered in a more northerly direction to reach Guaján, the sea again took on its usual dark-blue color, its usual salt content, and its usual temperature beneath the surface.

Up until then we had frequently been becalmed and once experienced a nocturnal storm with violent gusts of wind. A porpoise was harpooned. A fabulous occurrence delighted our crew exceedingly.

One of our seamen wore an old cap of sealskin, which, almost unrecognizable as such because of tar, fish oil, and old age, had become an object of derision. Fed up with it all, he one morning cast it into the sea. On the same day a shark was caught in whose stomach the fateful cap was found, still well preserved.

On the afternoon of November 23 we had approached the northern tip of Guaján. We had no map that we could direct our course by, and the city of Agaña was known to us only through inadequate descriptions. We left the land. On the 24th we sought out the land again and followed its west coast toward the south, to seek out the city and an anchorage.

The tradewind blew with increasing velocity. After we had sailed around the northern tip of the island, we found a calm sea in its lee, and a light breeze, which swelled out our sails, blew pleasant scents toward us from the nicely wooded shore, the likes of which I have experienced near no other shore. This green, scent-laden island seemed to be a garden of desires, but it was a desert. No joyous populace animated the beach, no vessel came toward us from the *Isla de las velas latinas*. The Roman missionaries have planted their cross here. To it 44,000 [sic] people have been sacrificed, and their residue, mixed with the Tagals who were brought to settle here from Luzon, have become a silent, sad, submissive little people that Mother Earth feeds without effort and invites to multiply. In my "Notes and Opinions" I have let the Spaniards themselves report about this.

We had been noticed. As we searched for an anchorage in the bays so charmingly surrounded by green, the pilot of the governor, Mr. Robert Wilson, came toward us in a European boat to lead us into the harbor. In view of the city, Artillery Lieutenant Don Ignacio Martinez came to reconnoiter us. He rode up in a proa, a boat similar to the vessels of the Radak people, such as used to be common on these islands, which bestowed the first name on them by which Europeans have called them. The more south-

ern natives of the Carolines now build these vessels for the Spaniards and bring them here to be sold.

The harbor called La Caldera de Apra, formed by a coral reef, is exceptionally safe, but difficult of access. We had not yet dropped anchor when we received a message from the governor who invited us to Agaña, having sent us horses and mules for the trip, which was about four miles.

The ship was put under the command of Lieutenant Shishmarev and we went ashore with Mr. Wilson. In the harbor there lay at anchor only the small brig of the governor, which Mr. Wilson had been commissioned to use. To get to the village of Massu, where the horses awaited us, and to which we could not head directly because of the shoals, we had to row about two miles. Night came on us as we landed. The Tagals have brought the architecture of the Philippines with them. The people's houses are neat cages of bamboo set on posts and having roofs covered with palm leaves.

The road, which was illuminated for us by the moon, led us through the most pleasant of areas: palm groves and forests, the hills to our right, the sea to our left. We dismounted in Agaña at Mr. Wilson's residence, and then immediately introduced ourselves to the captain-general of the Marianas. Don José de Medinilla y Pineda received us in full uniform in all formality but also in a most hospitable manner. The captain and I stayed with him, while the other gentlemen were quartered with other Spaniards. His table was profligately laden several times a day with a plethora of meat dishes, but as for fruits, the green products of the earth for which the seafarer when he comes ashore is especially hungry, nothing was served, except an orange drink that constituted an in-between-meals snack, that gave any indication of the spicy green land. Bread was served only to the host and the foreign guests; the Spaniards received maize cakes¹ instead.

In the meantime, on the **Rurik** there was a great abundance of the fruit I felt the lack of in Agaña. The governor provided the ship profligately with fresh meat and all the roots and fruits the earth produces. In addition, the seamen who were sent ashore were allowed to take as many oranges and lemons from the forest as they could carry. This soil, these fruit trees once nourished a strong, flourishing people. The small number of its present-day inhabitants bears no relationship to the rich gifts of the willing earth.

One might ask how this food suited our northern ichthyophagi.² The oranges tasted better to them than whale blubber. Indeed, it is such a joy to see Aleuts eat oranges that on the passage to Manila we preferred seeing them gulp down the last of our store to eating them ourselves. At least, Eschscholtz gave the ones allotted to him to his language teacher.

In my "Notes and Opinions" I have spoken of Don Luis de Torres, with whom character similarities soon connected me intimately. I think of him with heartfelt affection and sincere gratitude. Don Luis de Torres, who on Ulea itself had become familiar with

1 Ed. note: Mexican-style tortillas.

2 Ed. note: Fish-eaters. He refers to the Eskimos who were aboard the Rurik at that time.

the ways and customs, history and legends of these wonderful people, who had had their most experienced seafarers, with whom he had lived on familiar terms, show him the map of their Neptunian world, and who had remained in uninterrupted contact with his friends there through the Lamurek commercial fleet that comes to Guaján annually, this Don Luis de Torres opened for me the treasure chest of his knowledge, laid his cards down before me, and spoke willingly and lovingly to me about his hosts and that people for whom I had conceived a great preference through my friend Kadu. All my moments in Agaña were devoted to the instructive and cordial company of this kind Don Luis de Torres, from whose mouth I wrote down the items that I preserved in the "Notes and Opinions." Mr. von Kotzebue, to whom I communicated the results of my studies, anticipated my desire, and added a third day to the two he had intended to stay in Guaján, a sacrifice for which I am most gratefully indebted to him. While he himself divided his time between the harbor and the city, I remained in Agaña and followed my goal.

I have spoken of a vigorous married couple on Guaján, the ancestors of the sixth coeval generation. Don Luis de Torres was their grandson, himself a grandfather, another line descended to the sixth generation.

Don José. de Medinilla y Pineda had known Alexander von Humboldt in Peru, from where he had come to these islands, and was proud of having once lent him his own hat when he had sought one to wear to the viceroy's court. Later in Manila, which capital has long had lively connections with the New World, we often heard the world-famous name of our fellow countryman mentioned with veneration and met a number, especially clergymen, who boasted of having seen or known him.

Incidentally, I have narrated how Don José de Medinilla y Pineda put on an operatic ballet by torchlight for our captain, who expressed the desire of seeing the popular dances and festive games of the natives. I heard him consult with others in this difficult case where he was requested to show something that did not exist and repeatedly answer their objections by saying "But he wants to see a dance!" So, we were shown a dance.

Choris, who had a special talent for quickly and easily dashing off a well-executed portrait in watercolors, one morning offered to paint the governor's portrait. The latter went immediately to attire himself in full-dress and came back in gala attire with silk stockings, shoes, and buckles. Choris made only a bust, upon which only his epaulets could be pictured. These epaulets were the target of vicious tongues, which asserted that Don José would not be able to send the picture thus ornamented to his family, for which it was intended, as he had the right to wear them only from himself.

November 28, when we were to embark, had come around. I wanted to present a few pesos to the Spaniards who had served me in the governor's house when we left but found a man who, foreign to our customs, did not seem to understand what I was driving at. Fearful of having insulted him, I told him it was *para los muchachos*, for the lower servants, and so he accepted the money. Neither the captain nor another of the gentlemen had been able to leave a tip. Any object such as a bright cloth, of the kind they wear around their heads or the like, would have been accepted with many thanks.

For pesos one can only obtain here what the only businessman, the governor, may give for them.

I was the witness to a painfully comic incident between the governor and our captain. The former had magnanimously refused to accept payment for the provisioning of the **Rurik**. The captain had brought along for presents a few copies of a Russian medal that he was in the habit of bestowing as if it were struck for the present expedition of the **Rurik**. In Agaña and many other places Russian is not read fluently. He wished to give this medal to our noble host with the usual conventional words, "of sentimental value only," etc. Don José de Medinilla y Pineda completely misunderstood the affair. What he may have imagined, I do not know, in short, he pushed back the proffered medal and stubbornly refused to accept it, to the outrageous indignation of the captain. I finally convinced him with great effort to accept the thing, which he appeared to look upon as something dangerous, and we won the battle after all.

It was here I first became acquainted with trepang. The governor, who had this precious commodity collected and prepared for the Canton market, had given me the information about the various species of *Holothuria* in commerce, their occurrence, their preparation, and about the important trade itself of which they are the subject, which information I have published partly in my "Notes and Opinions," partly in the *Transactions of the Academy of Naturalists*. He had procured a few of these animals for me, those that were at hand, alive, others smoked and in the condition in which they were brought to market. (They can now all be seen in the Berlin Zoological Museum.) He performed the exceptional courtesy of acceding to my wishes and having this food, so much in demand by Chinese voluptuaries, prepared for us. But I had the same experience with this as did that German scholar who collected learned information from the mouth of the cicerone in a picture gallery and wrote it down assiduously, but at home read over his notebook and afterwards belatedly asked his travel companion how the pictures had actually looked.

Trepang must simmer over a slow fire for forty-eight hours. Accordingly, the enjoyment of this food had to be saved for the last meal Don José de Medinilla y Pineda gave us before our departure from Agaña. But in daylight I had seen the green spicy forest of Guaján only from a distance, and I wished to cast at least a fleeting glance at this flora. I renounced the noon meal and used the time to follow the path back to the harbor on foot, botanizing the while and being accompanied by Don Luis. As far as collecting plants was concerned, Eschscholtz could rely on me, but I could not rely on him.

On the evening of November 28 most of the Spanish officers came aboard the **Rurik**. We spent some more happy hours together, and they stayed overnight with us. What I had left of small commodities, beads and the like, I handed over to Don Luis de Torres and left him, the friend of the Indians, as my heir. I bought some large knives from Choris, who had been unable to sell them, and directed that they should be distributed on Ulea to Kadu's friends and relatives as presents from him.

On the morning of November 29, 1817, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda came and handed our captain dispatches for the governor of Manila. We took leave of our friends,

saluted the captain-general, when he left our ship, with five guns and three rousing hurrahs, and unfurled our sails to the wind.

Chapter XV. From Guaján to Manila. Sojourn there.

Leaving the harbor of Guaján on November 29, 1817, we directed our course toward the north of Luzón, in order to penetrate into the China Sea through the volcanic islands and cliffs there situated.

...

[After a long stay at Cavite to have their ship repaired, the Russians continued their voyage home by way of the Indian Ocean. They stopped at Cape Town, which Chamisso called "a German world," for the number of German scientists living there at the time, among whom was a Mr. Mundt. Here they met the French ship **Uranie** on her way to Micronesia.]

...

As soon as the captain came on board again, I went off with Mundt, and first of all we went aboard the **Uranie**, Captain Freycinet. Even as the **Rurik** was returning tired and disappointed from her voyage of discovery, the **Uranie** was just about to embark from this port with hope in full bloom on a similar voyage. We did not find Captain Freycinet on board. His officers, who were also his scholars, kept us at table. I was pleased with the favorable accident, which allowed me to make their acquaintance, even if it was only fleeting. It had been promised them that they should stop at Guaján, and for this port of call I had some things to tell them as to what remained to be done and could send greetings to my friend Don Luis de Torres. One of the gentlemen had served with a Chamisso and had been commissioned to wish me good luck from him and the family, in case he should meet me anywhere in the world. Here I met my good friend and rival, the botanist Gaudichaud, for the first time.

...

VOYAGE

PITTORESQUE

AUTOUR DU MONDE,

AVEC DES PORTRAITS DE SAUVAGES
D'AMÉRIQUE, D'ASIE, D'AFRIQUE, ET DES ÎLES DU GRAND Océan
DES PAYSAGES, DES VUES MARITIMES,
ET PLUSIEURS OBJETS D'HISTOIRE NATURELLE:

Accompagné de Descriptions par M. le Baron Cuvier et M. A. de Cuvier
et d'Observations sur les crânes humains par M. le Docteur Gall.

Par M. Louis CHORIS, Peintre



PARIS,

DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE FIRMIN DIDOT
IMPRIMEUR DE ROI, DE L'INSTITUT ET DE LA MARINE
RUE JACOB, n° 24

 Documents 1817D

Kotzebue's first voyage—Accounts of Louis Choris

D1. Choris' general description of Micronesia

Source: Louis Choris. Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, avec des portraits de sauvages d'Amérique, d'Afrique, et des îles du Grand Océan: des paysages, des vues maritimes, et plusieurs objets d'histoire naturelle. Accompagnée de Descriptions par M. le Baron Cuvier, et M. A. de Chamisso, et d'Observations sur les crânes humains par M. de Docteur Gall. Par M. Louis Choris, Peintre (Paris, Firmin Didot, 1822).

Note: The translation that follows is No. 1116 in the Pacific Collection of the University of Hawaii, and it was made by Leonard Mason of Hawaii for HRAF, in 1960; I believe; and edited only for accuracy.



Louis Choris, painter.

Picturesque Voyage Around the World

With sketches of some natives of America, Africa, and the Great Ocean: sceneries, maritime views, and objects of natural history. Plus descriptions by Baron Cuvier, by Mr. Chamisso, and some remarks regarding human skulls by Doctor Gall.

By Mr. Louis CHORIS, Painter.

Radak Islands.

On 20 December 1816 (1 January 1817)¹ in the evening, we sighted land [i.e. Mejit]. We determined its position as 10°5' lat. N. and 188°50' W. of Greenwich (190°20' W. of Paris).² As it was then rather late, we stood offshore during the night. The island appeared small, about two nautical miles in length and 1-1/2 miles in width, low-lying and

1 Ed. note: Date according to Russian orthodox, and Gregorian, calendars respectively.

2 Ed. note: Error, since the difference between these two meridians is over 2°.



Plate II. Artifacts from Mejit Island.

wooded. Coconut trees raised their tops above other trees, and we noticed one that was very old.

Early on the 21st, having approached the island, it did not take us long to notice smoke, an indication that the land was inhabited. Actually a few minutes later, we saw several canoes coming our way, each manned by four or five men. They hailed us, without showing the slightest sign of fear, and as we indicated friendship, they showed us coconuts and pandanus fruit, as well as coconut shells full of fresh water. We threw them lines to which they tied their merchandise and offered them to us. We gave them some pieces of glass and metal. They seemed to attach no value to the glass but showed a great deal of eagerness to possess the metal. We obtained from them several ornaments and shells which were very artistically worked (Plate III), several spears made from poor wood, some of them provided with recurved barbs near the point (Plate II, Fig. 2, 3, 4), others furnished with shark teeth, and a weapon which resembled a sword (Plate II, Fig. 1) on the sharp edge of which were affixed shark teeth. They also gave us a shell of the genus *Murex*, which was used as a trumpet (Plate II, Fig. 5).¹ We soon launched our boats and went ashore. All the canoes that had visited us accompanied us to the island; others came out to meet us. About one hundred islanders assembled on the shore, as many men as children. We noticed the women hidden in the bush.

A coral reef, starting from shore and extending 100 fathoms out to sea, was covered with two feet of water at the most. At its seaward end we had difficulty in touching bottom with a 40-fathom line. The sea broke on this reef with such force that we dared not approach it with our boats.

Just as the islanders had been well-disposed while trading on our ship, so they became perfidious and insolent when they saw that we in our two boats were only fifteen at the most and that their numbers were considerably more than double our own. They sold us coconut shells full of sea water instead of fresh water, and they desired to take from us by force the pandanus fruits which we had already bought. Others seized our boats in order to strip away the iron with which they were equipped. Finally, we made the utmost effort to withdraw, and, the wind freshening a little, we were soon at sea.

We named these islands *Ostrov Novsho Goda* (New Year's Islands [in Russian]). We later learned that the natives call them Medid [i.e. Mejit.]

At about noon on the 23rd we sighted land [i.e. Wotje]. It was composed of several small islets covered with trees; only one showed the presence of old coconut trees. Some of the islets were scarcely above the surface of the sea, and consisted of a sandy beach of dazzling whiteness. The ground of each was no more than five or six feet above the sea and presented only sand.

On the 24th, having closely approached the land, we saw that all of these islands, about sixty in number, were separated from each other by only an eighth of a mile, or at the most a quarter of a mile; a few of them had only the space of 100 fathoms between. From one islet to the next extended a reef whose reddish color caused it to be

1 Ed. note: The Triton, used as a horn.

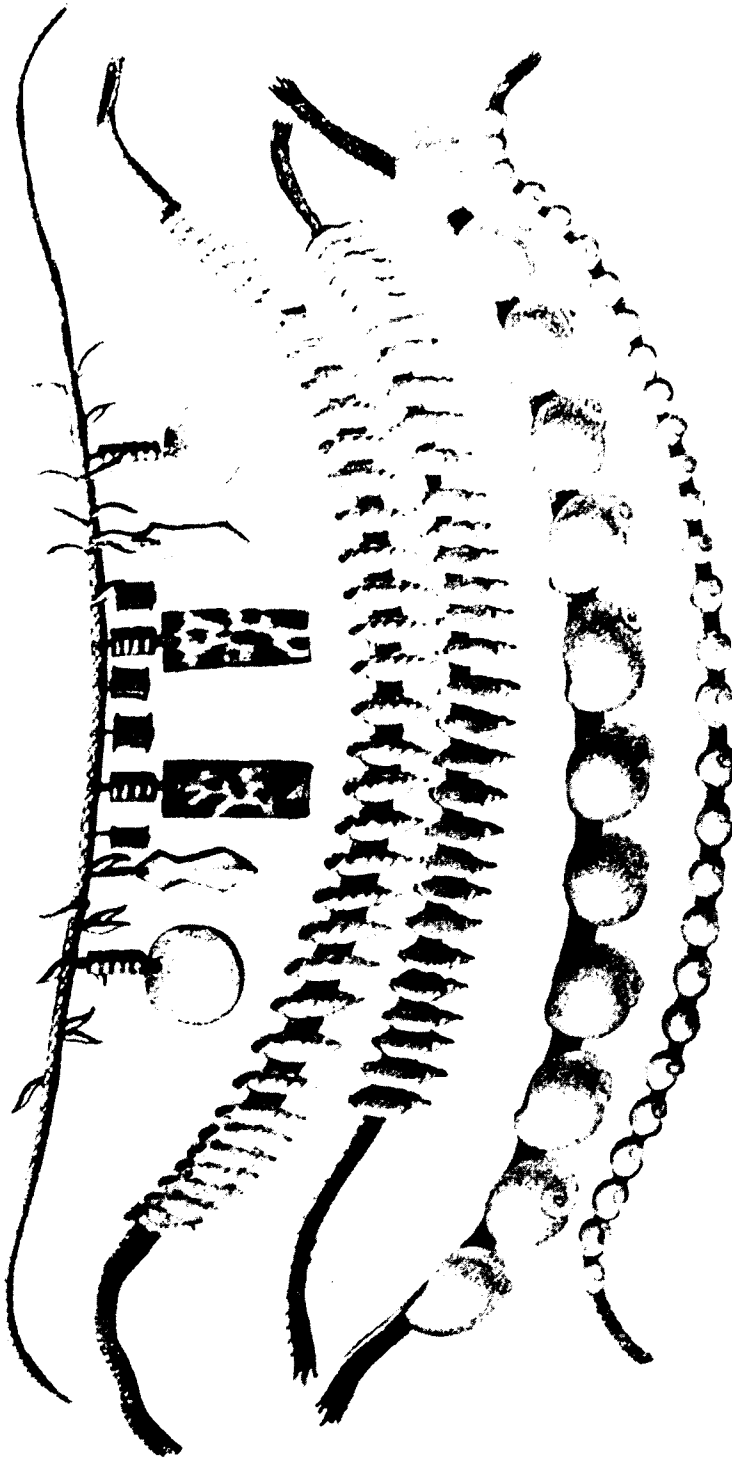


Plate III. More artifacts from Mejit I.

distinguished here and there from the surface of the sea, and on this reef the sea broke. Thus the islets actually formed a ring. We tried to find a passage in the reef in order to reach the interior where the water, sheltered by the fringe of rocks, was perfectly quiet and formed a basin about 15 to 16 miles long. Soon we noticed, to our great joy, three passages on the lee side of the reef which were nearly 500 fathoms in width.

Our boats having sounded the depths of these passages, found 19, 22, and even 26 fathoms of water in the nearest one. Outside nearby, one could not find bottom at 100 fathoms; inside, one reached it at about 28. The depth of the water was quite varied on the reef which was formed of red coral. It ranged from 2-1/2 to 6 fathoms.

On the 24th of December, we were able fortunately to enter with the aid of the tide. Everywhere we had found at 25 to 28 fathoms a madreporite bottom and numerous coral shoals which could be distinguished from a distance because the sea appeared white over them. We approached an islet at the NNW of the atoll, and having found 10 fathoms depth, we anchored over a rather good sandy bottom.

Soon we saw three men walking along the sandy beach of an island a little distance from us.

We had landed on the nearest islet, which we named *Ostrov Rojestva Christova* (Christmas Island).¹ The shore was of sand formed from decomposed coral and madreporite. Everywhere were to be seen coconut and pandanus trees. The island was scarcely half a nautical mile in length. The vegetation was distinctly more vigorous on the leeward side than on that side which was exposed, where the plants were blighted and stunted.

A large canoe which carried an immense triangular sail did not hesitate in advancing toward our vessel. Immediately everyone returned aboard, and we impatiently awaited the visit of the islanders. But they lowered their sail and stopped within about twice the range of a rifle. However, they showed us coconuts and pandanus fruits, at the same time repeatedly shouting the word *aïdara*. We later learned that it meant "friend."² We hailed them but they did not wish to come closer. A small boat was sent out to them to trade goods. They did not care to take any glass trinkets; on the contrary, they preferred to trade their fruit for iron. The trading over, they departed.

On the 26th, the same canoe set out from shore, but all our efforts to persuade the crew to visit us were useless. Our naturalist, Mr. Chamisso, headed for the island from which the canoe had come. Our people landed there, and the islanders from the canoe also disembarked. On the shore our people found only three women and some children who, at the sight of strangers, fled into the woods. But they all came out when they saw the men from the canoe get out on the shore. These islanders appeared very fearful, but they did not hesitate to make friends when they were presented with pieces of iron. They invited us into their own huts and offered us pandanus fruit as well as the

1 Ed. note: Christmas, according to the Orthodox calendar.

2 Ed. note: Chamisso discovered from Kadu that it really meant "good." The same slight misconception occurred to Spaniards at Guam in 1565.

juice of the same which they squeezed out in our presence, into some large shells. We gave them a variety of seeds, including some melon and watermelon, and showed them how it was necessary to sow them. Our people asked them for some fresh water and were shown a water pit in which rain water accumulated; it was kept very pure but had a rather strong taste. Our boatmen soon returned on board ship.

This whole islet was traversed, and yet only 13 persons were encountered.

Two days later, the boats went back ashore, but the islanders were no longer there; they had departed in their canoes and had set sail for the islands to the southwest [rather southeast]. On the island we left five goats, one hen with a cock, and sowed some seed. Several houses were seen which were quite large. Rats existed in enormous quantities and seemed to have no fear of us.

On 31 December, the weather was quite variable, with squalls of wind and rain.

On the 1st (13th) of January [1817], we launched our boats and left with the plan of examining more closely the island atoll and to make the acquaintance of its inhabitants. Arriving at an islet about half a mile from our anchorage, we saw there several huts which were falling into ruin; under a tree was a small store of fresh water kept in coconut shells; a canoe was drawn up on land, it was 17 feet 3 inches long, 1 foot 10 inches wide, 3 feet 7 inches deep. The mast was 17 feet 6 inches long, the boom was 23 feet 4 inches long. This canoe was equipped with an outrigger which glides in the water with the vessel and prevents it from capsizing; another balancer serves only to carry supplies.

One side of the canoe was perpendicular, the other curved; the former is always on the leeward side when sailing in order to prevent the vessel from deviating from its proper course, since canoes of this sort are designed to sail only against the wind. It was made of several planks sewed together.

When the islanders wish to change the course of the canoe, they do not need to put about, as we found out later; they have only to reverse the sail, which is attached to the top of the mast, and carry the lower end of it from one side [rather end] to the other. The large outrigger is always on the windward side. A rudder placed in the stern of the canoe directs its course.

We spent the night on this small island, and on the 2nd (14th), at about noon, we made ready to continue our voyage, when we noticed two large canoes bearing down on us at full sail. Soon they lowered their sail but they remained where they were. Several islanders dove into the sea and swam toward us. One old man, the feeblest of all, was the first who ventured to come to us. He made a long speech in which he frequently pronounced the word *aidara* (friend [sic]). We invited the others to come aboard and we gave them much iron. Having learned that we had a chief, they also pointed out their own, whom they called *Yiri* and *Yerut*.¹ They called our attention to the fact that he had not only his chest and back tattooed like themselves, but also his sides.

¹ Ed. note: Rather *Irus* and *Irud*, which, according to Chamisso's Vocabulary, means Chief.

There were about 15 of them. They laughed with us and regarded us with an air of curiosity. When we told them that we wished to visit the island from which they came, they gave us the impression of inviting us.

When we were seated in our boats and made signs to them to convoy us, they appeared to acquiesce, but instead directed their canoes toward our vessel in order to inspect it more closely.

Setting our course southward [rather eastward], we saw several small islands, all of them planted with young coconut and pandanus trees. On every island we noticed some huts, a profusion of rats, but not a single inhabitant.

On the 4th (16th) of January, we returned on board. The next day, we set our course toward those islands of the atoll which were most distant, but frequent squalls forced us to inactivity.

On the 6th (18th) we landed on an island which, of all those previously visited, appeared to have the most coconut trees.

Hardly had we landed, when eight men armed with spears advanced on us. One old man gave us some coconuts and pandanus fruit and some bread-fruit. The women concealed themselves in the woods, but they soon returned and presented us with garlands of flowers and shells. In all we saw 23 individuals.

On the 7th (19th) almost all of us went ashore. The islanders welcomed us most amicably, and offered us some coconut juice for refreshment.

We found a grave which was 15 feet long by 10 feet wide, bordered by stones; no one was permitted to walk on it. Ignorant of this fact, we wished to mount the elevation which formed the grave. Immediately all the islanders cried out to us: *emo, emo*.¹ We learned afterwards that this word had the same meaning here as does *tabu* in the other archipelagos of the Pacific Ocean.

These people regarded us with the closest scrutiny. They were greatly surprised that our chests were not the same color as our hands and face. Often in looking at our clothes, they exclaimed: *irio, irio* (admirable).

The numbers of these islanders are:

- | | |
|----------|--------------------------|
| 1. Duon | 6. Dildinu |
| 2. Ruo | 7. Dildinim duon |
| 3. Dilu | 8. Edinu |
| 4. Emen | 9. Edinim duon |
| 5. Lalim | 10. Tabatat ² |

They do not count beyond that. To express 11, 12, and more, they begin anew with 1, 2, etc.

After visiting this island which differed in no way from others, we went to the huts which are located on the lee side, just as all the habitations of the atolls which we saw

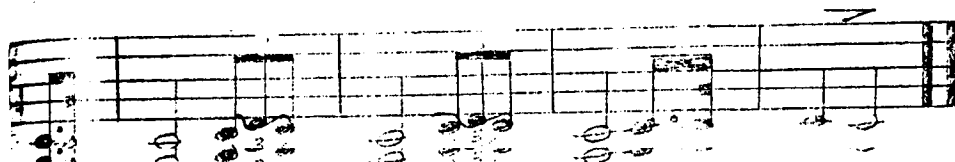
1 Ed. note: True, as "mo" means forbidden (ref. modern dictionary).

2 Ed. note: Tjabudjet, says Chamisso.

afterwards. There we met several women and some men who were singing. Some young girls were beating a drum which was a piece of hollow wood, covered at one end with a shark-skin (Plate II, Fig. 6).¹ It was struck with the hand three times in succession, then this was repeated.

These islanders, as we have had many occasions to observe, sing all of the songs on the same tune. They include therein the traditions and principal events of their country.

They also have short and gay tunes.



When we returned to this island on the way back to Europe, the inhabitants had composed some great songs about our first visit; there was the matter of the vessel's magnificence, of the amount of iron which it contained, of our dress, of all the names that they had learned, and of several words of Russian. They sang these songs with a joyful air mixed with respect. Everyone sings the chorus, and they continue in this manner for several hours, one after the other. These songs are accompanied with arm and hand movement, the livelier songs with the sudden clapping of hands. Finally, we often listened to their war songs; in those they take up their lances, shake them in a terrible manner, their eyes flash. The women sing the chorus and everyone seems to be in great distress to judge from the crying. After such violent exercise, they need several hours of rest before starting their gaiety anew.

On the 8th (20th) of January, we dropped anchor off Otdia, the principal island of the group, and which gives the atoll its name. Since we were the first [Europeans] to discover it, we thought we could give the name of the illustrious benefactor of arts and sciences, who had made our expedition possible at his expense; consequently, these islands were named Romanzoff Islands. Otdia is situated at 9°28'9" lat. N., and 189°43'45" W. of Greenwich (192°4'0" W. of Paris).

Landing on this island we found scarcely 80 inhabitants of both sexes, including children. It was the largest population we had encountered in this atoll. Afterwards we calculated that the number ran, in all, to only 150 persons.²

At Otdia we recognized the chief whom we had seen on the 5th of the month, and who resided on this island. He is called Rarik, a word which is also pronounced Larik.³

1 Ed. note: Other eyewitnesses thought the skin was that of a ray.

2 Ed. note: Many canoes, and fighting men, had gone with Paramount Chief Lamary to Utirik to recruit more canoes, and men, for a war with Majuro.

3 Ed. note: The prefix La- being reserved for male names.

The custom of exchanging names, as a mark of friendship, exists there as it does in the greater part of the Pacific Ocean. Larik exchanged his name with Mr. Kotzebue; another islander named Laghidiak gave his name to Mr. Chamisso; similarly each of us took the name of an islander who called himself friend. For example, it would have been a great offence to give Mr. Chamisso his true name in the presence of Laghidiak, and in the same manner not to call the latter Chamisso.

The islanders possessed some iron. When asked how they procured it, they answered that the sea often cast iron upon the shore fixed to pieces of driftwood. Actually in our excursions, we noticed on one island that a block of wood which appeared to belong to a ship still retained some iron, and the waves had thrown it on shore.

The island has several water pits. Here, as elsewhere, are to be seen many rats, which the inhabitants call *ghidirik*. They applied the same name to quadrupeds which we had on board, and called them *ghidirik elip* (big rats).¹ We left them two pigs.

Only after two days of repeated invitation did the islanders venture to visit us aboard ship. What struck them most was the grandeur and arrangement of the vessel, the large iron cannon and the anchors. They call iron *Mel*.² They derived much pleasure from looking at the compass and immediately comprehended the use for it. They turned it from side to side and told us that in these parts were still fourteen atolls of islands similar to that of Otdia, and indicated for us their positions with the compass. One of them, who appeared to have the most intelligence, explained to the others the importance of this instrument.

We gave them much iron, for which they were able to give in return only a few coconuts, a very small number of bread-fruit, but a large quantity of pandanus fruit which makes up their principal food.

We were continually on good terms with them. In truth, thefts for a little time, did often disturb the peace which prevailed between us and the islanders. Iron had such strong attraction for them that they could not resist the temptation although we had given them an extraordinary amount of the metal.

The women displayed a modest manner, but a piece of iron sufficed to thaw out these beautiful savages.

On the 16th, we undertook a short voyage to the islands of the atoll, which are to the west of the principal island. Here we found in all only five islanders, and of this number we recognized three.

The 26th of January (7th of February), we left the island of Otdia or Romanzoff. Hardly had we gone two miles off the lee of this atoll, when we noticed another, somewhat smaller, which contained only 13 wooded islets. It extends for 10 nautical miles, its inhabitants are few in number and give it the name of Irigoub [i.e. Erikub]. We im-

1 Ed. note: I recall the story that took place in Tahiti, when the natives saw their first horse, which they promptly called "the galloping pig."

2 Ed. note: *Mäl* is more like it, says Chamisso. *Möll*, says Kotzebue.

posed upon it the name of Tchitchagoff Islands in honor of the Russian admiral who has been Minister of the Navy.

On the 29th, we encountered a large atoll named Kaben [now Maloelap] by the islanders. We christened it Saltikoff [sic] Islands.¹

We approached it on the 30th. Like Otdia and Irigoub, this land presents a circular belt of islets, which is cut on the leeward side by several passages. Soon some large sailing-canoes advanced toward us. The islanders who manned them showed us some fruit while chattering, but dared not come alongside. We entered the atoll which is quite large. All the islands are covered with fine groves of coconut trees. Kaben is the principal island, and is situated at 8°52'0" lat. N. and 189°11'30" long. W. of Greenwich (191°31'45" W. of Paris). We dropped anchor.

On the 31st of January (12 February), a large canoe approached, which was paddled by 15 men. We hailed them, and several of the islanders dove into the water and came aboard. They pointed out their chief who was distinguished by the tattooing on his sides. From them we bought a great many pandanus fruits, of which we noticed several varieties, a large quantity of coconuts and bread-fruit. The natives were given some iron which they preferred above all else. On this occasion we noticed again, as we had already on Otdia and all the other atolls of this archipelago, that **the islanders despite every effort could not pronounce the letter S.**² Toward evening, the canoe departed. Several islanders who had exchanged names with us repeated those which they had obtained by shouting them aloud.

On the 2nd (14th) February, we weighed anchor and set sail for some other islands located to windward. We anchored near one which the natives call Tyan, and landed there. It abounds with coconut trees, there are a great many huts, and it is infested with rats. We noticed several fowls which ran into the woods. It is well populated. The humus layer is three feet deep, so that the islanders can cultivate taro of which they have two varieties called *ouat* and *kadak*. We also found several banana trees which are called *kaïbaran*.

There the islanders live amid greater plenty than their neighbors. They have plenty of fruits and are not so stingy as the inhabitants of Otdia. We saw some very pretty women in this place, who had especially beautiful upper bodies.

On the 7th (19th) we anchored near a pretty island named Airik by the inhabitants. It is covered with coconut trees. There we saw the chief of the atoll who ordinarily resides at Kaben. He was a fine-looking man with a very dark tan.

One evening we went ashore to witness entertainment by the natives who continued to sing very late. Our curiosity was the greater as they had invited us for that particular day. On our arrival they received us very coldly. They were assembled to the number of 80, all very sturdy. Several canoes full of people landed at different places on the island, especially on either side of our boats. The islanders who had previously shown

1 Ed. note: This is an error, since both Kotzebue and Chamisso say that its name was Araktschejeff.

2 Ed. note: Hence, Chamisso became Tamito.

us respect at all times, began at this moment unceremoniously to ransack our pockets, where they knew well there were always nails and other objects of iron. Finally the chief called his men together, and the women withdrew at the same time. These signs caused us to think that they were not well disposed toward us, and we re-embarked in order to return to the ship which was not more than twice the range of a rifle from shore. A charge of powder was fired from the cannon; immediately cries were heard on shore. A rocket was shot off, directed toward the island like a bolt of lightning. Then the confusion increased among the islanders who gradually withdrew from the coast. For two hours thereafter we heard a great tumult on the island.

On the 9th (21st) of February, we went ashore. Our fire had produced a great impression on the islanders. Previously, everyone had come to meet us when we landed, but today none came. As we advanced the natives withdrew. We called to several of them who stopped and waited with fear and trembling. Friendly relations, however, were gradually established, after which the natives begged us not to throw any more fire on the island, and thereafter they treated us still with distrust.

On the 11th (23rd) we left the Saltikoff [sic] Islands, which have at least three times the population of the Romanzoff Islands.

Having anchored off Airik, we noticed from the topmast, in the southwest, an atoll named by the inhabitants Aur. We set sail for those parts and by 3 p.m. had cleared a passage on the lee side, where we dropped anchor. Several canoes approached us immediately, and at our invitation, the islanders came on board. They were all tattooed with the exception of two men who had also a much lighter complexion than the others. One of them, who continually showed signs of friendship, was at the same time carrying some fish on his back. He said that he wished to remain with us. At night when the canoes set out for land, the other islanders called to him and tried to dissuade him from his resolution, but he persisted in it. He informed us that he was named Kadu, and that he was a native of the island of Ulea, one of the Carolines. Leaving there one day to fish with three of his fellows, he was blown far out to sea by a strong wind, and they could not make their way back home. They were tossed about this way for eight moons, and finally sighted the Aur Islands. They were received most hospitably; however, the natives wished to strip them of the pieces of iron in their possession. The chief protected them. For four years, Kadu lived in the islands with his companions. Although he had been well treated, he desired to come with us because he had heard tell in his own country of large vessels like ours.

At supper in the evening, Kadu was asked to follow us into the cabin. The mirrors, the plates, the various utensils used at our meals, appeared to cause him no surprise. He waited for us to begin in order to imitate our manners. Later he conducted himself like a man who has continually been accustomed to the mode of life of a European. He ate with a hearty appetite, but moderately, of all that we offered to him. Salt meat he first looked at and ventured to eat some of it only after we had. He preferred sweetbread and took great pleasure in drinking a glass of Madeira wine. He admired the transparency of the glass. Afterwards he went to sleep on the bed which had been pre-

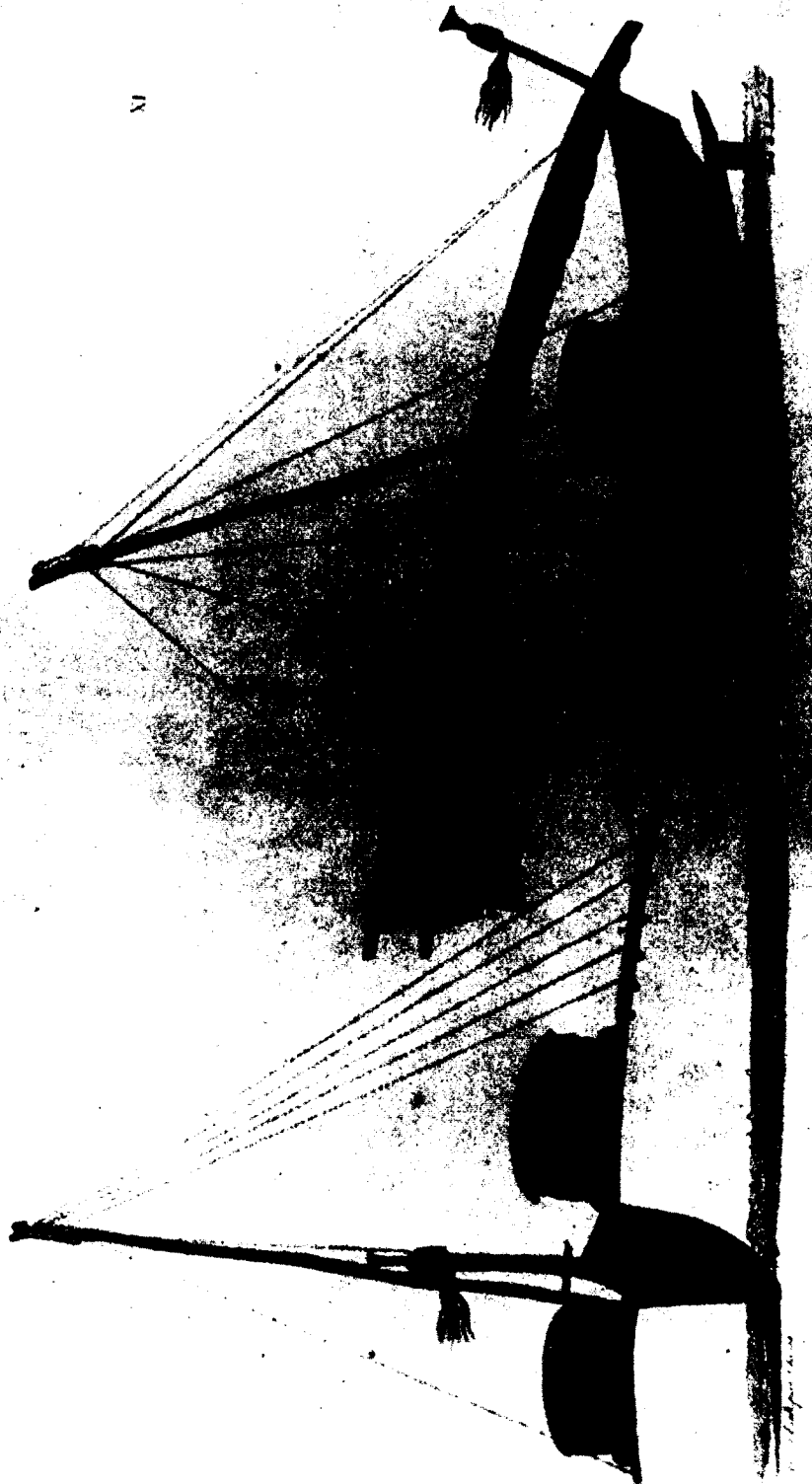


Plate XI.—Canoe of the Marshall Is.—Front & Side views.
See comments made by Chamisso on page 398.

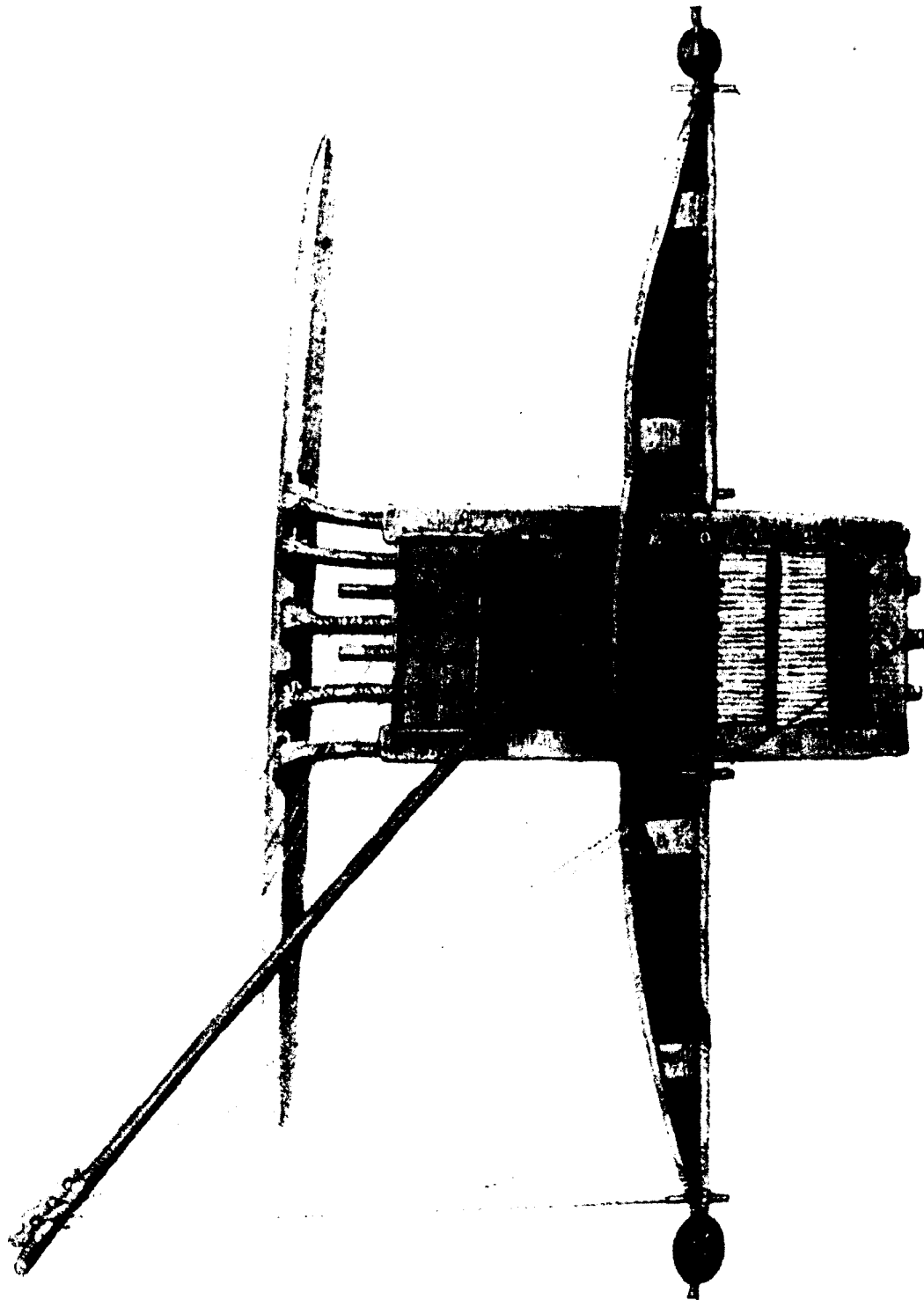


Plate XII.—Canoe of the Marshall Islands—Top view.
See comments made by Chamisso on page 398.

pared for him and slept there peacefully. Beginning on this day, Kadu accompanied us constantly. All the islanders seem to have great respect and affection for him.

The natives told us that the islands of Otdia, Udirik, Medid, Kaben, were allied with Aur against Arno, Meduro and others with whom they were at war. The preceding year, the latter had sent many armed canoes to pillage Aur and the allied islands. "The brigands," added the islanders, "destroyed everything. But now our military confederation is preparing provisions, and equipping our canoes. Lamari, the paramount chief, is visiting every island which owes him allegiance in order to gather warriors." The islanders concluded by asking us to take part in the war and begged us to give them assistance. Aur is situated at 8°18'42" lat. N. and 188°51'30" long. W. of Greenwich (191°11'45" W. of Paris).

On the 15th (27th) we left Aur, and on the 17th (March 1st), we approached an atoll which the islanders called Aïlu, and which we have named Krusenstern Islands.

On the 18th of February (March 2nd), we arrived safely in the middle of these islands. At the entrance of the passage, we caught many sharks and bonitos, as we had in the passages of other groups. Aïlu is situated at 10°13'52" lat. N. and 190°17'30" long. W. of Greenwich (192°37'45" W. of Paris).

The islanders told us that all the islands which we had visited, namely Erigub, Otdia, Medid, Kaben, Aur, Aïlu, Arno, Meduro and three others, carry the general name of Radak; that a chain of similar atolls exists to the southwest; that the latter is larger and richer and is called Ralik. It is probably the chain known by the English as Mulgrave's Range.¹

On the 28th of February (12th of March), we left Aïlu with Kadu. In the afternoon we saw the two atolls which we had discovered the preceding year, and to which we had given the names of Kutusoff Smolensky, and of Suvaroff.²

Squalls, fog, bad weather, permitted us to approach the islands of Kutusoff Smolensky only on the 1st (13th) of March. Our boats, as usual, went off to search for a passage between the reefs, found only 2, 2-1/2, 3, and 4 fathoms of water. Thus it was necessary to relinquish any hope of entering there.

Soon several canoes came alongside. The great chief, Lamari, was among these islanders. He was busy on this island gathering men, provisions, canoes. In three weeks he was to go to other islands to reassemble his fleet and then to sail against the enemy.

We were told that two days sailing to the northeast, there was a small island, destitute of coconut trees and water, and uninhabited. But the inhabitants of Radak went there to catch turtles and sea-birds. It is called Bigar.

On the 14th of March we left the Radak Islands and directed our course toward the Aleutians.

Kadu was not slow in getting used to us, and conducted himself like a true European. Being a natural mimic, he amused us a great deal. In a very little time, he learned

1 Ed. note: No, Mulgrave's Range was Mili atoll, and perhaps also the northern Gilberts.

2 Ed. note: Udirik and Taka.

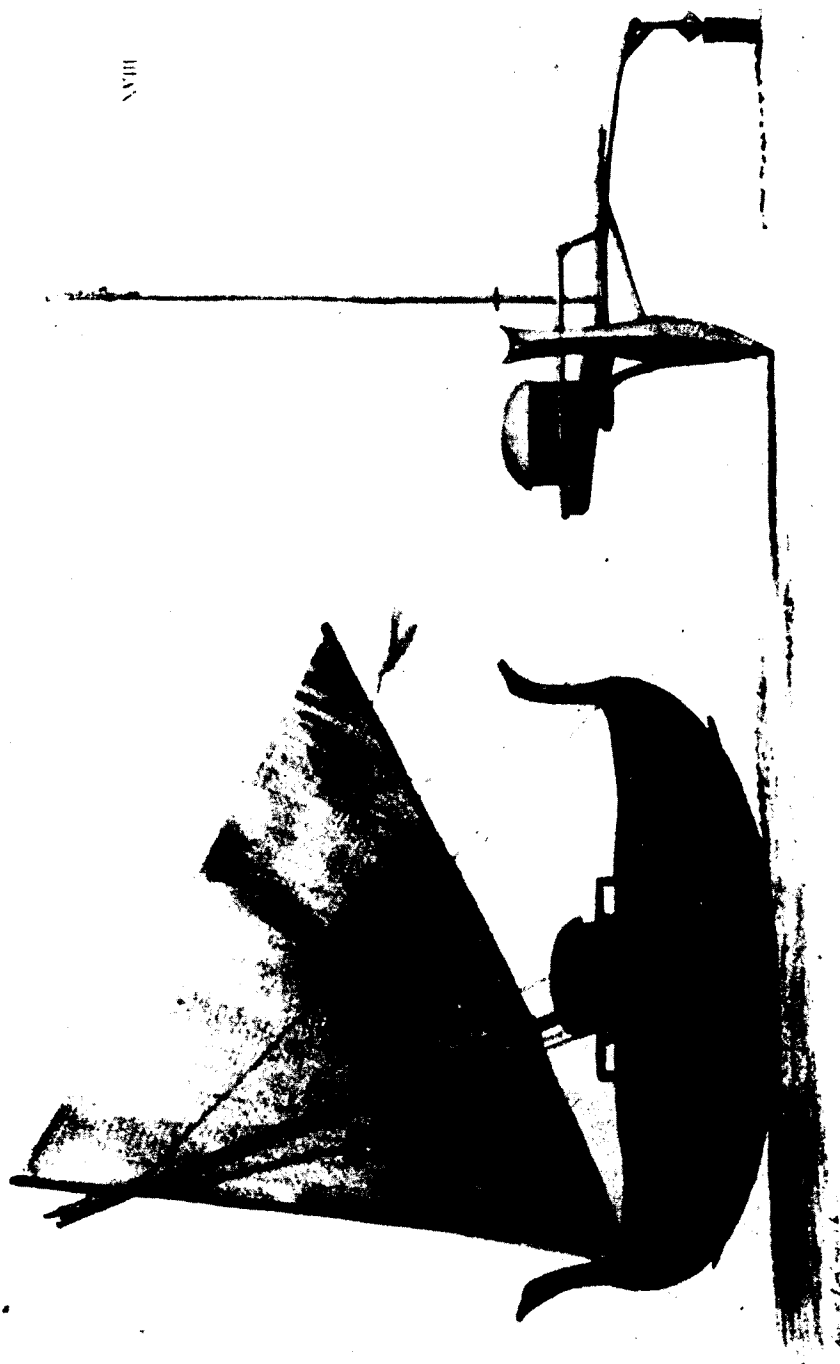


Plate XVIII.—Canoe of the Caroline Islands.

See comments made by Chamisso on page 398.

several Russian words, and as we had retained a large number of words from the Radak islands, we came to understand each other.

He spoke a great deal about Ulea, his homeland, as well as adjacent islands, which we knew by the name of the Caroline Island archipelago. Kadu had travelled to all of them, even to the Pelew Islands. His accounts told us that his compatriots were hardy navigators, and often undertook long sea voyages. Indeed, we were informed in the Marianas that inhabitants of the Carolines every year in the month of March made the voyage to the island of Guaham to exchange trere with the Spaniards their canoes and shells for iron.

Kadu told us that his fellows made a long voyage to an island, of which he did not know the name, in order to search for iron. It was visited by large vessels like ours, and the islanders called the iron *lu-lu*, which is the name that the natives of Guaham give to this metal.

We were convinced that Kadu was well versed in a knowledge of the stars, but he preferred our compasses because he saw that even in foggy and cloudy weather, one's course could be determined with this instrument, while the islanders, having only the stars to guide them, are at a great disadvantage when they do not see them.

The islanders of Radak are (also) good navigators. Their canoes, even as those of the Carolines, are constructed to sail against the wind and greatly resemble them. Plates XI and XII show the Radak canoes; Plate XVIII those of the Carolines.

[Marshallese religion]

According to Kadu's account and our own observations, the inhabitants of Radak render no public worship to a supreme being. However, in the eastern corner of their huts are ordinarily to be seen various accumulated objects, such as small pebbles, coconut leaves, coconuts, fish heads. When we touched these, or even when we looked at them, the islanders showed impatience and immediately cried to us: *emo! emo!* Thus we could judge that these were for them sacred things.

Several times, we also saw around the necks of chiefs, some strings of pandanus leaves, knotted in a peculiar manner. It seemed that they also were something sacred. Finally the tattooing seemed to us to belong to that which concerns religion. Some of our sailing companions desired to undergo this operation but were never successful, because the chief always postponed it. Kadu told us that that could be done only with the permission of the deity, and that it was necessary to ask it for several consecutive nights. Then would be heard a whistle which is the sign of approval. However, all men over 20 years of age are tattooed. Women receive this ornamentation when they reach the age of 17; but it is only in the island of Aur that the tattooing is carried out.

According to Kadu, a man can marry several women. Ordinarily he is content with one, but chiefs have two. The women are extremely fecund, but the mother kills without pity every child that she brings into the world, after she has had her third. In the same way she abandons those which are born feeble or malformed.

As among most peoples still in the infancy of civilization, modesty and chastity are foreign to the ideas of these islanders. Without dishonor a man can offer the favors of his wife to another man. Without shame, a father delivers his daughter into the embraces of a stranger.

At the same time they are less dissolute than the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands. We have not discovered among them any venereal disease. However, Kadu told us that they are familiar with one quite similar to it. If anyone who is afflicted with it does not hurry to appeal to the old men who know the virtues of simples, he dies in a few days.

[War-making, in Yap]

It seems that warfare prevails as a rule in the Caroline Islands, except in the island of Ulea where constant peace is enjoyed. Eap, on the contrary, is the most troubled, for it is divided among several petty chiefs. When one of them, or one of their subjects, is offended by another, he immediately signals upon his conch, gathers all his subjects together, declares that war is inevitable, and immediately notifies his adversaries of this intention. Weapons, which consist of bamboo javelins, long wooden pikes, and slings, are got in order. Each warrior smears his body with red, black and white, and his face with the yellow juice of *curcuma* in order to appear more terrifying. At sunrise everyone goes to the spot fixed for the battle, where the opposing party has already arrived. Then begins the battle which is carried out with the greatest order. The chiefs have some conch shells for use as trumpets.

At sunset, a signal is sounded and everyone withdraws. They think then only of dancing, of entertainment and sleep, but when the sun reappears on the horizon, the two parties again join on the field of battle. On both sides the greatest effort is expended to seize the body of an enemy chief after having killed him. If this feat is achieved, the body is cut into little pieces which the war party eats on the spot with a sort of madness. When an enemy has been eaten this way on both sides, the war is over. Each sends to the other some young girls as ambassadors, who carry fruits as gifts and are crowned with flowers. A general festival begins.

[Carolinian religion]

For several weeks we tried in vain to ask Kadu concerning his ideas of God. He made every effort to understand us, but of no use. Finally, one day he succeeded; his face became animated, his whole body trembled. "Ah!" he cried, "you wish to know the name of that which we can neither see nor hear." At the same time he closed his eyes and covered his ears. "Its name is *Tautup*." Asked where he lived, Kadu pointed to the sky.

Kadu believed firmly in the magic virtue of several songs in order to calm the winds. How surprised he was when he arrived in the northern sea while going to the Aleutians from the tropics, and saw that the winds in spite of his lengthy ballads, in spite of the gestures with which he accompanied them to indicate the course they must take, in spite of his frequent spitting, did not once obey him. He could not recover from his surprise. "Oh!" he told us, "in the islands from which we came and in my country, the winds

could not continue longer than the song." The assertion of this islander was not without foundation, since it is known that in the tropics the storms last often only a few minutes or, at the most, several hours.

The cold affected Kadu greatly; we were inconvenienced by it ourselves. The thermometer stood at 18 degrees and we were compelled to exchange our light tropical dress for warmer clothes. Kadu was also dressed very warmly. For the first time he saw snow fall when we were at 50° north latitude. This phenomenon surprised him greatly.

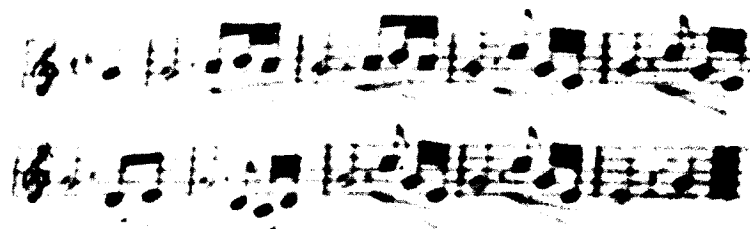
When we took him on board, we told him that he would be at sea for two months without ever seeing land, and he did not appear frightened. But having spent several weeks without observing land, he put no more faith in our words. He believed that we, as well as he, had been driven by winds far from his country and that we searched for land in vain. However, having observed that we were at ease, and that nothing on board was amiss, his anxiety soon ended.

About his neck he wore a string on which he marked the passage of time by knots. But his count lacked accuracy. He related to us that in the last war, when the islanders of Arno came to pillage Aur, he had taken part in the combat. He overcame an enemy and was just about to cut his victim's neck with a shell. Suddenly, a young girl ran up in tears, threw herself at his feet, and begged mercy for her father. Moved by her tears, Kadu spared her father's life. The young girl, overcome with joy at seeing her father saved, implored Kadu to accept her necklace as a token of her gratitude. He took it with pleasure. The father proposed that he marry the daughter and invited him to come and live on Arno where he would call him his son. Although the young girl pleased Kadu very much, he rejected the offer, wishing to have nothing in common with an enemy of Radak. But he promised to wear the necklace all his life.

During his first days on board, his curiosity was excessive. He wished to see everything. Soon he regarded everything with indifference, becoming satiated with novelty, and finally he came to consider everything as possible.

Kadu was a happy man, and he knew how to endear himself to the officers and the sailors. Often to us he sang all the songs that he knew. He was proud of having travelled so much. He particularly loved to sing a tune from the island of Eap, which greatly resembled another one from Radak. This tune has often rung from the summit of the snowy mountains of Unalashka. Kadu sometimes spent hours repeating it and then the memory of his homeland and of his voyages moved him to tears.

Tune of the Caroline Islands



[The expedition returned from the Aleutians and reached the Sandwich Islands on the 16th (28th) of September 1817.]

...
Having made the necessary repairs to our vessel and taken on board the supplies which we required, we got under way on the 2nd (14th) of October, setting our course for the Radak Islands.

Kadu was much pleased with the Sandwich Islands, whose inhabitants reciprocated in their affection for him. The lobes of his ears, prodigiously elongated, drew their attention in a singular manner.

He often called to our attention the resemblance of the dialect of this archipelago with that of his native land. He had the pleasure of meeting a sailor who had visited the Pelew Islands. Since Kadu had travelled considerably in the Carolines and the Pelew Islands, he was never surprised at the birds or animals that he saw, either here or in the Aleutians. He was enchanted at seeing so many large vessels gathered together. His resolution to accompany us on our voyage remained unbroken. The crew began to teach him to read, but he made only very slow progress. Although he learned quite readily to recognize the letters of the Russian alphabet, he seemed not to understand what these characters stood for. However, one day at dinner, hearing the word "water" mentioned in Russian, he cried out joyously, "ah! ah! *v, o, d, a, voda*" ("water" in Russian); we hoped then that he had really profited from the lessons which he had received, but he refused to take more of them and appeared determined not to learn what our books could teach him.

On the 19th (31st) of October, we saw the islands of Otdia or Romanzoff. Crossing one of the straits on the lee side, we saw a canoe which was directed toward Otdia. Soon we distinguished several islanders of our acquaintance. Laghediak, who had exchanged names with Mr. Chamisso, was at the rudder. We believed that these men appeared afraid, at least they exhibited no signs of joy. Nevertheless, Kadu addressed words of friendship to them.

Soon we dropped anchor off Otdia. The canoe came alongside, and Laghediak came aboard. He told us that Rarick and most of the male inhabitants of the atoll had accompanied Lamari with their canoes to make war upon the islanders of Arno. He added that Lamari had taken away the goats which we had left here, and that he had eaten the yams which we had buried in the ground. The pigs had died of thirst. To our great chagrin, it did not take us long to see that the little garden which we had cultivated, and where we had planted some melons and some pumpkins, had entirely disappeared.

Kadu still intended to accompany us, especially as he knew that we planned to visit the Carolines, which gave him the hope of seeing his homeland again. But when he learned that his son, who was living on the island of Aur, was often calling to him by name and regretted his absence, paternal tenderness overcame him. He immediately told us that it was his wish to remain in this archipelago.

This resolve disappointed us very much, because Kadu would have been very useful to us on our voyage to the Carolines. He was beginning to understand us quite well. He

knew some words of all the languages spoken on board and he had taught us a great many of those which he spoke. We were thus hopeful of learning from him in the future a host of interesting things about the Carolines where he was born. On the other hand, it was no less important to him that he should remain in the archipelago where he now was. He was well aware of our good intentions toward the islanders. He knew how much all the animals, dogs, cats, pigs, goats, as well as the variety of articles we had brought, meant to the people of this region. He promised to devote all his time to caring for them, and to instruct the islanders in their use. We did not succeed in the attempt we made. We had on board some watermelons, and we desired to have the natives taste this fruit which is so wholesome and so refreshing, thinking that they would like it, but we were in great error. They took a piece of it, made a pretence of trying it, and ended by throwing it away. They ate quite willingly the sugar and salt meat. They gained a good appetite for the latter, of which they partook, however, only with hesitation, perhaps because they took it for human flesh. Still they sampled it with pleasure.

Kadu actually was able to become the benefactor of these people. This fact was of so much interest that we could not oppose his plan. On the contrary, we furnished him with every means to accomplish it. We made him a present of a whole wardrobe which was very extensive. Every article of iron and glassware that he had assembled on board ship was a great treasure for him. We gave him a quantity of knives, saws, hooks, spades and saucepans. Among all the precious things which we squandered on the inhabitants of these islands, we included some weapons. Unfortunately, some long iron pikes had already been distributed among the chiefs of Aur. We procured for all alike some means of killing each other much more easily, these weapons being capable of exciting only jealousy and war between the poor islanders. The chief who becomes the owner of them will be the ruler of the archipelago. Others will make war upon him only to seize some of the weapons. Consequently, as long as iron lasts, there will be no rest for these people. Is it a benefit that they have received from us?

When we prepared to leave Radak, Kadu one evening begged the captain to come ashore and tell the islanders to respect his property, because if someone, even Lamari, wished to lay a hand on his riches that we would return and punish them with fire and thunder. Kadu asked him also to have a cannon fired and to release a rocket during the night. We performed his wishes. Kadu had a special fear of Lamari, who is a bold and sturdy man. It is only by the murder of his patron that Lamari has come to supreme power.

On the 23rd of October (4th of November) in the morning we left port.

We had lost Kadu. We all loved him, we all have for him the sincerest affection. How disappointed we were to see him so distant when he departed. He seemed extremely sad—but why? Surely the main reason for his sorrow was the fear of losing his wealth. He left us quite indifferently. Please God that paternal love will not cause him to forget his friendship for us, and that it was not too great an indifference for all the good

he had enjoyed with us! In that case, it would be a fact that confirms what is known of the character of the islanders in general in the Pacific Ocean.

When we had just lost sight of the atoll of Romanzoff or Otdia, we touched at the atoll of Tchitchagoff or Irigub.

On the 24th, in the same direction [sic], we discovered an atoll covered with clumps of coconut trees, and which the islanders call Lighiep. The weather was calm and we could proceed little farther. However, a canoe departing from shore advanced under sail toward us. Its crew consisted of 12 will-built men, robust and plump. They came aboard at our first invitation, examined our vessel with curiosity, received our gifts with great demonstrations of joy, remained dumbfounded with admiration at the sight of the vessel's interior, and showed at first some fear in seeing their features reflected in the mirrors, but they soon were comparing these latter articles to the surface of the sea.

In the evening they returned to shore, and invited us by friendly gestures to accompany them. We ourselves greatly desired to follow them, but a strong wind obliged us to put to sea. The next morning we pursued our course toward the Carolines. The long period of calms made it desirable to leave the parallels near the equator, and consequently we changed course for the Mariana Islands.

Mariana Islands.

On the 11th (23rd) of November we sighted Rota and Guajan, which make up this part of the archipelago. We tacked about during the night and approached Guajan on the morning of the 12th. The sight of no other land had given us an impression so agreeable as of this island whose shores were covered with trees of several species, among them palm-trees, and all displaying an abundance of greenery. An extremely fragrant odor was wafted to us on the wind.

A boat soon drew alongside. It has aboard Mr. Wilson, a young Englishman, who greeted us on behalf of the governor. He was to guide us into port. An instant later a Spanish officer arrived, who offered us any possible assistance on behalf of the governor, who had received orders from his sovereign to make us welcome when we arrived. The canoe used by this officer exactly resembled that of the Radak Islands. The Spaniards, as we have already said, have received some canoes from the inhabitants of the Carolines.

The port of Guahan is, like that of Oahu, enclosed by a coral reef and is situated on the lee side of the island. It is entered by a narrow inlet. We dropped anchor near the port of San Carlos de Orote.

Horses and mules were waiting on shore to carry us to Agaña, capital of the island and residence of the governor. It is situated about two leagues from the coast [where we disembarked]. It was late when we arrived at Agaña. The governor, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, received us graciously. His house combined the luxury of Europe with that of the Indies. During our stay with him we were treated in the most sumptuous manner.

We looked in vain for the natives of the island. All those whom we saw have become almost Spanish. They hardly know their own language, at least they count in that of their masters.

As we desired to learn something of the customs of the natives, the Governor one evening had about 60 young men execute before us the dance of Montezuma, which is in good taste and very figurative.

In 1783, the population of this island was 3,231; in 1816, it was 5,389. Thus there has been an increase in 33 years of 2,158 individuals. What a difference from the aboriginal population which ancient voyagers set at 44,000!¹

Except for a kind of bat called a vampire, the only mammals indigenous to this archipelago is the rat, also so extensively distributed throughout the islands of the Pacific. On Guajan and in the Carolines, the Spaniards have introduced our domestic animals, the guanaco from Peru [sic], and the deer from the Philippines. Several of these latter animals have become wild. There are to be seen a variety of land-birds, including the falcon. We observed among the amphibians, an iguana and a large sea-turtle, and among the zoophytes, several species of holothurias which, under the name of *trepang*, *biche-de-mer*, and *balate*, form a branch of commerce which is most important to China. This zoophyte is collected on the rocks. Sometimes it is almost two feet long and big around as an arm, and it is all black. Its belly is cut open, all the watery part is removed, and it is set in the sun to dry. When completely dried it is scarcely the length of one's finger. For eating, it is cut into very fine pieces, boiled and becomes transformed into a jelly which the Chinese consider as a delicacy and prefer it, on account of the virtues attributed to it, to the nests of birds. (These zoophytes were very common in Radak. The inhabitants had no use for them). In the Marianas, they are not prepared very often, but the inhabitants of the Carolines produce a great quantity. We saw in Manila a pound of this substance sold for one, one and a half, and even two pesos.

Indigo or cotton trees are very common in the Mariana Islands, but neither of them are turned to account, and one is obliged to import cotton cloth from Manila, white or dyed-blue. On the other hand a great quantity of tobacco is grown. Both sexes alike smoke its leaf. This colony is the only one belonging to Spain where tobacco can be cultivated without restriction, as elsewhere it is a monopoly of the government.

On the 17th (29th) of November, we left Guajan. On the 28th (8th of December), we sighted Richmond, or Balintang, Island, the Babuyan Islands, and the Bashi Islands. All have a volcanic appearance and several of them are very high.

1 Ed. note: Not voyagers, but the mistaken missionaries, and Father Le Gobien who lived in Paris one century earlier, and whose book was carried on board, according to Chamisso.

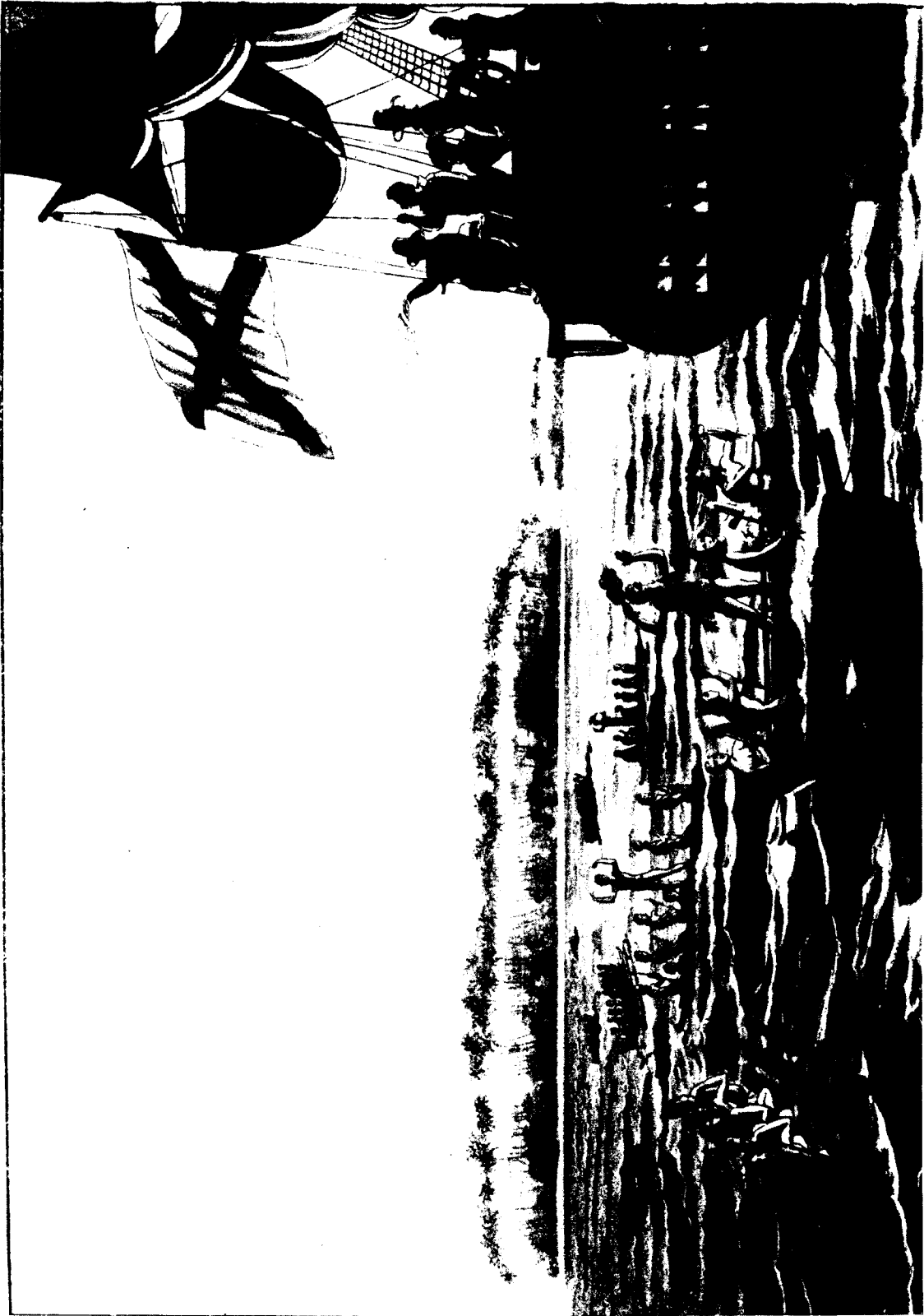
D2. Choris' artistic description of Micronesia

Source: Louis Choris. Vues et paysages des régions équinoxiales (Paris, 1826).

Note: In effect, this book is a supplement to his "Voyage pittoresque."

Views and Sceneries of Tropical Regions, Collected During a Voyage Around the World...

PL XI



Meeting with the inhabitants of the Penrhyn Islands [i.e. Tongareva, N. Cooks].

Plate XI.

*Note: Although this plate is not about Micronesia, it is worth reproducing, because there is a rare view of the **Rurik**, the name that is painted on her stern (in cyrillic letters).*

The Penrhyn Islands form a group upon an atoll, and are inhabited. Since the visit by Captain Sever, who discovered them in 1788, they had not been visited by other Europeans when we came upon them. The islanders are tall and well-built: they are not tattooed, but a few have the chest and the back covered with deep grooves that criss-cross each other in a regular fashion, and which, in addition to long, disheveled, hair, gives them a wild appearance.

It did not take long for our ship to be surrounded by canoes; some of them carried as many as 20 men. In each canoe there was an old man, wearing a coconut-palm frond around his neck, and holding a string of coconuts in his left hand. These islanders began to sing a sad tune, and they did not come near us until it was finished. They showed no fear, but they did not come aboard.

It is probable that the paper mulberry¹ does not grow on the Penrhyn Islands, because the men have no other clothing than the bundle of bast of the type that grows at the base of coconut branches; they place this over their sexual organs, and it is held in place by a cord fastened around their waist. Sometimes, they wear a smallish mat on their shoulders. The women only wear a belt from which they hang some strips from the bark of some tree.

¹ Ed. note: Rather hibiscus, or balibago.

P. X.



Landing through the reefs of Romanzov Island [i.e. Wotje atoll, Marshalls]

Plate X.

The Great Equatorial [i.e. Pacific] Ocean has many islands with a peculiar formation. They can be considered like the peaks of high mountains rising from the bottom of the sea; when one throws the sounding line around their reefs, he finds no bottom. The surface of the rock upon which they are based is covered with water. Its circumference is lined with a barrier reef that shows up at low tide, and that holds some banks formed by the sand that the waves throw in, on the windward side, and on the projecting angles along the circumference itself. Thus, some reefs and islets surround an interior basin, or lagoon. When the [undersea] mountain has but a small circular base, the basin is full of water, and consequently, has only one island, instead of a group of islands.

It was at this island of Romanzov that Mr. A. de Chamisso, the naturalist of the expedition, was first able to study the manner in which these special islands had been formed. He has given a very ingenious explanation of this process, based on actual observation; I have just borrowed this description from him. The English newspapers have wrongly attributed to him the paper of Dr. Eschscholtz on the same topic; what makes this ludicrous is that Mr. de Chamisso himself, in many of his Remarks and Opinions, has refuted the views of this scientist, who was the physician of the expedition.

Romanzov Island is small. The encircling reef barrier, red in color, is almost three feet high; when the waves break upon it, they completely cover it. The sand that is found farther in is from 6 to 9 feet high and is brightly white; it supports a layer of soil that can be from two inches to a foot in thickness. The barrier is interrupted in many places on the lee side of the island. During high tides, the sea probably washes the interior of the island. The rain water that filled many pits was sweet. We have met with some sort of wells dug by human hands, some dilapidated huts, an old canoe, and finally, some traces of fire. These clues told us that this uninhabited islet was sometimes visited by inhabitants from other islands of the Great Ocean.

The green aspect of Romanzov Island is extremely pleasing. However, the number of plants that we found there was very limited; but they formed a thick underbrush dominated by the coconut trees and enhanced by the curious shape of the pandanus trees.

This island was not yet shown on any chart; we were therefore entitled to give it a name, and we could not make a better choice of name than that of the generous man who had planned our expedition, and who so liberally paid all of its expenses. Count Romanzov died in 1825, but he will be fondly remembered and venerated.

P. XII.



View in the Radak Islands.
(showing the bread-fruit tree, *Artocarpus incisa*)

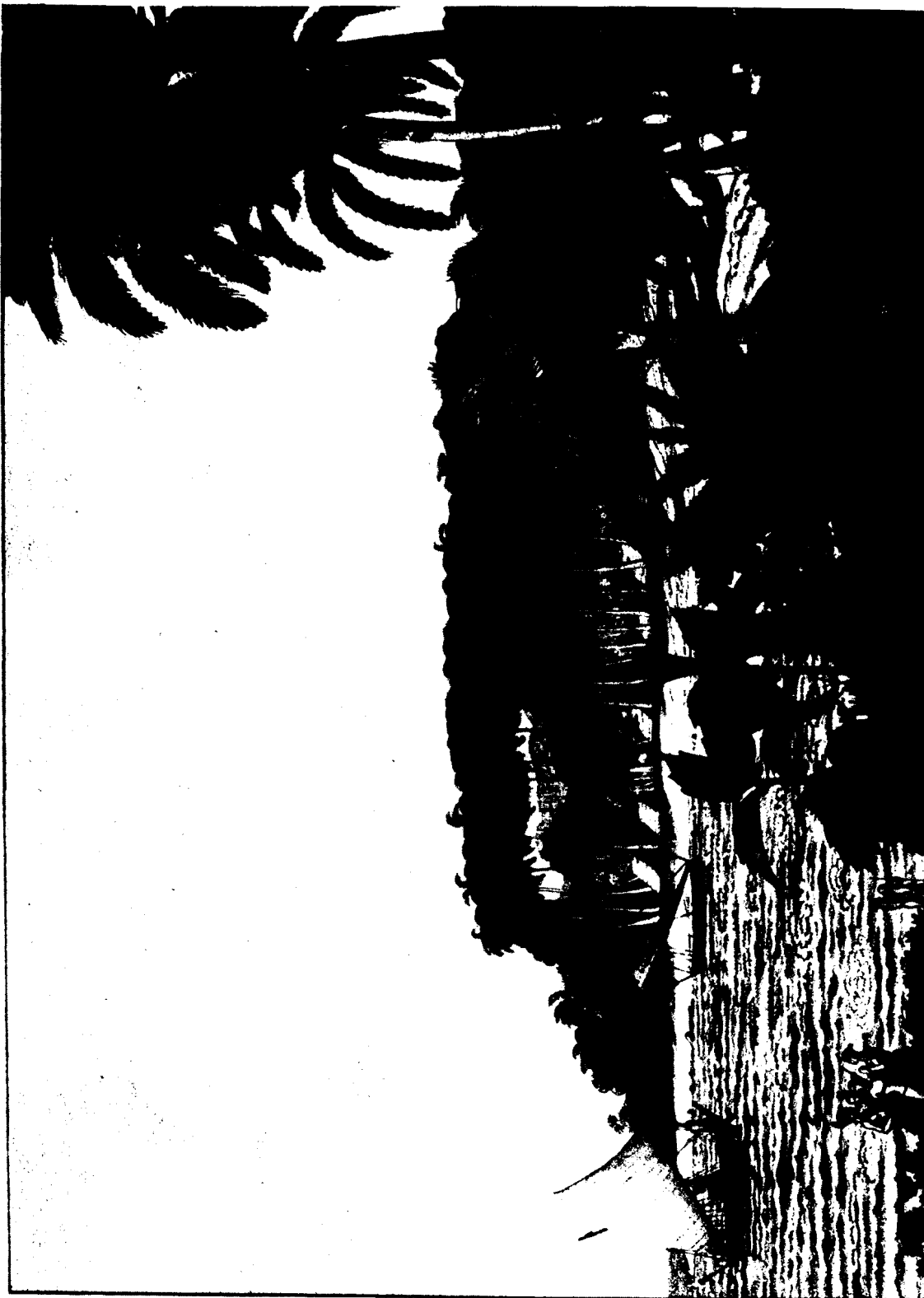
Plate XII.

The Radak Islands form a chain of atolls, whose links are formed by coral reefs dotted with islets.

The appearance of this curious archipelago is extremely pleasing on account of the luxuriant vegetation that covers it. The islanders build their huts under the bread-fruit trees, and their fruits constitute a staple for them. The pandanus tree, whose shape is so weird, and the coconut tree, whose trunk, so elegant and slim, rises in a majestic fashion above other trees, provide additional fruits to supplement the diet of the inhabitants. Tall ferns and other plants common in the tropics cover the surface of the soil.

No other European ship had entered inside the lagoons of the Radak Islands. The **Rurik** went inside many lagoons. Thanks to the welcome given us by the inhabitants, we were able to make observations at our leisure.

PLXIV



View in the Radak Islands.
(showing coconut trees).

Plate XIII [rather XIV].

The appearance of all of the groups forming the Radak archipelago is monotonous on account of its uniformity. When seen from the sea, the presence of man could hardly be expected, were it not for the tall coconut trees whose heads are spread over the other plants. These well-known trees that provide man with so many useful products all over the inhabited Radak Islands, are the principal species of trees seen along the seashores. The coconuts fall on their own upon the sand and, if left alone, nature soon takes over and soon there is a young coconut tree spreading its beautiful green leaves, like so many green feathers.

The Radak Islands are not specially favored with many species of plants, but the small number is more than made up by the qualities of many plants: besides the coconut tree is the bread-fruit tree, but it is not very common. The bread-fruit tree is useful, not only for its fruit but also for its wood, which is used to make the keels of the canoes. The rest of the hull of the canoes is made with planks sewn together with cords made of coconut coir. The cracks between the planks are caulked with pandanus leaves.

PXXIII



View in the Radak Islands.

(*showing the pandanus tree, Pandanus odorantissimus.*

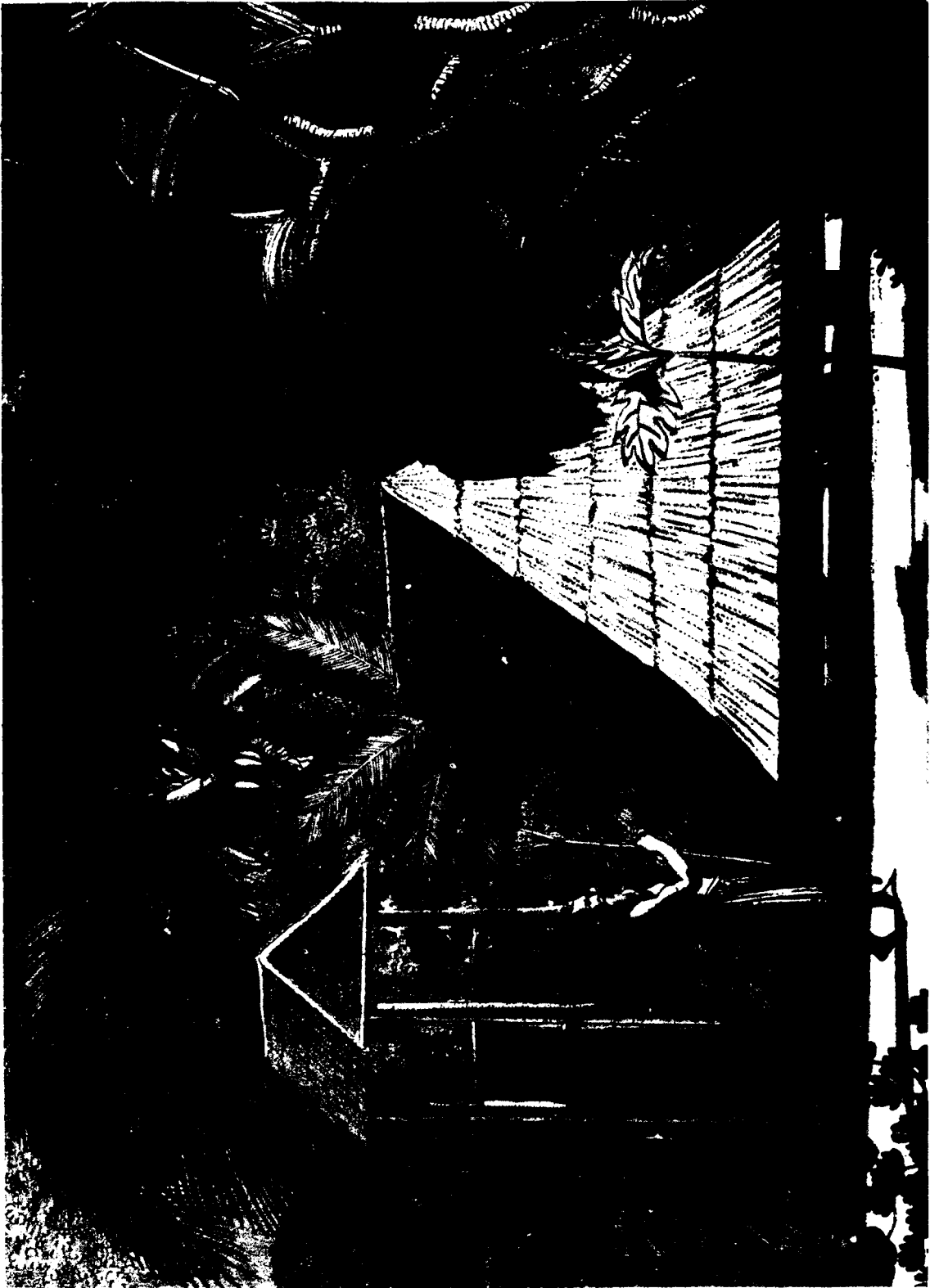
Plate XIV [rather XIII].

The most useful plant in the Radak Islands is the pandanus growing in the islands of the Great Ocean, called *Pandanus odorantissimus* by botanists. This plant, whose appearance is very particular, resembles a pineapple by its leaves, but it is much taller, since its height is that of a tall shrub. Its trunk produces near its base many shoots that go down towards the ground and become roots, that act as so many buttresses around the main trunk. It is found in many countries of the Indies and as far as Arabia. Its flowers emit a very pleasant odor; women like to wear them.

It grows naturally in the driest of sands, at the spot where plants start to grow; it fertilizes the ground with the numerous leaves that fall from it. It grows thickly in damper and deeper spots on more fertile islands. It was not known, before the voyage of the **Rurik**, that its cultivation could result in the production of delicious fruits. The Radak islanders propagates the best varieties by means of the transplantation of its shoots.

Given its ability to grow in sandy areas, the pandanus is often the first line of vegetation in the woods of this archipelago. One can frequently see, on the sand near its roots, many shells deposited there by the receding tides, and also some bits of living coral, the true animal vegetation [sic] that forms the structure upon which these islands are built. Through its branches, one can see the outrigger canoes of the islanders; they are light vessels that can be as long as 30 feet. They sail by means of huge lateen sails.

In the tropics, the high seas and the seashores are visited by the tropic bird, a sea-bird whose white color makes a strong contrast with the permanent blue of the sky in such climates.



Radak Islands. View inland.

Plate XV.

The houses of the islanders consists in only a roof supported by four low pillars. The ground underneath the roof is covered with a mat. One cannot stand up inside these houses, but must remain seated. One can climb into an attic where the furniture is. One can sleep up there, or on the lower floor, or even inside some small huts in the shape of tents, with two sides left open. The roofing material consists of coconut, or pandanus, leaves. The floor is made up of very fine coral sand, mixed with small shells, that is picked up along the shore. A single rough mat serves as a bed, and a wooden block serves as a pillow.

The furniture consists in a basket containing empty coconut shells, which serve as fresh water containers. The houses are built under coconut and pandanus trees, that spread their welcome shade over them.

Since the pandanus fruit forms the basis of the food for the islanders, they break down the fruits into individual pods which they lay out to dry in some special buildings with many levels, high above the ground, to put them out of the reach of the rats.

The Radak islanders are not very tall, nor very robust; however, though lean, they are well-built and in good health. They appear to be able to reach an old age, without becoming infirm. Their complexion is very dark. Both men and women wear their hair long. The hair is kept very clean, and elegantly tied behind the neck; but the hair of the children is kept loose and curly. The men let their beard grow long, but it is not very bushy. As a result of chewing on the hard and fibrous pandanus fruit, their teeth get spoiled rapidly; the front teeth are often missing. All the islanders have their ear-lobes pierced; they roll a pandanus leaf and place it there.

The tattoos differ between men and women; the men have their chest, back and belly tattooed, but the women have tattoos only on their shoulders and arms.

The clothing of the men consists in a belt made with bark fibers, which is often accompanied by a small square mat, worn like an apron. As for the women, they wear two long mats held by a cord around the waist; sexually-mature girls wear a small apron. Necklaces made of animal teeth, shells, pieces of coconut shells, some garlands of flowers and of shells, some feathers from tropic and frigate birds, and some shell bracelets complete their adornment.

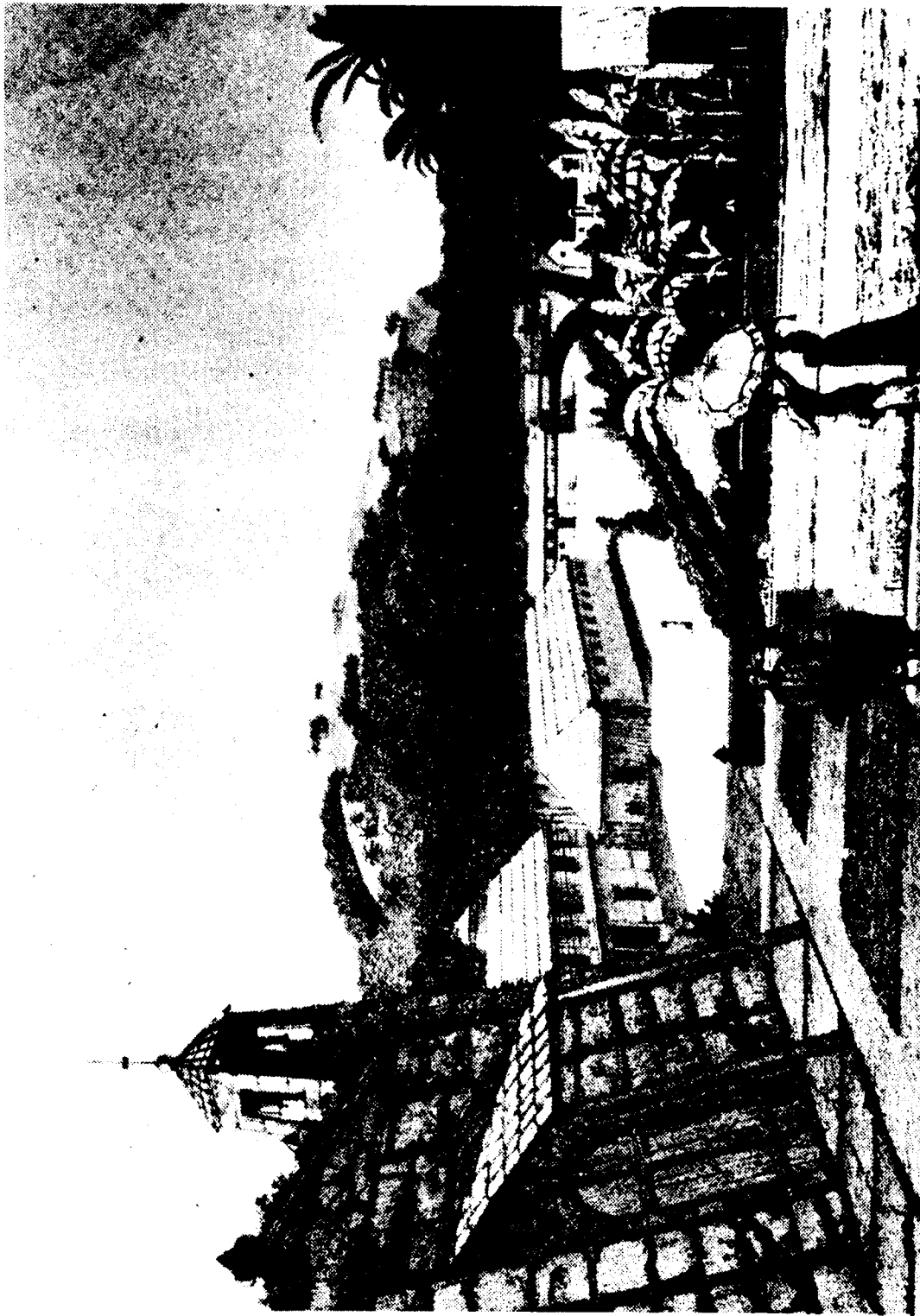


View in the Radak Islands.

Plate XVI.

The Radak islanders have improved the pandanus fruit through cultivation. They eat it either raw or cooked. They dig large holes in the ground and make a fire in them; when the wood has been reduced to embers, they take it out and cover the pit with leaves. Then they place the fruits on top of the leaves, cover the fruits with more leaves and put the embers on top of them. After two hours, the fruit is perfectly cooked.

In many islands of the Great Ocean, we have seen the same process being used to cook even large animals. The meat thus gains an appetizing taste which the processes used in Europe cannot duplicate.



View of the Town of Agaña, Guam (Mariana Islands)

Plate XXI

Agaña is the capital of the Mariana Islands; it is the residence of the Governor of the Marianas. This town, which is really no more than a village, is situated on a beautiful plain at about one hundred paces from the seashore. Coconut tree grow on both sides of it. On its south side, some tall rocks block the view of the horizon. Their summits are covered by majestic trees that provide shade to part of the town, and give it a picturesque look. A tiny stream crosses it and provides water to the population. The houses are lined up along a regular street.

There are only about seven or eight houses that are made of stones, and they are all occupied by government officials; they are surrounded by a gallery whose windows are made of a lattice of mother-of-pearl shells that replace glass panes; the windows on the ground floor have no glass either.

In the eastern part of the town, there can be seen a large church and a convent. However, the whole clergy consists of only two monks who belong to the Malay race. The walls of the church are slanted with respect to the ground, the better to resist the frequent shocks from earthquakes.

Next to the church can be seen the governor's palace, and further on, the barracks. On the other side of the street, in the middle of banana tree groves, one can distinguish the houses of the inhabitants known as Indians: they are made of bamboo and built on top of big wooden piles, from three to four feet high. Their flooring is made up of bamboo slats, which keep them very cool. This type of construction can be seen all over East Asia.

The earthquakes are not the only disastrous phenomena to affect the Marianas. Every twenty years more or less a violent wind blows from the southwest and raise the seas so high that the town becomes flooded and the inhabitants are forced to seek refuge in the mountains. Only the stone buildings can resist the floods; all the bamboo houses are then obliterated.

The original race of the ancient islanders no longer exists. The present population consists of descendants of Filipinos and Mexicans. When we came in sight of Guaham, we had to wait a long time before seeing a canoe come off the island, to come and meet us. What a difference it was for Magellan when he discovered the Marianas in 1520! Within a few moments his ships were surrounded by the canoes of the islanders. However, the charming appearance of these islands had not changed, and the visitor can still enjoy a walk under the shade of their beautiful trees.

Document 1817E

The ship Indus of Salem, Captain Nathaniel Page

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; PMB 202.

Note: Visited the Marianas while going from Hawaii to Canton.

Extract from the log kept by Charles Forbes

...

Remarks on Saturday, January the 18th 1817

Commences pleasant with fresh trades. At 4 P.M. Chronometer gave 210°57 of west longitude. From 6 P.M. to 6:15 reduced the ship from Royals & top G. steering sails to single reefed top sails, fore sail & fore top m. staysail and at 7:30 hove to for the night with appearances of land to the west. Saw many porpoises and one booby. At 6 A.M. bore up and made sail with a moderate breeze. From 10 to noon the wind variable from N.E. to S.E. with squalls and thick rainy weather.

Lat. by Acct. 14°24 N. lat. Obs. 14°57 N. Long. Acct. 208°14. Long. Obs. 213°50'. Long. Chron. 212°14 W.

Remarks on Sunday, January the 19th

Moderate breezes and thick gloomy weather with some rain till 4 P.M. when it ceased raining but the atmosphere continued to be loaded with clouds which hang heavy at the horizon. From 4 to 6 P.M. Reduced the ship to single reefed top sails and at 6 hove to with her head to the Northward with strong appearances of the vicinity of land and appearances of a squally, disagreeable night. At 6:10 cleared up a little in the N.W. and discovered land apparently at no great distance bearing (the body of it) N.W. by W. wore ship to the Southward & Eastward and kept under such sail during the night as was calculated to keep to windward. Had fresh breezes with clouds hanging low in the horizon and somewhat threatening but not otherwise unpleasant night. Midnight wore to the Northward. At 6 A.M. made sail and stood for the land which soon proved to be Saypan, Tinian & Aguian; part of the Ladrone Islands. At 9h15 A.M. the S.E. point of Tinian bore North 3 miles distant and the West point NW1/2N about 18 miles and the center of Aguian SW distant about 4 miles.

At 9h45 A.M. the South point of Tinian bore E by N1/2 N about 8' distant and the West or rather NW point North about 15' dist. which from our merid. observation makes this East point lay in 15°12' N lat. whereas Bowditch gives it in 14°59' N. According to Lisiansky's long. of the south point of Tinian which is 213°40' of W. long., we find our dist. reacons. from Nookuivah 4°21' and the Chron. 33' to the Eastward & Lunar 1°15'20 [to] the Westward.

Lat. ... 14°21' N. Lat. obs. 15°01' N. Long. acct. 209°35' W. Long. obs. 215°11'. Long. Chron. 213°23' W.

Remarks on Monday, January the 20th 1817

This day commences with fresh trades and pleasant weather. The South point of Tinian bearing E1/2N distant 20 miles: this point is laid down by Lisiansky in 213°40' of West long. And as I find the dead reckoning from Nooahew without any correction, to be 4°21' to the Eastward of the ship I now take a new departure from this land.

From 6 P.M. through the night wind blew very fresh in squalls accompanied with rain and a very long irregular sea. From 6 A.M. wore moderate made sail.

Lat. Acct. 15°54' N. Lat. Obs. 15°39' N. Long. Acct. 217°43' W. Long. Obs. [blank]. Long. Chron. 217°35'.

...

Document 1817F

The brig Feliz, Captain Cuervo

Letter from Captain Cuervo to the Viceroy, dated Acapulco 11 December 1816

Source: AGN Marina 214, fol. 333-333v.

Original text in Spanish

Exmo. Señor

*A las seis de la tarde de hoy ha dado fondo en este Puerto el Bergantin particular de mi mando nombrado el **Feliz** procedente de Manila, de donde salí el 7 de Agosto de este año conduciendo seiscientos sesenta y seis bultos de permiso de efectos de aquel Comercio, sin haver tenido novedad alguna en mi navegacion teniendo por conveniente arribar al Puerto de Mazatlan el dia 1º del que rije, para adquirir noticias del estado de este Reyno: de alli segui á San Blas en donde entré el 4 y salí el 7 dejando la Correspondencia del Real Servicio y del Publico en aquella Estafeta.*

La tripulacion de dicho buque se compone de treinta y siete individuos de Capitan á Page inclusos tres Pasajeros; incluyendo á V.E. el adjunto estado de su Cargamento para su superior conocimiento.

Dios Nuestro Señor Guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

*Abordo del Bergantin **Feliz** al ancla en el Puerto de Acapulco 11 de Diciembre de 1816.*

Exmo. Sor.

Fernando Cuervo

[Al] Exmo. Señor Virey Don Manuel Ruiz de Apodaca

Translation.

Your Excellency

Today at 6 p.m. the private brig under my command, named **Feliz**, has anchored in this port. It comes from Manila, whence it departed on 7 August last, carrying 666 bales of permitted goods belonging to the traders there, Nothing unusual happened during my voyage, except that I found it appropriate to touch at the port of Mazatlán on the 1st instant, in order to find out what was happening in this Kingdom; from there, I went

on to San Blas, where I arrived on the 4th, leaving on the 7th, to leave the correspondence of the Royal service and the public mail in that mail courier station.

The crew of said ship consists of 37 individuals, from Captain to Page, including three passengers. I enclose for Y.E. the list of the cargo, for your superior information.¹

May God save the life of Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the brig **Feliz** at anchor in the port of Acapulco, 11 December 1816.

Your Excellency.

Fernando Cuervo

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Manuel Ruiz de Apodaca.

1 Ed. note: The list is no longer with the letter in the file.

Documents 1817G

The voyage of the frigate *Santa Rita*

G1. Return of the *Santa Rita* in 1817

Source: AGN Fil. 43, fol. 285.

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno N. 91.

*Participa à V.E. haber dado la vela la fragata **Santa Rita** con destino à Manila.*

Excmo. Sor.

El Sor. Comandante de S. Blas Capitan de Navio D. Josef de Lavayen me dice con fecha 15 del corriente lo que sigue.

*“En este dia ha dado la vela para el Puerto de Manila la Fragata particular nombrada **Santa Rita**, del cargo de su Capitan D. Francisco Dapena, conduciendo de registro sesenta mil pesos en barras, importe de sus fletes y algunos frutos del pais de varios particulares. Lo que comunico à V.E. para su conocimiento.”*

Y lo traslado à V.E. con igual obgeto.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Guadalaxara 26 de Marzo de 1817.

Exmo. Sor.

Pedro Celestino Negrete

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Virey D. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Translation.

Government N° 91.

Reporting to Y.E. the departure of the frigate **Santa Rita** bound to Manila.

Your Excellency.

The Commander of San Blas, Navy Captain José de Lavayen, in a letter dated 15th instant that he sent to me, tells me the following:

“Today the private frigate named **Santa Rita** left for the port of Manila. She is commanded by Captain Francisco Dapena, and carries registered 60,000 pesos in ingots, the result of her freight charges, and a few local products belonging to various individuals. I report same to Y.E., for your information.”

And I copy it for Y.E., for the same purpose.

May God save Y.E. for many years.
 Guadalajara, 26 March 1817.
 Your Excellency.
 Pedro Celestino Negrete
 [To] His Excellency Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

G2. List of goods aboard the Santa Rita

Source: AGN Fil. 43, fol. 291-291v.

Original text in Spanish.

*Nota de la Carga que de este Puerto condujo a Filipinas de su procedencia la Fragata Española nombrada **Santa Rita** de donde salió en 15 de Marzo del Corriente año à Cargo de su Capitan D. Francisco Dapena.*

Metales

60 mil pesos en 60 Barras de plata quintada con permiso de ese Gobierno de 30 de Enero pasado acumulado al Registro de dicho Buque.

6 mil pesos in Moneda Mexicana para gastos de arribada a solicitud de su Maestre D. Felix Dayot segun la copia Certificada que acompaña esta Nota.

1,652 @ 142 libras de Cobre en tortuga.

Efectos de Europa

108 Ramos de papel

234 Piezas de Aravia

24 id. de Muselina

Menestras y otros Viveres

105 Tercios Garvanzo

36 id. Frixol

4 id. Lenteja

10 id. Chile

1 Barril de Azeytunas

32 Caxones de Caxeta

3 id. de Queso

1 Jaro de Piñones

5 Jurrones Fruta pasada

3 Caxones de Fideos

Otros efectos

4 Caxones con 113 Pieles de Nutria

20 Caxones de Losa y Bucaros de Guadalaxara

33 id. de Jabon.

Yerbas y Medicinas

8 Caxones Serrados de Drogas de Botica

2 id. de Oregano

3 id. de Laurel

4 id. de Sarza parrilla

1 id. de Anis

2 id. Cascarilla o Quina.

San Blas 21 de Marzo de 1817.

Marcelo Croquer.

Translation.

List of the cargo carried on board the Spanish frigate named **Santa Rita** from this port to the Philippines whence she came. She departed on March 15th of this year, under the command of her Captain Francisco Dapena.

Metals.

—60,000 pesos in 60 silver ingots, upon which tax has been paid, with permission from that Government dated 30 January last, and recorded on the Manifest of said ship.

—6,000 pesos in Mexican money to cover expenses of arrivals in distress, at the request of her Master, Don Felix Dayot, according with the certified copy attached to this Note.

—1,652 arrobas and 142 pounds of raw copper ingots.

European goods.

—108 reams of paper.

—234 rolls of Arabic [cloth].

—24 rolls of Muslin.

Dry vegetables and other food supplies.

—105 half-loads of chickpeas.

—36 half-loads of beans.

—4 half-loads of lentil peas.

—10 half-loads of Chili peppers.

—1 barrel of olives.

—32 crates of caramelized milk.

—3 crates of cheese.

—1 jar of nut preserves.

—5 jars of dried fruits.

—3 crates of noodles.

Other goods.

—4 crates containing 113 sea-otter pelts.

—20 crates containing earthenware from Guadalajara.

—33 crates of soap.

Herbs and Medicines.

—8 sealed crates containing pharmaceutical drugs.

—2 crates of oregano.

—3 crates of laurel.

—4 crates of sarzaparilla.

—1 crate of anis.
—2 crates of cinchona, or Peruvian bark.
San Blas, 21 March 1817.
Marcelo Croquer

 Document 1817H

Population statistics for the Marianas, 1783-1817

Source: Otto von Kotzebue. A Voyage of Discovery (London, 1821), vol. III, pp. 90-91.


Note: Extract made by Chamisso from the archives of Agaña in November 1817.

In the year		Number of Inhabitants.	Increase.	Decrease.
1783	} Of the first of the Government of D. Felipe de Cerain.	3231	—	—
1784		3213	—	18
1785		3292	72	—
1786		3201	9	—
1787	} The first of the Government of D. Jose de Arlequi y Leoz.	3344	13	—
1788		3433	89	—
1789		3501	68	—
1790		3564	63	—
1791		3690	66	—
1792		3680	50	—
1793		3584	—	96
1795	} The first of the Government of D. Manuel Muro.	3500	—	84
1796		3643	143	—
1797		3789	146	—
1798		3985	146	—
1799		4001	66	—
1800		4158	157	—
1801	4245	87	—	
1802	4249	4	—	
1803	} The first of the Government of D. Vincente Blanco.	4303	54	—
1804		4308	5	—
1805		4354	46	—
1806	} The first of the Government of D. Alexandro Parreño.	4442	88	—
1807		4545	103	—
1808		4690	145	—
1809		4804	114	—
1810		4845	41	—
1811		4958	113	—
1812	} The first of D. José de Medi- nilla y Pineda.	4921	—	37
1813		5049	128	—
1814		5232	183	—
1815		5315	83	—
1816		5389	74	—
	Increase		2393	234
	Decrease		234	
	Net Increase		2158	

TABLE OF THE VILLAGES, HOUSES, AND INHABITANTS ON THE MARIANAS,
 Drawn up by Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant of the Royal Regiment of Infantry, Justicia Mayor, Civil and Military Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General of those Islands and their jurisdiction, in this Year 1816.
 Accompanied with Observations on the Increase and Decrease since the last Year, and the different Classes.

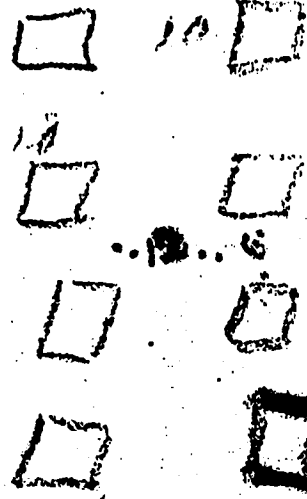
The Island of Guahon.	Houses.	Civil Officers and Military.	Spaniards and Mestizos.		Natives of the Philippines and their descendants.		Indians.		Mulattos.		Indians from the Sandwich Islands and the Carolinas.		Total in the Year 1816.	Total in the Year 1815.	Increase.	Decrease.
			Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.				
CAPITAL.																
San Ygnacio de Agana.																
ITS FOUR QUARTERS.																
Santa Cruz,	448	147	535	568	670	764	188	172	10	9	23	29	3115	3062	53	—
San Ygnacio,																
San Nicholas,																
San Roman.																
DEPENDENCIES.																
Anigua	44	—	—	1	1	2	116	118	—	—	—	—	238	233	5	—
Asan	28	—	—	—	—	4	64	48	—	—	—	—	116	112	4	—
Tepungan	14	—	—	—	—	1	36	34	—	—	—	—	71	67	4	—
Mungmung	15	—	—	—	1	3	44	36	—	—	—	—	84	90	—	6
Sina Sana	36	—	—	1	—	2	99	82	—	—	—	—	148	188	—	4
SEPARATE VILLAGES.																
Agat	45	—	—	—	4	5	118	112	—	2	—	—	241	244	—	3
Villa de Umata	34	—	—	1	6	5	86	84	4	3	—	—	189	184	5	—
Merizo	52	—	—	—	7	3	144	138	—	—	—	—	292	288	4	—
Unarasan	43	—	—	1	—	—	99	104	—	—	—	—	204	201	3	—
Pago	40	—	—	2	—	2	98	88	4	6	—	—	200	204	—	4
ISLANDS.																
Rota, and Tinian.	103	—	—	—	2	2	228	223	—	—	—	—	455	442	13	—
Total	902	147	535	574	691	793	1320	1239	18	20	23	29	5389	5315	91	17

The census of both sexes, and all classes, which was made with the greatest accuracy and minuteness, gave the number of souls, 5389, being an increase of 74 since the first of February, 1816. The number of houses was 902. (Signed) José de Medinilla y Pineda, *Justo de la Cruz*.
 San Ygnacio de Agana, Mariana Islands, 4th of March, 1817.

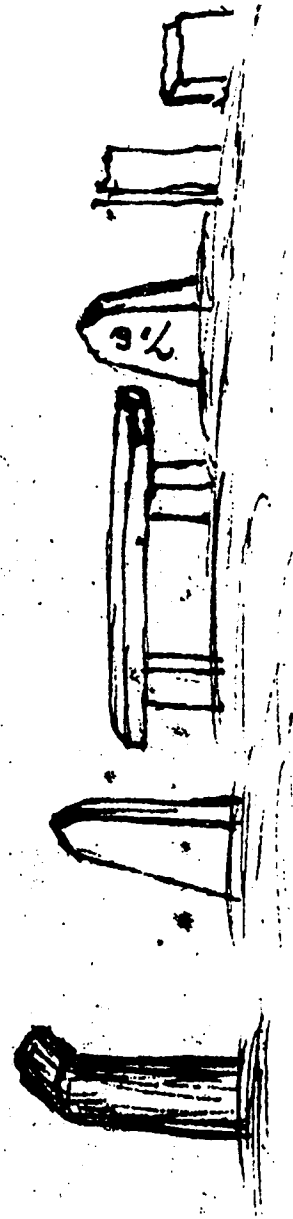
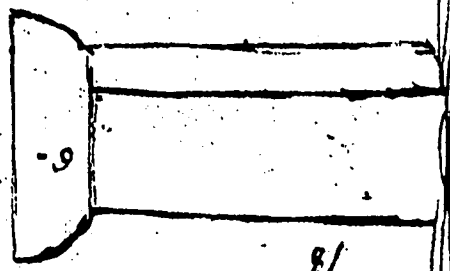


 several U.S. bases in the South Pacific

 Guam Army fort belongs to Spain



Grey Granite



Document 1818A

The brig Osprey reports new Spanish settlement at Tinian

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; PMB 769.

Notes: Only extracts exist from the original logbook. The full name of the author is not known.

Extract from the log, kept by E. T. T.

Mentions of Tinian.

Tinian Latitude 14° N. Lon. 146 one of the Marian Groupe was made July 8th 1818.— At 6 AM hoisted out the Pinnacle. Capt. remaining on board, the Ship lying off and on. I went in the Pinnacle well armed with 6 Men to procure supplies. On approaching the Shore which was concealed by a thick fog, observed a Canoe rowing off, and immediately hauled for her. Found it to be from the Shore with 4 natives of Guam coming off with offers of refreshments. These men spoke very good Spanish and offered to conduct us thro' the reef to the Shore. We followed him in and found a small Spanish settlement in the Island consisting of a Native Creole of Guam, his wife, 3 Daughters, with 10 or 12 Indians. They had been here but a few Months and had already built a good House of Stone Plaisted [i.e. plastered] outside and in, and thatched with Bamboo, not top [i.e. more] than 20 feet square and divided into two rooms. It stood about 100 m from the Beach, surrounded by a number of small offices containing the apparatus for making Oil --- kitchens and accommodations for their men.

The Owner of the House offered all the refreshments that the Island produced & immediately sent off his men to procure greens for us. He had five men out on a party killing Cattle, good numbers of which run wild on the Island. They kill them & jerk the Beef for sale or their own consumption. Numbers of wild Goats & Hoggs. They have large Enclosures filled with wild Hogs, which they run down with Dogs, great numbers of which are found on the Island, supposed to have been left there.

(Facing page) **Tinian Ruins—From the log of the ship Osprey in 1818.** The notes read as follows: “Several Volcanoes in the Group Northward. Guam strong fort belong to Spaniards. Grey Granite.”

The woods are filled with wild fowls, of a large size. By feeding constantly he had decoyed great numbers from the Woods to his house where they lived, and supply plenty of Eggs, Chicks. Ducks a few. The Island produces in profusion: Oranges, Lemons, Limes, Guavas, Yams, Cocoa Nuts, Potatoes, Onions, Mellons, sugar Cane, Calabashes, Pompions [i.e. squashes], Corn, Beans, Tobacco, Yams &c &c. The Island appears of a moderate Height, and abundantly fertile in every part. Large Savannahs of rich grass interspersed with groves of trees of a large growth give it the appearance of our own neat & cleared Farms. The cattle are milk white, with very fine & long Hair. Goats numerous and easily taken. Most of the fruits and vegetables grow spontaneously.—

[Ancient Chamorro ruins of Tinian]

In the vicinity of Ansons Road there are remaining ruins [of] the first discovery of the Island several very curious Antiquities, which must have been the work of a People far more industrious than any where inhabiting the various groups of Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The most remarkable consists of a group of Pillars standing among the Trees and Shrubs at a short distance from the landing. These Pillars are 8 in number formed of a single stone of Granite accurately squared by stone tools measuring 8 feet on each side, and as near as could be judged 18 feet in height including the Capital which rests solidly on each; this is round with the upper superficies flat and wrought very smooth and cut shear[,] under part convex and sloping so as to exactly cover the square top of each pillar. They are placed equidistant and opposite to each other say 10 feet each way. The Capital cannot from estimation weigh top [sic = more] than 10 Tons each. One of the groupe {has fallen extremely}¹ is quartrated [sic = quartered] by some shock and the Capital separated from it by a tree that has grown up in the fissure not top than a foot in diameter. The vines and mosses cover them Porcupine Pillars and Heap wildly festooning the capitals.² There are two humongous stones hewn into the shape of Phelishes [i.e. phalluses] about 3-1/2 or 4 feet above the surface. One is round, and the upper part makes a small bend or angle and is apparently broken off. Another is a large flat stone with one wrought surface and resting on two others, of about the same height of 3 feet, in the manner of a large tomb stone. No inscription or tradition records the era and use of these creations. The Creole on being asked concerning them declared his ignorance and attributed them to the ancient inhabitants. No one on viewing these can but compare them to the celebrated antiquities of Stonehenge. Anson in his Voyage altho he gives his name to the bay, yet does not notice these wonderfull remains. It is probable that should the settlement on the Island increase they will gradually disappear, as **the men were employed in breaking up some of the smaller monuments for the purpose of enlarging their Hog Penns.**³ It is Insured that many

1 Ed. note: These 3 words have been crossed out.

2 Ed. note: Not easily deciphered. The allusion is to climbing vines covering the latte stone pillars, and fallen capitals.

3 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

more remains might have been discovered but the difficulty of the search is extreme heat and high grass with the abundance of lizards, snakes and mole constantly running over our feet, together with the little time allowed for research.

Wood & Water are easily procured and the Harbour smooth except in a southerly wind when a tremendous swell rolls in and breaks with fury on the reef, inside of which are a number of rocks nearly level with the water, and over which the sea sometimes breaks. The outer Harbour or Road has also a very foul bottom. The rocks from the transparency of the water can be seen plainly in 20 fathoms. The Beach is of white coral sand and good landing.

Saipan his [sic] to the N. of Tynian from which they procure great quantities of Cocoa Nuts for Oil.

Ansons Voyage Quarto Edition confirms the above in most particulars. The Pillars are composed of sand and small stones and covered with cement, which gives them the appearance of a single stone.—

1
...

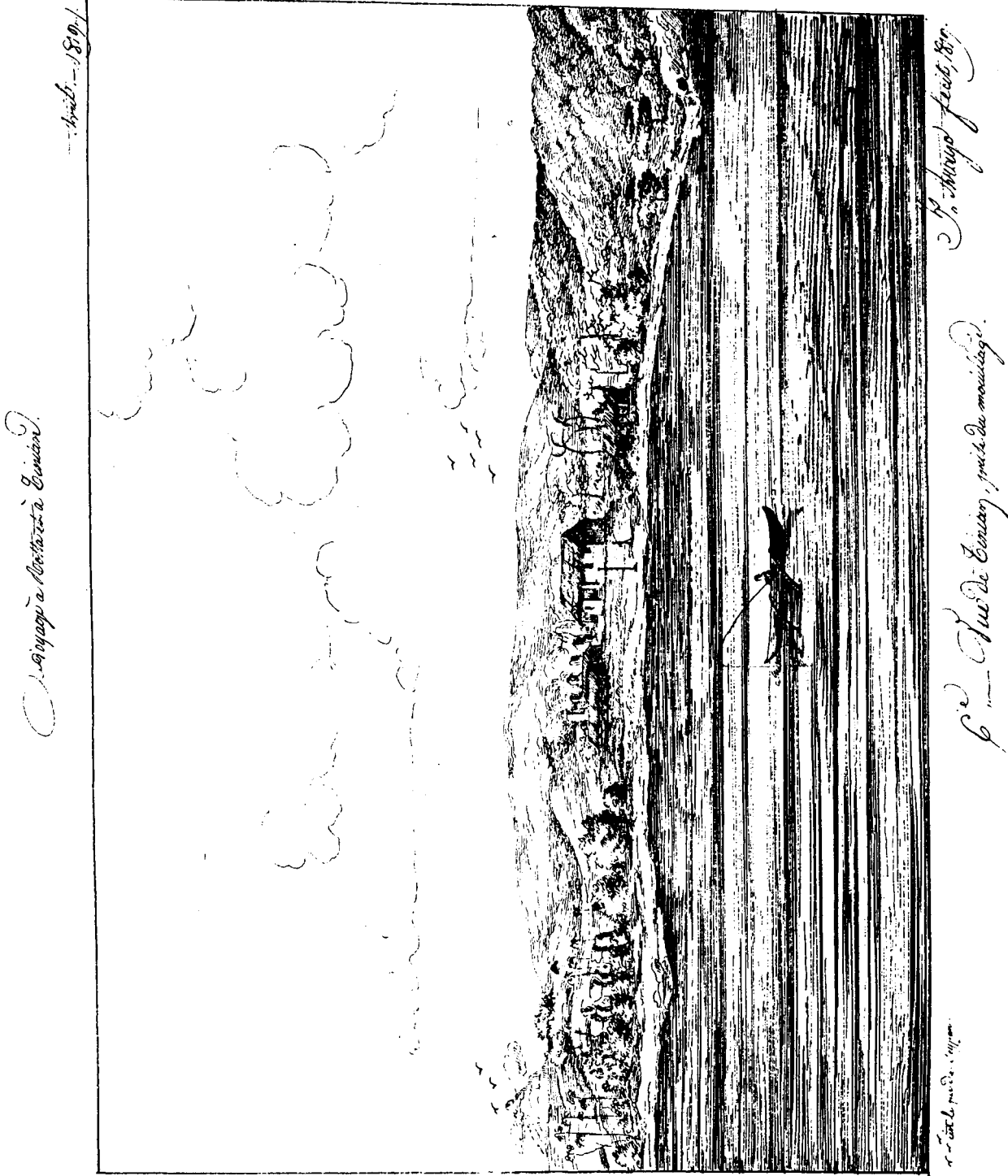
(Overleaf:) Proof of the re-settlement of Tinian at the beginning of 1818.

This sketch of Tinian, from the anchorage, was drawn by Jacques Arago in April 1819, when he visited the island and there met some Carolinians who had resettled Saipan a year or so earlier. This drawing clearly shows the encroachment of a latte site, next to what is now called the ruins of the House of Taga, by the Alcalde's House and pig-pens.

*The first would-be archaeologist to do research in Tinian was a Yankee whaler from the ship **Osprey**, in July 1818. He returned three years later only to be surprised by more destruction of these historical sites by the natives themselves.*

(This previously-unpublished sketch by Arago is here reproduced by courtesy of the Saipan Museum of History and Culture.)

1 Ed. note: The extract about Tinian ends here. For the follow-up story, see Doc. 1821D.



Document 1818B

The Infante Don Carlos, Captain Varela, on a voyage from Lima to Calcutta

Source: MN 96, doc. n° 2, folios 46v-59v, specially 50v-52v.

Note: This ship was owned by the RPC. The logbook, and observations, by Pilot Matta were deposited in the Hydrographic Office, whose papers are now in MN, Madrid.

The RPC ship Infante Don Carlos, commanded by Navy Sub-Lieutenant José Valera—Report of Pilot 2nd class Juan Manuel de la Matta

Original text in Spanish.

Observaciones hechas en mi viage de Lima a Calcutta, por el Pacifico, en la Fragata de la Compañía [de Filipinas] la Infante D. Carlos, mandada por el Teniente de Fragata D. José Valera.

La notable variedad en fuerza, y dirección de los vientos, que hemos experimentado desde fines de Enero al 29 de Febrero corriendo entre los paralelos Norte de 12° y poco mas de 18-1/2° la distancia ó espacio comprendido entre los meridianos de 130° y 170° [al] Oeste de Cadiz, parece no conformarse con la opinion establecida sobre la constancia y regularidad de los vientos de entre tropicos. Conformes nosotros con esta opinion esperabamos encontrar en los paralelos indicados bien entabladas las brizas frescas del NE y de consiguiente nos prometiamos hacer una breve travesia, de que tanto necesitabamos, para recalar oportunamente al mar de China, atendido a lo muy adelantado de la estación. Nuestras esperanzas se desvanecieron luego que empezaron a declararse las alteraciones del viento, atmosferas gruesas del 4° cuadrante, que manifiesta la inspeccion de la parte del diario, que comprende la navegacion expresada.

Dichas alteraciones nos pusieron primero en la perplexidad, que es natural a todo hombre que se abonadasse las ideas primitivas, que tanto imperio exerce sobre nosotros; y aun llegamos a pensar, que tal vez nos hallabamos en la faxa ó zona de turbonadas y variables, que separa las brizas del 1° y 2° cuadrantes, como casi siempre se experimenta en el Océano Atlantico; aunque el Pacifico se cree exento de dha revolucion, ó a lo menos es cierto, que los influyos de ella apenas son sensibles en este mar.

...

Parece conforme a razon decir que, en el espacio de mar comprendido entre el Tropico de Cancer y los 16° de Latitud Norte, y en las longitudes prefixadas anteriormente, reinan en el invierno los vientos casi tan variables como en las zonas templadas. Talvez en el espacio de mar del [h]emisferio del Sur correspondiente al prefixado en el del Norte guardarán los vientos el orden regular de la briza; cuya opinion de ninguna manera no puede ni debe alterarse, hasta que la experiencia determine la verdad.

Reconocimiento de la Isla de Pagon en las Marianas...

*Los pocos buques que salen de Lima para Manila acostumbra hacer una derrota general, y tienen el mayor cuidado en surcar por las mismas aguas por donde navegaron todos los que les precedieron. La fragata **Infante D. Carlos**, navegó asi mismo por la derrota general, siguiendo casi por las mismas aguas por donde pasó la Corbeta **Descubierta** en su ultimo viage de la vuelta al mundo el año de 1815 mandada por el Capitan de Fragata D. Alonso de la Riva. Pero al llegar a la Longitud de 170°08'28" E. de Cadiz y por el paralelo N de 12°54'25" determinó nuestro Comandante variar la derrota a causa que con todo fundamento sospechabamos habria cruzeros de corsarios enemigos, bien fuese sobre la Isla de Guaham, ó ya en la embocadura del Estrecho de San Bernardino, puntos donde precisamente had ido a recalcar todos los buques Españoles que desde la costa occidental de America se han dirigido a la Asia. Tomada pues esta determinación, desde la situación dha arriba, tomamos la vuelta del 4° cuadrante con objeto de dirigirnos a las islas mas septentrionales de las Marianas, navegando con todas las precauciones de descubridor. El dia 7 de Marzo recalamos a la Isla de Pagon y pasamos por el freo que forma con la de Grigan. En la Carta Española construida en Londres en 1815, por el Gefe de Escuadron D. José de Espinosa esta situado lo mas N. de la Isla de Pagon en Lat. N. 18°45' y en Longitud E. de Cadiz 152°32'00" y nosotros hemos encontrado que dho punto debe estar situado en la Latitud Norte de 18°51' y la Longitud de 152°05'31" al Este del meridiano de Cadiz. Esta longitud esta determinada por el excelente chronometro de Barraud N° 341 y por un gran numero de series de distancias lunares tomadas pocos dias antes y despues de nuestra recalada a dha isla, por el Comandante, por mi, y por otros dos observadores, con diferentes instrumentos en muy buenas circunstancias. La Latitud esta determinada segun la observada al proximo medio dia y estima traída escrupulosamente hasta las 4 horas de la tarde que fué la hora en que se hicieron las marcaciones a la isla, y se tomó una larga serie de alturas correspondientes del Sol para el horario. La Isla de Pagon es mucho mas pequeña de lo que manifiesta la citada Carta Española: su circunferencia no pasa de 9 à 10 millas: es muy limpia al parecer, pues ni aun en sus inmediaciones rompe la mar. El canal que forma con la Isla de Grigan no baja su anchura de 22 a 23 millas, y parece ser muy limpio. La Isla de Pagon es alta; y puede verse en tiempo claro de 12 a 14 leguas: la parte superior de ella parece ser igual, menos en los extremos NO y SE que desciende gradualmente hasta la mar formando dos puntas muy semejantes, y tapadas al mar à regular altura. Estas dos puntas estan cubiertas de arboleda; pero la parte alta de la isla se presente muy esteril. No puedo decir si ella acaba en cuspide, porque todo el tiempo*

que estuvimos a su vista se presentó su cima cubierta de nubes; pero juzgo que su figura ha de ser igual por arriba como tengo dho anteriormente. Es probable que la Isla de Grigan tenga los mismos errores que la de Pagon; pero esto no lo puedo asegurar; porque nosotros no pudimos hacer ni una marcacion de confianza a ella a causa de no haberla visto sino al anochecer, y bastante confusa.

Rebazadas las Islas Marianas hicimos derrota con objeto de pasar fuera de la vista de las tierras septentrionales de la Isla de Luzon, por la misma razón que dejamos de seguir la derrota general à Guaham y a S. Bernardino.

...

El 19 de Marzo recalamos à las Yslas ó Rocas de Balingtan...

...

En la mañana del 30 de Marzo avistamos la Costa De Cochinchina...

...

Cadiz 27 de Abril de 1820.

Juan Manuel de la Matta.

Translation.

Observations made during my voyage from Lima to Calcutta, by the Pacific, aboard the RPC frigate Infante Don Carlos, under the command of Navy Sub-Lieutenant José Valera.

The noteworthy variation in the strength and direction of the winds that we have experienced since the end of January until the end of February [1818]¹ blowing inside the space of ocean bounded by the parallels of 12° and a little more than 18°30'N. and by the meridians of 130° and 170° W. of Cadiz,² do not seem to behave in accordance with the accepted theory concerning the constancy and regularity of the winds within the tropics. Based on this theory, we ourselves expected to find between the above-mentioned parallels some steady and fresh NE breezes and therefore we promised ourselves a quick crossing, one that we much needed, to achieve a timely stopover in the China Sea, given the advanced state of the season. Our hopes vanished once the variations in the wind began to announce themselves, with overcast skies, from the 4th quadrant, as can be seen with more details in that part of the logbook that describes said voyage.³

Such variations left us perplexed at first—a normal reaction in every man who must abandon preconceived ideas that have so much control over us—and we even begun to think that perhaps we found ourselves in the band or zone of squally and variable winds that separates the periods of the winds from the 1st and 2nd quadrants, as almost al-

-
- 1 Ed. note: The year is not specifically mentioned. The report itself is dated Cadiz April 1820. However, the year of this voyage cannot be 1819, because Capt. Varela was then in command of the **San Ruperto**. Díaz-Trechuelo, op. cit., says that it made an earlier voyage, in 1814, under the command of J. Tirado.
 - 2 Ed. note: Between 136° and 176° W. of Greenwich, approximately.
 - 3 Ed. note: The present whereabouts of the full logbook are unknown.

ways happens in the Atlantic Ocean, though the Pacific is believed to be exempt from said revolution, or at least it is true that its influences are hardly noticeable in this sea.

...

It seems reasonable to say that, within the space of ocean bound by the Tropic of Cancer and 16° lat. N., and the longitudes stated earlier, during the winter there prevail winds as variable as those in the temperate zones. Perhaps in the southern hemisphere, in the space of ocean bound by the same limits stated above for the northern hemisphere, the winds would keep the regular order of the tradewind; this theory cannot and must not be altered, until experience can determine the truth.

Survey of Pagan Island in the Marianas...

The few ships that leave Lima for Manila usually follow a common track, and they take great care in sailing through the same waters as those that preceded them. The frigate **Infante Don Carlos** sailed along this general track, and followed almost the same courses as the corvette **Descubierta** in her latest 1815 voyage around the world under the command of Navy Commander Alonso de la Riva. However, upon arriving at Longitude 170°08'28" E. of Cadiz¹ and at Latitude 12°54'25" N., our Commander decided to change course, because we had good reasons to believe that pirate enemy ships were lurking, either at the Island of Guaham, or in the entrance of the Strait of San Bernardino, normal points of stopovers for all the Spanish ships that sail on their way from the west coast of America to Asia. Once this decision had been taken, from the above-mentioned position, we headed toward the 4th quadrant, intending to visit the northernmost of the Mariana Islands, sailing with all the precautions just as on any voyage of discovery. On 7 March we sighted the Island of Pagan and passed by the channel between it and Agrigan Island. On the Spanish Chart built in London in 1815 by Admiral José de Espinosa, the north point of Pagan is situated 18°45' lat. N. and 152°32'00" E. of Cadiz [i.e. 146°20'30" E. of Greenwich] but we found that said point must be situated in 18°51' lat. N. and 152°05'31" E. of Cadiz [i.e. 145°44'01" E. of Greenwich].² This longitude was determined by the excellent Barraud Chronometer N° 341 and by a large number of series of lunar distances taken a few days before and after our visit to said island, by the Commander, by myself, and by two other observers, with different instruments in very good conditions. The latitude was determined according to observations at noon of the next day, and corrected carefully for 4 p.m. which was the time when bearings were taken at the island, and a large number of series of sun altitudes were taken, according to the schedule. Pagan Island is much smaller than shown on the above-mentioned Spanish Chart. Its circumference is not more than from 9 to 10 miles; its coast appears to be free of shallows, as the sea does not break even in its vicinity. The channel between Pagan and Agrigan has a width not less than from 22 to 23 miles,

1 Ed. note: Same as 163°56'58" E. of Greenwich.

2 Ed. note: The correct position of the north point of Pagan is 18°10' N and 145°47' E.

and it seems free of dangers as well. Pagan is high, and can be seen from as far away as 12 to 14 leagues on clear days. Its upper part seems to be flat, except for the NW and SE points¹ which gradually come down to sea level, forming two very similar headlands, and of average height close to the sea. These two points are covered with trees, but the high part of the island appears to be very sterile. I cannot say if it ends up in a crater, because the whole time that we were in sight of it, the peak was covered with clouds. However, I think that its figure must be flat on top, as I have just said. It is probable that [the position of] Agrigan Island has the same errors as Pagan; however, this I cannot state, as we could not take trustworthy bearings of it, because it was seen only at nightfall, and it was rather fuzzy.

Once we had passed the Mariana Islands we pursued our proposed course out of sight of the northern coast of Luzon Island, for the same reason that we did not follow the general track by way of Guaham and San Bernardino.

...

Cadiz, 27 April 1820.

Juan Manuel de la Matta

1 Ed. note: Rather NE and SW points.



Captain Vassily M. Golovnin.

Document 1818C

The Golovnin expedition—Narrative of Captain Golovnin

Sources: Captain Vasily M. Golovnin. Puteshestvie vokrug svieta... "Kamchatkie", v 1817, 1818 i 1819 godakh ... (St. Petersburg, Morskoi, 1822); translation published by UHP in 1979 (see below).

Introduction.

Sources: 1) Appendices to Golovnin's book; 2) N. Nozikov. Russian Voyages Round the World (London, Hutchinson, ca. 1945).

Vassily Mikhailovich Golovnin was born on 8 April 1776 at Gulynky, his parents' estate, in the Pronsk district of the Province of Ryazan. At 10 years of age, he became an orphan and at 13 his relatives arranged for him to study in the Naval Cadet College. At 14, Golovnin was already a cadet and sailed on the ship *Nye Tron Menya* ("Touch me not") and he participated in battles against the Swedish Navy. He graduated from the College at 16, and was promoted to the rank of Midshipman a year later. He was a studious young man, who learned French and English, and was an avid reader.

After many voyages, including to Russian America with the ship **Diana** in 1807-1809, Golovnin became commander of the ship **Kamchatka** in 1817. This ship went by way of Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, visiting Lima, and then, by way of the Marquesas, heading directly for the Kamchatka Peninsula, arriving there in May 1818. After visiting the north-west coast of America, the ship arrived at the Sandwich Islands in October. From there Golovnin took one of the natives on board and took him all the way to St. Petersburg. This 25-year-old *kanaka* was named Lauri, and was tall, well-built, and intelligent. So, this Hawaiian was on board the ship when it visited Guam. By the way, upon arrival in Russia, he was engaged as a servant by the ship's gunner.

At Oahu, Golovnin took on stores of provisions and water for the crossing to Manila, where he intended to have his ship repaired, before going back to Russia. Along the way he visited Guam, casting anchor in Umatac Bay at the end of November 1818 (old style date corresponding to early December). The ship stayed only four days at Guam.

The **Kamchatka** was a 900-ton vessel, whose length was 130 feet, breadth 32 feet, and draft 17 feet. Among the crew were Lieutenants Muraviev, Filatov, and Kutugin. Midshipman Fedor Litke, or Frederick Lütke, was to re-visit Micronesia in command of his own ship in 1827-28. He too kept a journal, and so too his name-sake Fedor Ma-

ПУТЕШЕСТВІЕ

ВОКРУГЪ СВѢТА.

По повелѣнію

ГОСУДАРЯ ИМПЕРАТОРА

совершенное,

~~въ Японіи~~ Шлюца

КАМЧАТКЪ,

въ 1817, 1818 и 1819 годахъ,

Флота Капитаномъ Головиннымъ

ЧАСТЬ ПЕРВАЯ.

САНКТ ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ,

въ Морской Типографіи, 1829 года.

tiushkin, a secretary on board the **Kamchatka**. The name of the official artist was Mikhail Tikhonov, who is said to have produced 5 sketches while in Guam, although only two have been published so far.

As for Golovnin, he lived until 1831, when he died of cholera at St. Petersburg.

The narrative of Captain Golovnin

*English translation reprinted, by permission, from **Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819**, by V. M. Golovnin; translated by Ella Lury Wiswell. Copyright 1979 by the University Press of Hawaii (now the University of Hawaii Press).*

...

[p. 385 Russian]

— 385 —

Г Л А В А XII.

Сѣверный
Великій
Океанъ.

1818.

Октябрь.

*Путешествіе отъ Сандвичевыхъ острововъ до острова
Махана. Пребываніе на ономъ, съ замѣтаніями объ
островахъ Маріанскихъ. Плаваніе до Маниллы и
пребываніе въ семъ портѣ.*

По отбытіи съ острова Апуая, во всю ночь на 31 Четвер. 31.
Октября правили мы на SSW, имѣя изъ NO чеп-
ти весьма хорошій пасадъ, который не рѣдко пре-
щался въ крѣпкій вѣтеръ. Погода большею частію
ясная и мы, пользуясь симъ вѣтромъ, не встрѣ-
ничего примѣчательнаго, достигли 4 Ноябрь.
ноября въ широтѣ $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ въ долготѣ 172° и спали править на За- Понедѣл. 4.
падъ по направленію къ Маріанскимъ островамъ. Идучи
параллелью, мы имѣли почти всегда крѣпкій пасадъ
сильнѣйшимъ волненіемъ; вѣтеръ дулъ порывами, при ко-
торыхъ весьма часто находили тучи съ проливнымъ дож-
демъ. Порывы иногда были столь сильны, что могли
быть весьма опасны бытъ, еслибъ мы шли не прямо по
прямой. Впрочемъ случалось, что вѣтеръ дулъ умеренно
и рѣдко даже пихо; погода же стояла довольно
охлажденная. Но 16 числа въ широтѣ $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, долготѣ Суббота 16.
 172° , день былъ весьма жаркій: въ полдень термометръ
показалъ на $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, и послѣ этого наступила погода чрезвы-
чайно теплая и жары стали бытъ нестерпимыя; у нѣко-
рыхъ изъ нашихъ людей показалась сыпь и вередъ:
неопасныя, хотя неопасныя, но безпокойныя. Я счелъ за

Chapter Twelve.

Sailing from the Sandwich Islands to the Island of Guahan. Sojourn there with observations about the Mariana Islands. Sailing to Manila and sojourn in that port.

[Note in margin:] Great Northern Ocean. October 1818.

Upon leaving the Island of Atoowai we steered SSW throughout the night of October 31st [1818],¹ having a rather favorable tradewind from the NE quarter that frequently became strong. The weather for the most part remained clear; taking advantage of the wind we reached latitude 13°30' and longitude 172°² on November 4th without encountering anything noteworthy and began to steer westward in the direction of the Mariana Islands. Proceeding along this parallel, we had strong tradewinds with rough seas almost constantly; the wind blew in gusts, frequently bringing clouds with pouring rain. Sometimes the gusts were so strong that they could have been extremely dangerous had we not been sailing directly with the wind. However, at times the wind was moderate and occasionally it died down; the weather remained rather cool. But on the 16th, in latitude 13°30' and longitude 204°30", the day was very hot: at noon the thermometer stood at 25-1/2 degrees,³ and the weather remained extremely hot and unbearable from then on. Some of the crew developed rashes and boils—maladies that are not dangerous but are unpleasant. I deemed it necessary to increase the ration of drinking water by five *charkas* per person.⁴

1 Ed. note: Russian dates, like the old-style English dates, are in accordance with the Orthodox calendar. The equivalent Gregorian calendar dates occur 12 days later.

2 Ed. note: West of Greenwich.

3 Ed. note: Réaumur, which should be multiplied by 0.8 to give degrees Celsius.

4 Author's note: The usual ration of water on long runs was for food—one mug; for drinking—7-1/2 *charkas*; in addition to that, a *charka* of grape wine or vinegar and twice a week half a mug each of spruce beer, but from this date onwards, the latter was increased to a full mug. Ed. comment: 1 *charka* = 123 ml, so that an increase of 5 *charkas* was an increase of one glass, or 615 ml, per day.

[p. 386 Russian]

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Сѣверный
Великій
Океанъ. нужное прибавишь для пишья воды по 5 чарокъ на каждаго челоуѣка *).

1818.
Ноябрь.
Январь. 19. **Среда 20.** Ноября 19 въ полдень мы находились, по весьма хорошимъ наблюдениямъ, въ широтѣ $13^{\circ} 33'$, долготѣ $212^{\circ} 10'$; отъ мѣста, такимъ образомъ опредѣленнаго, по картѣ Арросмипа оспровъ Гуаханъ, къ которому мы шли, описывая отъ насъ прямо на западъ во 128 миляхъ, почему ночью мы имѣли весьма мало парусовъ, и какъ ночь была весьма темная и мнѣ показались признаки земли, но въ полночь мы бросали лопъ; однакъжь 180 саженьями дна не доспали, почему и пошли далье. Въ 6 часу утра такъ же не могли доспавъ дна лоплинемъ такой же длины, а по разсвѣтѣ примѣтили, что не токмо никакой земли, но и признаковъ оной не было. Ровный пасадъ позволилъ намъ неспи всѣ паруса и имѣть хорошей ходъ; погода сполла ясная; въ полдень, по наблюдениямъ, широта наша была $13^{\circ} 19'$, долготы по хронометрамъ $214^{\circ} 12'$. Отъ сего мѣста по вышеноянутой картѣ оспровъ Гуаханъ долженъ находиться въ 15 миляхъ, но мы его не видали. Лунныя наши наблюдения вчера были хороши, вѣрность оныхъ и сегодняшними подтвердилась, по я заключаю, что Арросмипъ положилъ сей оспровъ по какимъ

*) Обыкновенная доля воды въ длинныхъ переходахъ у насъ была: на пищу кружка, а для пишья $7\frac{1}{2}$ чарокъ; сверхъ того чарка винограднаго вина или уксусу и два раза въ недѣлю сирюсоваго пива по полукружки на каждого челоуѣка; а съ сего числа воды для пишья назначено по кружкѣ

[Note in margin:] November 1818.

On November 19th at noon, we were located at latitude $13^{\circ}33'$, and longitude $212^{\circ}10'$ according to quite accurate measurements. From this point, according to the Arrowsmith map, the Island of Guahan toward which we were proceeding stood 128 miles due west. Therefore we reduced sail considerably, and since the night was rather dark and I thought I observed some signs of land, we cast lead at midnight but did not reach bottom at 180 fathoms and therefore proceeded ahead.

At six in the morning we still could not reach bottom with a lead line of the same length, and at dawn we observed that not only was there no land visible, there was not even any indication of land. A steady tradewind made it possible to proceed under full sail at good speed. The weather was clear; at noon the latitude was $13^{\circ}19'$ by our observations and the longitude was $214^{\circ}12'$ by our chronometers. According to the map mentioned above, Guahan should have been about 15 miles from this location, but we could not sight it. Our lunar observations on the previous night were satisfactory, and the observations made today confirmed their accuracy. This made me conclude that Arrowsmith had located the island according to inaccurate observations. Comparing his location with the latest tables, I discovered that my supposition was indeed correct for in Norie's tables published in 1816, Umata Bay on the western side of Guahan is indicated at $144^{\circ}19'45''$ [east of Greenwich]. By adding to this figure the difference in map longitude of the width of the island (18°), we obtained $144^{\circ}37'45''$ longitude for the eastern side of the island.

[p. 387 Russian]

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либо непочнымъ наблюдениямъ, и, начавъ сравни- Сѣверный
 ешь положеніе онаго съ новѣйшими таблицами, Великій
 дѣйствительно нашелъ догадку мою справедливою; ибо Океанъ.
 въ таблицахъ Норія (Norie), напечатанныхъ въ 1816 го- 1818.
 ду, залива Умапы, находящагося на западной сторонѣ Ноябрь.
 Нухана, долгопа показана $144^{\circ} 19' 45''$; прибавивъ къ
 ему съ карты разность долгопы въ ширинѣ острова
 (18), будетъ долгопа воспочной стороны онаго $144^{\circ} 37'$
 $45''$; на картѣ же Арросмипа положена она въ долгопѣ
 $145^{\circ} 36'$, то есть на 58 миль воспочнѣе. Ошибка сія
 скоро подтвердилась; ибо въ 3 часу пополудни, когда
 въ картѣ должно было находиться подлѣ самаго
 острова, мы только съ верху мачты едва могли его
 видѣть; къ вечеру открылся онъ намъ и со шканецъ.
 Сѣверная его сторона показалась сначала шрема осп-
 ровками; но скоро послѣ мы разсмотрѣли и низменно-
 сти, сіи возвышенія соединяющія. Въ 6 часовъ вечера
 островъ началъ закрываться, тогда сѣверо-воспочная
 оконечность была отъ насъ на NW 53° , а юго-вос-
 почная на WZWN. Какъ вечеромъ, такъ и ночью спо-
 ра совершенная тишина, тучи поднимались со всѣхъ
 сторонъ и носились въ разныхъ направленіяхъ.
 Вѣдъ атмосферы былъ самый грозный, но по-
 рывовъ вѣтра не случилось; временно лишь шелъ
 дождь. На развѣствѣ 21 Ноября, когда открылся намъ Четвер. 21.
 Нуханъ, мы увидѣли, что въ ночь насъ къ нему при-
 ближило: въ сіе время мы находились отъ сѣверо-
 воспочной его оконечности мильхъ въ 15 къ юго-воспо-
 чу. Поупиру небо выяснѣло, но тучи лежали по всему

On Arrowsmith's map it is indicated at longitude 145°36', which is 58 miles to the east. This error was soon confirmed, for at three in the afternoon, when according to the map we should have reached the island, we could just distinguish it from the top-mast; only toward evening did it become visible from the quarterdeck. Its northern side at first appeared as three small islands, but shortly after we could also discern the lowlands connecting them. At six in the evening the island became obscured and at that time its northeastern tip was at NW 53° from us and the southeastern end at WSW 1/2W. That evening and all through the night it was absolutely still, and clouds came up from all sides and spread in all directions. The sky looked most ominous, but there were no strong gusts of wind nor much rain.

At dawn on November 21st,¹ when Guahan again became visible to us, we discovered that we had come closer to it in the night and were now 15 miles to the south-east of its northeastern tip.

1 Ed. note: Actually December 3rd.

[p. 388 Russian]

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Сѣверный
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1818.
Ноябрь.

горизонту; при слабомъ вѣтрѣ изъ юго-восточной четверти мы едва подавались впередъ, правя къ южному концу острова. Около полудня небо стало покрываться облаками, однакожь мы успѣли взять высоты солнца для опредѣленія долготы по хронометрамъ и полуденную высоту для широты: первая была $21^{\circ} 56' 18''$, а послѣдняя $13^{\circ} 16' 20''$; склоненіе компаса $4^{\circ} 10'$ восточное; лунныхъ же разстояній взять не могли. Въ полдень сѣверо-восточный мысъ Гуахана былъ отъ насъ по компасу на NW $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; а юго-восточный на SW $79\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, до сего послѣдняго разстояніе было не болѣе 10 или 12 миль; а потому широта онаго $13^{\circ} 14' 50''$; на картѣ же Арросмипа положенъ онъ въ широтѣ 13° сѣ. Вскорѣ послѣ полудня все небо покрылось тучами, и во впоромъ часу, при вѣтрѣ отъ NO, пошелъ проливной дождь. Хотя островъ находился отъ насъ въ 6 или 8 миляхъ, но по причинѣ сильнаго дождя, онъ скрылся отъ насъ, какъ будто въ туманѣ. Въ приходѣ третьяго часа дождь прекратился, облака начали исчезать, и скоро совсѣмъ прояснѣло; тогда берега острова открылись вмѣстѣ съ маленькимъ островкомъ находящимся при юго-западной сторонѣ Гуахана; сей островокъ положенъ на картѣ Арросмипа подъ именемъ Иурахано *), а жители называютъ его Кокосовымъ островомъ **). Мы правили вдоль полуденной сто-

*) Yurajano..

***) Isla de Cocos.

Toward morning the sky cleared, but clouds were still spread across the horizon. With a slight wind from the southeastern quarter we crept forward in the direction of the southern end of the island. Toward noon the sky clouded over, but we managed to take the sun's altitude in order to determine the longitude by the chronometers and the latitude by the noon altitude; the former was $214^{\circ}56'18''$ and the latter $13^{\circ}16'20''$; variation of the compass, $4^{\circ}10'$ east; however, we could not measure lunar distances. At noon, the northeastern promontory of Guahan was at $NW 2-1/2^{\circ}$, and the southeastern at $SW 79-1/2^{\circ}$; the distance to the latter was not more than 10 or 12 miles; therefore, its latitude must be $13^{\circ}14'50''$, whereas on Arrowsmith's map it is indicated at latitude $13^{\circ}00'$. Shortly after noon the sky became completely overcast, and at two in the afternoon, we had pouring rain with a NE wind. Although the island was only six to eight miles distant, because of the pouring rain, it disappeared as if covered with fog. After three o'clock the rain stopped, the clouds began to disperse and it soon cleared up completely, so that the shores of the island became visible together with a small island located on the southwestern side of Guahan. This small island is indicated on Arrowsmith's map as Yurajano, while the inhabitants call it Coconut Island.¹ We steered along the southern side of Guahan toward the southern extremity of this islet and, because of slack winds from the northeastern quarter, advanced at no more than one and a half miles per hour with all sails set. About seven miles from shore we cast the lead, but could not touch bottom at 120 fathoms.

1 Ed. note: Not Yurajano, but Isla Dano, the former name of Cocos Island.

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роны Гуахана къ южной оконечности сего маленькаго ^{сѣверный} островка и при маловѣпріи изъ сѣверо-восточной чепи- ^{Белый} верти шли подъ всѣми парусами не болѣе $1\frac{1}{2}$ миль въ ^{Океанъ.} часть. Будучи миляхъ въ 7 отъ берега, бросили мы лопъ, во 120 саженьми не могли dospaть дна, между пѣмъ увидѣли двѣ лодки, къ намъ шедшія, изъ которыхъ одна приближилась прежде, и впереди насъ поворопила въ сторону, почему я велѣлъ убрать лишніе паруса и махать ей бѣлымъ флагомъ, привязаннымъ къ шесту; на сей сигналъ лодка поспѣшь подѣхала къ намъ. На ней были при нагіе Индѣйца и одинъ Мулапъ въ Европейскомъ плащѣ; онъ взошелъ на Шлюпъ, и мы узнали отъ него о мѣстоположеніи залива Умапы, гдѣ находится Губернапоръ; по его словамъ, намъ надлежало обойти по южную сторону Кокосова острова и править прямо къ берегу Гуахана, находящемуся въ одной Испанской лиги отъ помянутой оконечности, гдѣ мы должны были увидѣть заливъ. Впрочемъ мы не могли узнать о причинѣ его приѣзда, а должно было думать, что его послали развѣдать о нашемъ шлюпѣ. Я далъ ему объ насъ записку къ Губернапору; онъ поспѣшь отправился къ приближавшей уже къ намъ 10 вельной шлюпкѣ и подѣхавъ къ ней, сказалъ нѣсколько словъ; тогда лодка и шлюпка подъ парусами и на веслахъ пустились къ берегу, а мы пошли своимъ путемъ.

Въ 6 часовъ вечера сѣверо-восточная оконечность острова отъ насъ находилась по компасу на NO 30°, юго-западный мысъ на NW 24°, который въ сіе время

1818.
Ноябрь.

Meanwhile we saw two boats coming toward us, one of which approached and turned aside in front of us, at which point I issued orders to take in sail and wave a white flag attached to a pole; upon seeing the signal the boat immediately came close. It carried three naked Indians and one mulatto in European dress; the latter came aboard the sloop, and we learned from him the location of Umata Bay where the Governor was. According to him we should go around the southern end of Coconut Island and beat directly toward the shore of Guahan, about one Spanish league from the extremity mentioned above, where we should see the Bay. We could not learn the reason for his visit, but could only assume that he was sent to get information about our sloop. I gave him a note to be delivered to the Governor; he left immediately in the direction of a ten-oared boat which was approaching, and after an exchange of a few words the boats started toward the shore while we continued on our way.

At six in the evening the northeastern extremity of the island was at NE 30° from us by the compass, and the southwestern promontory at NW 24°, being at that point aligned with another more distant promontory to the north, the southern extremity of Coconut Island was at NW 45°. All through the night the sky was clear and there was a very slight breeze. We proceeded under reduced sail and at such a distance from the shore that we could hear the noise of the breakers; occasionally we changed course in order to round the island.

[p. 390 Russian]

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Сѣверный
Беликій
Океанъ.
1818.
Ноябрь.
Плѣшниц. 22.

былъ вѣтворѣ съ другимъ дальнимъ къ Сѣверу мысомъ; а южная оконечность Кокосова острова на NW 45°. Во всю ночь небо было ясно и дулъ весьма тихій вѣтръ; мы шли подъ небольшими парусами въ такомъ разстояніи отъ берега, что слышали шумъ буруновъ; временно перемѣняли курсъ, чтобъ обогнуть островъ. До 6 часовъ утра 22 числа съ 6 часовъ вечера мы прошли, взявъ общее плаваніе по прямому курсу, только 16 миль; но по развѣстѣ Кокосова острова не видали, почему я заключилъ, что онъ, слившись съ берегомъ въ пасмурности, былъ непримѣленъ; а къ воспоку открылся намъ высокій, ровный, унесиспый, полуостровомъ выдавшійся мысъ; на самой высотѣ онаго мы разсмотрѣли Испанскій флагъ, а подлѣ мыса двухмачтовое судно. По сему мы полагали, что это заливъ Уманя, къ которому мы лавировали при свѣжемъ вѣтрѣ отъ Сѣверо-воспока. Вскорѣ пріѣхалъ къ намъ Испанецъ, и увѣдомилъ, что онъ, по повелѣнію Губернатора, доставляетъ на приходящія сюда корабли съѣстные припасы. Около полудня мы подошли къ самому заливу. Испанецъ брался привесити Шлюпъ въ надлежащее якорное мѣсто, но я не рѣшился поручить ему такое дѣло, а хотѣлъ прежде узнать положеніе прохода и всѣ обстоятельства съ онымъ сопряженныя. Послѣ нужныхъ изъясненій, я увидѣлъ, что если онъ и знаетъ проходъ, но о морскомъ дѣлѣ никакого понятія не имѣетъ, ибо, идучи бейдевиндъ, онъ хотѣлъ провесити Шлюпъ

From six in the evening of the preceding day to six in the morning of the 22nd we covered only 15 miles, but at dawn we could not see Coconut Island. I concluded that it was not visible because it merged with the shoreline in the overcast; however, to the east we sighted a high flat promontory with cliffs that stood out, and a two-masted vessel. From this we assumed that it was Umata Bay toward which we were tacking with a brisk northeasterly wind. Soon a Spaniard came out and informed us that he was authorized by the Governor to deliver provisions to nearly arrived vessels. Around noon we approached the bay. The Spaniard offered to lead the sloop to anchorage, but I did not dare entrust him with such an important job without first studying the location of the passage and all the other conditions. After some discussion I realized that even if he knew the passage he had no conception of navigation, for, sailing by the wind he intended to take the sloop into the wind within 50 fathoms of the dangerous promontory, as tacking any farther away was not possible on account of shoals. In view of this, while tacking at the entrance, I felt it necessary to send an officer to the Fort with the Spaniard in order to ask the Governor for a qualified pilot.

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ка въпрѣ спрашнаго упеса, въ 50 саженьхъ опѣ ^{Сѣверный} онаго, далѣе же опѣ упеса иппи лавировкою нельзя ^{Великій} по причинѣ мѣлей. Сіе заспавило меня, лавируя у ^{Океанъ.} 1818. ^{Полбрь.}
 входа, послашь съ Испанцемъ офицера въ крѣпоспѣ, просить у Губернапора наспоющаго лоцмана. Шлюпка наша опправилась; но я скоро увидѣлъ, что она ѣдетъ не въ крѣпоспѣ, а вдоль берега къ Югу. Я не зналъ сему причины, доколѣ не пристало къ намъ во часу пополудни, бывшее въ виду, гребное судно; на которомъ по повелѣнію Губернапора, пріѣхалъ вчерашній Мулапъ, лоцманъ и Англичанинъ по имени Джонсонъ *), служащій въ Испанской службѣ прапорщикомъ. Опѣ нихъ мы узнали, что это не заливъ Умапа, но Калдера, и что теченіемъ, всегда здѣсь спремлящимъ къ Сѣверо-востоку, въ ночь такъ далеко подало насъ къ Сѣверу; сіе показала бы намъ и полуденная широта, еслибъ, по взятіи меридіанальной высоты солнца, я оппчасъ оную вычислилъ; но заливъ, крѣпоспи и судно такъ меня увѣрили, что мы находимся пропивъ Умапы, что, занимаясь лавировкою, я опложилъ вычисленіе широты. Узнавъ свою ошибку, мы оппчасъ пуспились къ всѣмъ парусами къ заливу Умапѣ. Между тѣмъ пріѣхавшій къ намъ лоцманъ сказалъ, что при Сѣверо-восточномъ въпрѣ въ Калдеру мы никакъ войти не могли,

Испанцы его называютъ Don Jose Yonson: Донъ Юсифъ-Юнсонъ.

Our host left, but I soon noticed that it was not going toward the Fort but was heading south along the shore. I did not know the reason for this until two o'clock that afternoon when a rowboat came alongside; at the Governor's orders it brought the mulatto who had been on board the previous day, a pilot, and an Englishman by the name of Johnson¹ who was in the service of the Spanish as a lieutenant. We learned from them that we were not at Umata Bay but at Caldera and that we had drifted that far north with the current, which is always in a northeasterly direction here. We would have determined this from the midday latitude had I calculated it immediately after taking the meridian altitude of the sun. But the Bay, its Fort, and the sailing ship made me feel so certain that we were at Umata that, preoccupied with tacking, I had put off measuring the latitude. Having discovered our error, we immediately set out with full sail toward Umata Bay.

1 Author's note: The Spanish call him Don José Jonson.

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Сѣверный
Великій
Океанъ.
1818.
Ноябрь.

не подвергнувъ Шлюпъ опасности; и такъ я весьма былъ радъ, что не послушалъ Испанца. Въ полдень широта наша была $13^{\circ} 28' 49''$; тогда мысль, на коемъ стоятъ крѣпость *) въ заливѣ Калдеръ, находился отъ насъ по компасу на $SO 46^{\circ}$, въ разстояніи трехъ миль, почему широта онаго будетъ $13^{\circ} 26' 37''$. Въ 6 часовъ вечера пришли мы въ заливъ Уману и поспѣшавши доставили Шлюпъ на два якоря. Заливъ сей съ западной стороны совершенно открытъ; но какъ вѣтры отъ Запада и Юго-запада дуютъ только въ печеніе Сентября, Октября и Ноября мѣсяцевъ, по въ прочее время года, когда господствуютъ пасады, стоятъ на якорѣ безопасно.

Подходя къ заливу я послалъ съ Джонсономъ къ Губернатору **) Мичмана Барона Врангеля, объявить къо мы, зачѣмъ пришли, и просить позволенія записать водою и съѣсными припасами.

Суббота 23. На другой день рано поутру Баронъ Врангель и Джонсонъ возвратились на Шлюпъ. Первому Губернаторъ объявилъ, что припасы будутъ доставлены, а водою мы сами можемъ брать близъ селенія въ рѣчкѣ, и что на салюпъ нашъ будутъ отвѣчать такимъ же числомъ выстрѣловъ. Мы салюповали крѣпости семью выстрѣлами и получили такое же число. Джонсонъ привезъ отъ Губернатора въ подарокъ экипажъ

*) Крѣпость сія называется Роша; а другая главная внутри залива Санта-Крузъ.

**) Don Jose Medinia Iranado: Донъ Іосифъ Мединія Испанецъ.

In the meantime the pilot told us that with the northeasterly wind we could not possibly have entered Caldera without endangering the sloop, which made me feel very happy that I had not listened to the Spaniard. At noon our latitude was 13°28'40" and the promontory with the Fort in Caldera Bay¹ was SE 46° from us by the compass at a distance of three miles, which made its latitude 13°26'37". At six in the evening we pulled into Umata Bay and at once dropped two anchors. This bay is completely open on the western side, but since the winds from the west and southwest blow only during September, October, and November, it is perfectly safe to be anchored here at any other time of the year when the tradewinds prevail.

While approaching the bay I dispatched Midshipman Baron Wrangel with Johnson to see the Governor² to explain to him who we were, why we had come, and to obtain his permission to water and purchase victuals.

Early the next morning, Baron Wrangel and Johnson returned. Wrangel had been assured by the Governor that provisions would be delivered and that we could get water on our own from a river at a nearby village; he was also told that our salute would be answered by an equal number of shots. We gave a 7-gun salute and received the same number. Johnson brought several *poods* [i.e. Kg] of meat and fruit as a gift to the crew from the Governor, and in his name, invited us to dinner; he added that following local custom the Governor requested me, as the captain of a warship, to use his official boat, and apologized for having deceived us the previous day.

1 Author's note: This Fort is called Rota [rather Orote] and the main Fort inside the bay, Santa Cruz.

2 Author's note: Don José Medinilla y Pineda. Ed. comment: Baron Wrangel later became the chief administrator of the Russian-American Company, from 1829 to 1835.

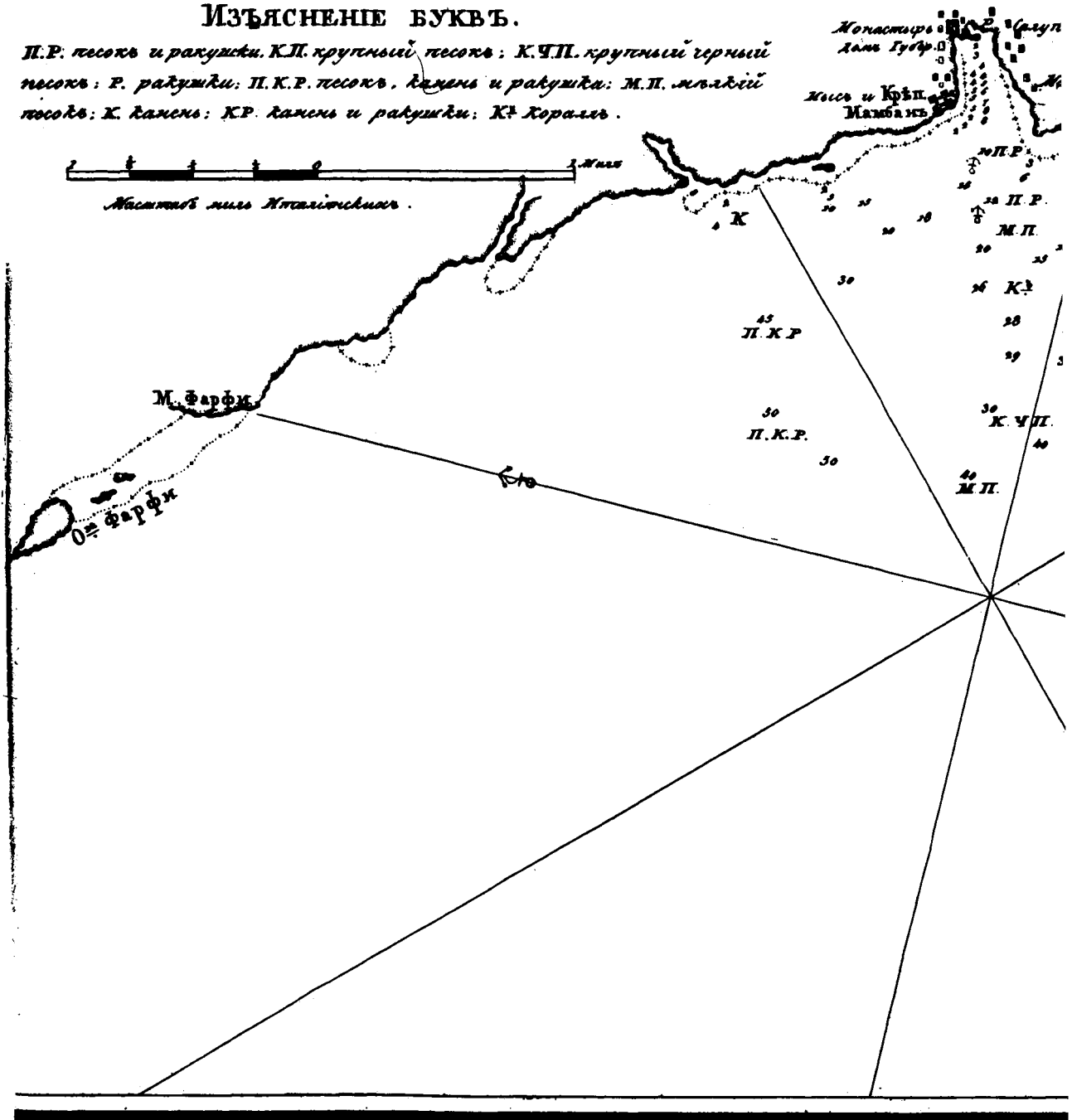
ПЛАНЪ ЗАЛИВА УМАТЫ.

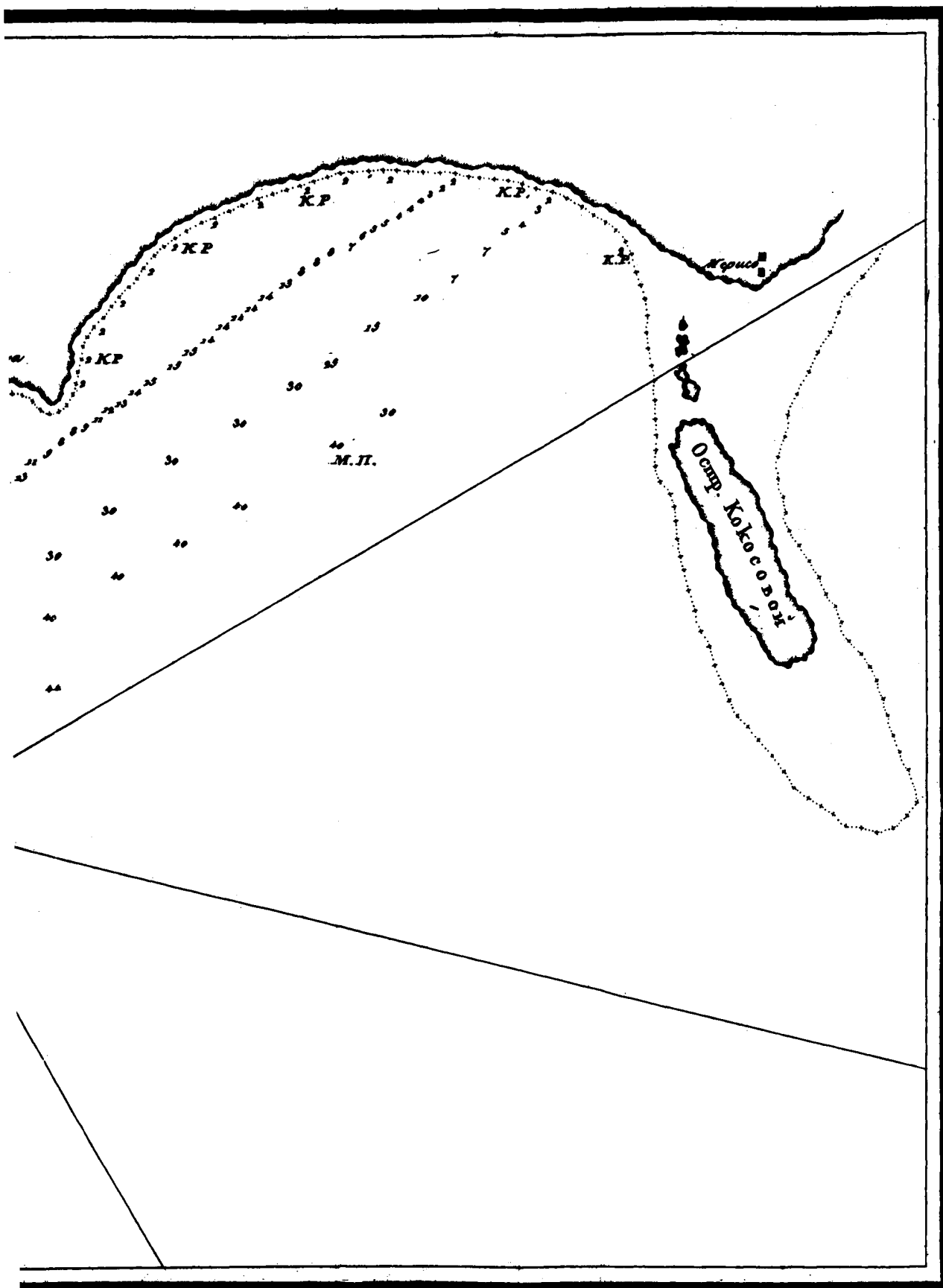
Находящаяся въ Северо-Западной части острова Гуама.
подъ 13.21 широты Северной и долготы 149.30 восточной отъ Гринвича.

Высота прорава означать саженей въ 6 футовъ Английскихъ въ по-
ловину прилива; въ нѣмъ нужно прибавлять одну саженю въ боль-
шихъ приливахъ и новолунныхъ водахъ.

ИЗЪЯСНЕНИЕ БУКВЪ.

П.Р. песокъ и ракушки. К.П. круглый песокъ; К.Ч.П. круглый черный
песокъ; Р. ракушки; П.К.Р. песокъ, камни и ракушки; М.П. мелкий
песокъ; К. камни; К.Р. камни и ракушки; К. Коралль.





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нѣскольکو пудовъ мяса и плодовъ, и пригласилъ насъ ^{Сѣверный} ^{Великій} ^{Океанъ.}
 отъ его имени къ обѣду; при томъ сказалъ, что по ^{1818.}
 здѣшнему обыкновенію Губернаторъ проситъ меня, какъ ^{Ноябрь.}
 Капитана военнаго корабля, пріѣхавъ на его парадной
 шлюпкѣ, и что онъ извиняется въ томъ, что вчера
 они меня обманули: причина тому та, что уже два
 года, они никакихъ извѣстій изъ Маниллы не получа-
 ютъ, ни одно Испанское судно сюда не приходило, и что
 судна нами въ Калдеро шкуна при мѣсяца тому
 назадъ пришла изъ Маниллы съ увѣдомленіемъ, что
 Американскихъ Республиканцевъ фрегатъ Арженпина, подъ
 командствомъ Француза Бушара, имѣлъ намѣреніе сдѣ-
 лать нападеніе на сей островъ, и какъ они приняли
 шлюпъ за фрегатъ Бушара, то и скрывали
 это дѣло; но теперь, когда узнали что мы,
 Французъ сдѣлался не нуженъ. Вышепомннутый Бушаръ
 нѣсколько времени до прихода нашего къ Сандвиче-
 скимъ островамъ былъ тамъ и ушелъ, какъ онъ объя-
 вилъ, въ Калифорнію, съ намѣреніемъ, чтобъ тамъ уни-
 тожить Королевское Правленіе и возстановить Рес-
 публиканское. Бушаръ былъ въ службѣ у Наполеона,
 выйдя изъ Франціи и отъ нужды сдѣлался мореход-
 комъ, вступивъ въ службу Хиліи. Американцы на остро-
 вѣ Вагу мнѣ сказывали, что экипажъ его состоялъ
 изъ людей всѣхъ націй и самыхъ распутныхъ, кото-
 рые едва ли не взбунтуются и не убьютъ его. Дисци-
 плина никакой у него нѣтъ, и надлежащимъ образомъ
 распутниковъ онъ не наказываетъ, а бьетъ ихъ самъ
 плетью, имѣя въ другой рукѣ пистолетъ.

50

The reason for this deception was that they had not had any news from Manila for the past two years; not a single Spanish vessel had been in port until the schooner,¹ which we saw at Caldera, had arrived three months ago from Manila with the information that the frigate **Argentina** belonging to the Chilean republicans under the command of the Frenchman Bouchard, was intending to attack the island. Since they mistook our sloop for Bouchard's frigate, they were trying to mislead me, but now that they had learned who we were the deception was no longer necessary.

The above-mentioned Bouchard was in the Sandwich Islands shortly before our arrival and had left, according to his announcement, for California to overthrow the King's rule and establish a Republic. Bouchard had been in the service of Napoleon, escaped from France, and out of necessity became a seafarer serving Chile. Americans on the island of Woahoo told me that his crew consisted of men of all nationalities who were so debauched that at any moment they could be expected to mutiny and kill him. There was no discipline at all on his vessel and he did not punish culprits in an appropriate manner but gave them a lashing himself while holding a pistol in the other hand.

1 Ed. note: The **Sonora**, Captain José Navarrete.

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Сѣверный
Великій
Океанъ.
1818.
Ноябрь.

Въ 11 часовъ утра прѣѣхала за мною Губернапорская шлюпка; она была самой простой работы, некрашеная и вся перемаранная; весла на мочалкахъ; но подушки, зонпикъ и занавѣсы сдѣланы изъ богатой шелковой матеріи малиноваго цвѣта съ золотымъ позументомъ. Гребцы были одѣты въ синія изъ бумажной матеріи брюки и фуфайки, на головѣ имѣли синіе колпаки съ краснымъ околомъ, похожіе на наши прежнія солдатскія фуражныя шапки; напередѣ серебряный Испанскій гербъ. Когда мы поѣхали отъ Шлюпа, то подняли в шлюпкѣ шелковый Испанскій флагъ и вымпель; такимъ же образомъ насъ привезли назадъ. Губернапоръ со всѣми своими чиновниками принялъ насъ чрезвычайно respectfully, извинялся, что недоспапокъ мѣста не дозволяетъ ему сдѣлать для насъ того, чего онъ желалъ; и просилъ насъ домъ его считать нашимъ собственнымъ. Между тѣмъ подали завтракъ и сигарки. Потомъ пошли смотрѣть здѣшнее селеніе, которое такъ бѣдно и худо населено, что и селеніемъ едвали можеть назваться. Въ 4 часу мы обѣдали: столъ не соответствовалъ бѣдности мѣста; ибо состоялъ изъ множества прекрасныхъ блюдъ, и вино было очень хорошо. Съ нами обѣдалъ Капитанъ прибывшей изъ Манилы шкуны. Онъ служилъ лейтенантомъ въ экспедиціи Малеспины. Во время бытности его въ Манилѣ, бригъ Рурикъ, принадлежащій Г. Н. П. Румянцову, тамъ находился; онъ разсказалъ намъ нѣкоторыя обстоятельствова, до него принадлежащія. Рурикъ и у сего острова стоялъ 5 дней, а послѣ уже пошелъ въ Манилу. Въ 6 часовъ мы возвра-

At 11 o'clock in the morning the Governor's boat came to fetch me. It was a most ordinary boat, unpainted and smudged all over, with oars held by bast, but the cushions, parasol, and curtains were made of a sumptuous raspberry-colored silk material with gold braid. The oarsmen were dressed in navy-blue cotton pants and jerseys and forage caps, with a silver Spanish coat-of-arms in front. When we pulled away from the sloop, a silk Spanish flag and pennant were raised; we were brought back in the same manner. The Governor with all his officials received us most cordially, apologized that for lack of space he could not entertain us as he would like to, and asked us to consider his house as our home. In the meantime lunch and cigars were served.

After that we went to inspect the local village, which is so poor and sparsely populated that it can hardly be called a village. At 4 o'clock we dined; the meal did not reflect the poverty of the locale for it consisted of numerous excellent courses and very good wine. The captain of the schooner from Manila dined with us. He had served as lieutenant with Malaspina's expedition.¹ During his stay at Manila, the brig **Rurik**, which belongs to Mr. N. P. Rumiantsev [i.e. Romanzov], was also there. He told us a few details concerning it. The **Rurik** had spent five days at this island before proceeding to Manila. At 6 o'clock we returned to the sloop. During our absence some boats had arrived from the shore bringing greens, fruit, chickens, and piglets.

1 Ed. note: The name of José Navarrete does not appear on the list of officers in 1792.

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шлись на Шлюпъ. Въ отсутствіе наше пріѣзжали съ ^{Сѣверный} ^{Великій} ^{Океанъ.} берегу лодки съ зеленью, плодами, курами и поросля-
шми. 1818.

24 Ноября въ 10 часу утра пріѣзжалъ ко мнѣ Гу- ^{Ноябрь.} ^{Воскрес.} 24.
бернапоръ съ нѣкопорыми изъ своихъ чиновниковъ и
съ Капитаномъ шкуны, и былъ принятъ съ приличною
почтесью: они у меня завтракали. Губернапоръ звалъ
меня къ себѣ обѣдать, но такъ какъ мнѣ нужно
было сдѣлать астрономическія наблюденія, то я отка-
злся, а нѣкоторые офицеры къ нему поѣхали. Онъ
просилъ меня взять отъ него бумаги въ Манил-
лу, и я охотно на сіе согласился. Вечеромъ привезли
къ намъ отъ Губернапора свиней, куръ, зелень, плоды и
другіе припасы; нужное количество воды мы уже взя-
ли, и совсѣмъ были готовы итти въ путь. Въ слѣду- ^{Понедѣл.} 25.
ющій день въ 9 часовъ утра я поѣхалъ къ нему
благодарить за ласковый пріемъ, и раслашился
въ доставленные къ намъ съѣстные припасы; но онъ
никакой платы за нихъ взять не согласился, объявляя,
что онъ обязанъ былъ сіе сдѣлать, будучи увѣренъ, что
вступилъ согласно съ волею своего Государя. Сіе за-
ставило меня подарить ему нѣкопорыя вещи, въ ко-
торыхъ онъ, по словамъ Джонсона, имѣлъ надобность,
въ томъ числѣ нѣсколько лекарствъ. Въ первомъ уже
разу возвратился я на Шлюпъ. Въ 5 часовъ Губерна-
поръ привезъ свои бумаги, и пробывъ полчаса, съ нами
распрощался, а мы поспѣшь пошли въ путь.

On November 24th, at 10 o'clock in the morning the Governor paid me a visit accompanied by some of his officials and the captain of the schooner; they were received with due courtesy and had lunch with me. The Governor invited me to have dinner with him, but I declined because I had to make some astronomical observations. However, several of the officers accepted his invitation. He asked me to take some dispatches to Manila, which I gladly agreed to do. This evening we received pigs, chickens, greens, fruit, and other provisions sent by the Governor. We had already obtained the needed amount of water and were quite ready to depart.

On the following day at 9 o'clock in the morning I went to call on the Governor to thank him for his kind hospitality and to settle my account for the provisions, but he would not accept payment saying that it was his duty, being certain that he acted in accordance with the wishes of his sovereign. This made me feel obligated to present him with several items which, according to Johnson, he needed, including certain medicines. It was close to one o'clock in the afternoon when I returned to the sloop. At 5 o'clock, the Governor brought his papers, spent half an hour with us, and bade farewell, at which point we started immediately on our way.

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Острова
Маріанскіе.
1818.
Нолбрь.

Острова Маріанскіе или Ладронскіе.

Маріанская или Ладронская купа состоить из острововъ, и занимаетъ мѣсто на земномъ между сѣверными широтами 13 и 20 градусами; долготѣ восточной отъ Гринвича 146°: всѣ они лежатъ на одномъ меридіанѣ. Главнѣйшіе изъ нихъ сунтъ: Тиніанъ *) , Тиніанъ, споль много хопя и безъ приача прославленный въ Путешествіи Лорда Ансона, Сайпанъ, Баргуанъ, Ругуанъ, Пагонъ и Григанъ; прочіе же малозначительны. Острова сіи, при занятіи ихъ Испанцами, были многочисленны; но насильственное обращеніе жителей въ Христіанскую вѣру и покушеніе истребить коренные ихъ обычаи, съ коими они не охотно разстались, а особливо съ правомъ многоженства и соблюденіемъ никакихъ постовъ, дали поводъ явиться къ сопротивленію. Отъ сего произошли войны въ которыхъ многіе изъ жителей погибли; многіе удалились къ Югу на сосѣдственные острова, известные подъ именемъ Каролинскихъ, куда власть Испанцевъ не достигала. По увѣренію послѣдняго Испанскаго путешественника, Малеспины, въ 1792 году на всѣхъ обитаемыхъ островахъ сей гряды (ибо большая часть изъ нихъ необитаема) число жителей простирается до 40 тысячъ, что подтвердилъ и Губернаторъ. Въ

*) Иностранцы островъ сей называютъ Гуамъ, но сами испанцы даютъ ему имя Гуаханъ, которое и я сохранилъ.

The Mariana or Ladrone Islands.

[Note in margin:] November 22-26.

The Mariana or Ladrone group consists of 12 islands and lies between Northern latitudes 13° and 20°, and on longitude 146° east of Greenwich, all lying almost on this same meridian. The main islands are Guahan,¹ Tinian (made famous without any apparent reason by Lord Anson in his accounts), Saipan, Sarigan, Guguan, Pagan, and Agrigan. The rest of the islands of the islands are small and insignificant.² This group when first occupied by the Spaniards was heavily [sic] populated, but enforced Christianity and the attempt to do away with old native customs that they did not want to abandon, especially polygamy, and their refusal to observe fasting, caused rebellions among the pagans. This led to wars in which many people perished; others moved south to the neighboring islands known as the Caroline Islands to which Spanish rule had not yet spread.³

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- 1 Author's note: Foreigners call this island Guam, but the Spanish themselves call it Guahan, which name I use.
 - 2 Ed. note: But Rota is not so small.
 - 3 Ed. note: Again, the old myths die hard; the blame for these distortions belongs to Captain Burney's set of five books on Discoveries in the South Sea.

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получилъ я вѣдомость о народонаселеніи здѣшнихъ ^{Острова} ~~острововъ~~ ^{Марианскихъ} ~~острововъ~~ въ ней показано въ 1815 году число жителей 1818. ^{Нолбрь} Франскихъ острововъ только 4680 человекъ. Я не ^{Нолбрь} ~~могу~~ согласить такую разность, но какъ Малевъ въ своемъ Путешествіи, изданномъ въ свѣтъ, Губернаторъ при разговорѣ съ иностранцами, увеличилъ число жителей, каждый по долгу *сво-
енія*.

Островъ Гуаханъ есть главный изъ всей гряды, по величинѣ, такъ по изобилію, народона-
по и по мѣстопребыванію Губернатора. Резиденція
шаторская находится на западной сторонѣ осп-
и называется городомъ Св. Игнатія Аганскаго *),
которомъ нѣтъ ни гавани, ни рейда, способнаго
удовъ, и потому Губернаторъ имѣетъ дома при-
приспаяхъ, куда онъ прѣзжаетъ въ случаѣ при-
кораблей. Пристани сіи называются: портъ Св.
ника Апры **) и рейдъ Уманатоба они находятся
адномъ берегу острова. Первый довольно хорошо
цаемъ отъ вѣтровъ съ моря, но входъ въ него
и сопряженъ съ нѣкоторою опасностію: недавно
до при входѣ фрегата Филиппинской компаніи, на
было полмилліона пѣспровъ денегъ въ достали,

Ciudad de San ignacio de Agaña: Аганья есть имя, коимъ
природные жители называютъ ту часть острова, гдѣ
находится городъ.

Якорное же мѣсто въ семъ портѣ называется Калдера
(Caldera, котель).

According to the last Spanish explorer, Malaspina, in 1792 the population of the entire group of inhabitable islands (the majority of them are uninhabited) was 40 [sic] thousand. This number was confirmed by the Governor. In Manila I obtained records of the population of these possessions: the number of inhabitants of the Marianas was estimated at only 4,680 in the year 1815. I do not know how to account for this disparity, although both Malaspina in his account, as well as the Governor when talking to foreigners, may well have increased the population figures because of "the dignity of their official position."¹

Guahan is the main island of the group by virtue of its size, fertility of soil, and population, and because it is the residence of the Governor. The Governor's residence is located on the western side of the island and is called Ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña.² It has neither a harbor nor a suitable roadstead for landing of ships, and therefore the Governor has homes at two different landings to which he proceeds when ships come in. One is the port of San Luis d'Apra,³ and the other is the Umata roadstead, both located on the western shore of the island. The first of these is well protected from ocean winds, but has a narrow and dangerous entrance.

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- 1 Ed. note: Golovnin was misled by faulty interpretation; besides, Malaspina's account was not yet published; so, he could not have read such a report, but only have heard about it from hearsay.
 - 2 Author's note: Agaña is the name given by the local inhabitants to that part of the island where the town is located.
 - 3 Author's note: The anchorage at this port is called Caldera (which means a cauldron).

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кромѣ 1800 піаспровъ , помощію Сандвичанъ , копорые по нѣкопорой причинѣ , о коей въ послѣдствіи будепъ упомянуто , здѣсь поселены. Для обороны порта находяпся двѣ или при крѣпостцы, изъ коихъ Саниа Круць и Ропа весьма выгодно расположены. Рейдъ же Умапа совершенно отккрытъ, но свойство дна и глубина на ономъ для якорнаго споянія весьма хороши, и онъ съ Декабря по Іюнь совершенно безопасенъ; ибо погда постоянно дуепъ пасады или муссонъ отъ Сѣверо-воспока, по еспъ прямо съ берега, съ копораго хопя и срываюпся часпо жеспокіе порывы, но для судовъ они гибельны бытъ не могутъ. Губернаторъ мнѣ сказывалъ, чпо въ шеспилѣпнее его здѣсь пребываніе, онъ не помнитъ, чпобъ когда либо дуа вѣтры съ западной спороны въ вышепомянутое время года; но въ Іюнь, Іюль, Августъ и Септябрь, а иногда хопя и не часпо, въ Окпябрь и Ноябрь, сей рейдъ опасенъ; ибо погда, при западномъ Муссонѣ, въ сосѣдствѣ здѣшнихъ оспрововъ дуоуемъ, а особливо въ полнолуіе и новолуіе, бываюптъ жеспокія бури, кои въ направленіи переходяптъ чрезъ всѣ румбы кругомъ горизонта.

Болѣе якорныхъ мѣсптъ оспровъ не имѣепъ, будучи окруженъ опвсюду рифами, также какъ и всѣ другіе оспрова сей купы, при копорыхъ еспъ только отккрытые рейды, а при нѣкопорыхъ и вовсе нѣптъ никакаго опспойнаго мѣспа.

Длина оспрова Гуахана (по направленію отъ Сѣверо-воспока къ Юго-западу) около 45 версптъ (7 Испанскіхъ

Not so long ago a frigate of the Philippine Company carrying half a million pesos was wrecked;¹ all but 1,800 of these were recovered with the assistance of the Sandwich Islanders who live in these parts for reasons to be explained later. For the protection of this port there are two or three small forts, of which Santa Cruz and Rota [i.e. Orote] are well located. The Umata roadstead is completely exposed, but because of the depth and the type of bottom it is well suited for anchoring, and from December to June it is absolutely safe, for during those months there is a constant tradewind or monsoon from the northeast, that is, directly from the shore, and while it brings heavy gusts it is harmless to ships. The Governor told me that during his six years' stay here he does not recall a single occurrence of winds blowing in from the west at that time of the year, but in June, July, August, September, and sometimes, though not often, in October and November this landing is dangerous, because with the western monsoons there are severe storms, especially during full moon and new moon.

There are no other anchorages on this island because it is surrounded by reefs, like all the other islands of the group, some of which have only open roadsteads and some no anchorages whatsoever. The length of Guahan (from NE to SW) is about 45 *versts* (7 Spanish leagues) and the width is about 20 *versts* (3 Spanish leagues).

1 Ed. note: The **Santiago**, in 1814.

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лигъ), а ширина около 20 версипъ (3 Испанскія ^{Острова} ^{Маріанскіе.} ^{1818.} лиги).

Климапъ здѣшній не споль жарокъ, какъ бы, по ^{Ноябрь.} географическому положенію оспрова, ожидать надлежало. Причиною сему сѣверо-воспочные вѣтры, всегда свѣжо дующіе, и частые проливные и продолжительные дожди, прохлаждающіе воздухъ; но если здѣшній климапъ не такъ смертоносенъ, какъ на оспровахъ Западной Индіи, то для многихъ жителей бываетъ пагубенъ, причиняя часто проспудныя горячки и поносы, копорые по неимѣнію способовъ пользоваться помощію медиковъ, болшею частію бывають смертельны: самъ Губернапоръ не скрывалъ отъ насъ, что на Гуаханѣ много людей ежегодно умирають отъ двухъ вышепомянутыхъ болзней.

Оспровъ сей имѣеть хорошія земли и много воды. Отъ чрезвычайно плодороденъ; до занятія его Испанцами онъ производилъ въ большемъ количествѣ срачинское пшено, майсъ, хлѣбный плодъ, корень ямъ, сладкія и ѣдокновенныя бананы и кокосы. Сіи чепыре послѣднія распенія доставляли главную пищу жителямъ: кокосовыя деревья на воспочной споронѣ оспрова соспавляютъ обширные лѣса. Испанцы развелъ здѣсь лимоны, апельсинны, ананасы, арбузы, дыни, виноградъ и пабакъ. Спранно, что здѣсь не было пыкъ до нашего прихода: я далъ Губернапору для сѣмянъ десяшь самыхъ лучшихъ пыкъ, полученныхъ мною на Сандвичевыхъ оспровахъ.

Изъ чепвероногихъ живошныхъ жители имѣли полью свиней, дикихъ оленей и козъ, крысь и лепучихъ

The local climate is not as hot as might be expected from the geographical position of the island. This is because the northeastern winds and frequent downpours cool the atmosphere. While the climate is not as deadly as that of the West Indies, it is dangerous to many people, frequently causing fevers and dysentery that are usually fatal for lack of medical care. The Governor himself admits that the yearly death rate from these two diseases is very high.

The island has good soil and ample fresh water. It is extremely fertile; before the Spanish occupation the foodstuffs grown here in abundance were: rice, maize, breadfruit, yam roots, sweet and plain bananas, and coconuts.¹ The last four mentioned plants constituted the chief food source of the natives; on the eastern side of the island coconut trees form vast forests. The Spaniards have introduced lemons, oranges, pineapple, watermelons, melons, grapes, and tobacco. It is strange that there were no gourds [i.e. squashes] on the islands before our arrival. I gave the Governor ten of the best gourds given to us by the Sandwich Islanders to be used for their seeds.

The animals originally found here consisted of pigs, wild deer and wild goats, rats, and flying squirrels.²

1 Ed. note: Not maize, or corn, as that was introduced by the Spaniards who brought it from Mexico.

2 Author's note: An animal that looks like a squirrel in appearance and size, except for wings like a bat. Ed. comment: The first three types of animals were not native, and had also been imported by the Spanish.

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бѣлокъ *); нынѣ же разведены бараны, козы, собаки лошади; а рогатаго скота на всѣхъ островахъ считается до 30 тысячъ, и большею частію на островѣ Тиніанѣ, на которомъ постоянныхъ жителей нѣтъ, а находится чиновникъ и съ нимъ нѣсколько человекъ, которые бьютъ дикій скотъ, сушатъ и солятъ мясо, и оно послѣ развозится по всѣмъ островамъ, гдѣ есть жители. Изъ домашнихъ птицъ разведены Испанцами индѣйки, гуси, утки только не въ большомъ количествѣ; куры же и прежде были, а теперь ихъ множество, и жители имѣютъ о нихъ великое попеченіе, потому, что, будучи спрыснутыми охотниками до *петушьихъ боевъ*, продаютъ дорогою цѣною сильныхъ и рослыхъ пѣтуховъ на суда, идущія въ Манилу, гдѣ пѣтухи Маріанскихъ острововъ, послѣ Кипайскихъ, считаются самыми сильными и храбрыми. Въ Гуаханѣ къ намъ привези сего разбора нѣсколько пѣтуховъ, и я никогда не видывалъ такихъ большихъ; за нѣкоторыхъ просили съ насъ по 2 піастра (10 рублей), а за одного 10 піастровъ (50 рублей). Сначала, не зная еще предмета, на какой они ихъ продаютъ, мы думали, что жители дурнѣе насъ, полагая, что мы въ состояніи дать имъ такую цѣну за пѣтуха, и потому предлагали по 1 реалу (65 копеекъ) за каждого, которыхъ мы купили хотѣли для спола, а не для бол. Такимъ предложеніемъ жители

*) На бѣлку видою и величиною похожее животное, называемое съ крыльями, какъ у летучихъ мышей.

At present, sheep, goats, dogs, and horses are being bred. As for cattle, there are about 30,000 heads, mostly on Tinian where there are no permanent residents, except an official and some attendants who butcher the cattle and dry and salt the beef which is later distributed to all the other islands. The Spaniards have introduced turkeys, geese and ducks but only in small numbers.¹ Chickens were native to the islands² and are now found in great numbers and very well cared for, because of the local love of “cock fights.” The natives sell the large, strong roosters at high prices to ships going to Manila where Marianas’ roosters are considered near to those from China as the strongest and bravest.³ Several of these birds were brought to us at Guahan and I have never seen such large roosters. For some of these they asked two pesos (10 rubles) each, and for one of them 10 pesos (50 rubles). At first, not realizing the purpose of these birds, we suspected that the natives were trying to make fun of us and offered them one real (65 kopeks) each, as we wanted them for food and not for “fighting.”

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- 1 Ed. note: Most of these small animals were given to the Governors of Guam by passing ships.
 - 2 Ed. note: This fact is highly debatable; in fact, the early missionaries were emphatic when they reported that the only domesticated birds were pigeons.
 - 3 Ed. note: Strange, as these fighting cocks were descendants of others brought in from Manila by Filipino immigrants to Guam, mostly by the Pampango soldiers who were posted there.

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огорчились; наконецъ уже по нѣкоторомъ изъясненіи мы ^{Острова} поняли другъ друга и увидѣли, что каждый изъ насъ былъ ^{Маріанскіе.} 1818. правъ. Дикихъ морскихъ пилицъ, свойспвенныхъ пропи ^{Нолбрь.} ческому климату, чрезвычайно много.

Рыба у береговъ ловится не въ изобилии, и большею частію грубая морская. Но есть одинъ родъ весьма вкусной рыбы, которую Испанцы называютъ *tatate*: длиною она не много менѣ полуаршина, спонка въ кругловапа.

Круглыхъ раковъ и разнаго рода раковинъ, годныхъ къ пищу, весьма много, кромѣ настоящихъ уснрисъ, которыхъ совсѣмъ нѣтъ.

Острова сіи, вѣроятно, содержатъ въ себѣ и металлы, но Испанцы не разрабатываютъ ихъ.

Лѣсу спроеваго на островахъ много, но онъ бесполезенъ; ибо здѣсь ничего изъ дерева не дѣлаютъ, кромѣ большаго числа гребныхъ судовъ. Дома же казенные и значащихъ людей построены каменные; а простой народъ живетъ въ хижинахъ, изъ спонкихъ сполбовъ спставленныхъ, у коихъ плетни спужаютъ вмѣспю полу и сптъ, а права прикрываетъ ихъ.

Всѣ жители Маріанскихъ острововъ исповѣдаютъ католическую Вѣру, и всѣ они здѣшніе уроженцы, кромѣ Губернапора да еще двухъ или трехъ офицеровъ, Королевской шкупѣ сюда прибывшихъ. Всѣ здѣшніе чиновники назначаются въ должности и производятся въ чины изъ природныхъ жителей по выбору Губернапорскому. Я объ этомъ узналъ отъ него снаго и довольно спраннымъ образомъ: когда онъ въ

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Острова Марьянскіе. 1818. Ноябрь. первый разъ пригласилъ меня съ офицерами къ обѣду, по прежде нежели мы съѣли за споль, онъ меня спросилъ пошхоньку, не пропивно ли мнѣ будетъ обѣдать вмѣстѣ съ его офицерами и чиновниками, которые всѣ изъ природныхъ здѣшнихъ жителей и имъ самимъ на мѣста опредѣленные; а мы Европейцы и получили чины отъ нашего Государя. Здѣшніе священники также изъ уроженцевъ оспрововъ сихъ, только воспитываютъ ихъ въ Манилѣ. Спранная и неслыханная вещь въ Капюлическихъ колоніяхъ, что на всѣхъ Марьянскихъ оспровахъ нѣтъ ни одного монастыря.

Оспрова сіи, будучи весьма изобильны съѣстными припасами, бѣдны во всѣхъ другихъ отношеніяхъ. Она не только не приносятъ никакой пользы Испанской коронѣ, но еще она терпитъ отъ нихъ убытокъ. Губернаторъ получаетъ жалованья по $3\frac{1}{2}$ піаспра въ день что соспавитъ около 6400 рублей въ годъ, да отпускается ему на содержаніе чиновниковъ и гарнизона 20 тысячъ піаспровъ (100 тысячъ рублей). Сію сумму присылаютъ къ нему шоварами, кои жители покупаютъ отъ него по цѣнамъ, имъ самимъ назначеннымъ, отъ чего большая половина оной отпускается у него въ рукахъ. Пріѣзжавшіе къ намъ жители сказывали, что за последнее плашье по колѣна изъ самой проспой бумажной манеріи берутъ съ нихъ по 3 и по 4 піаспра; за широкую ножъ длиною вершковъ въ 10, коимъ они управляютъ всѣ свои сельскія работы, онъ же служитъ имъ вмѣсто оружія, должны они платитъ по 4 піаспра. И какъ по изобилію въ пищѣ и по уединенности къ

I learned about this from the Governor himself in a rather peculiar manner: when he first invited me and my staff to dinner he quietly asked me, before sitting down, whether I would object to eating at the same table with his staff, who were local natives appointed to their posts by himself, whereas we were Europeans appointed to our ranks by our Sovereign.¹ The local priests also come from among the island natives, but are educated in Manila.² A strange and unheard-of thing for a Catholic colony is that in all the Mariana Islands there is not a single monastery.³

The islands, though rich in food products, are poor in all other respects. Not only do they bring no profit to the Spanish Crown, they actually incur losses. The Governor receives a salary of 3-1/2 pesos per day, which would equal about 6,400 rubles a year, while an additional 20,000 pesos (100,000 rubles) a year is allotted for the maintenance of the staff and garrison. This latter sum is sent to him in goods which he sells to the local inhabitants at his own prices, so that more than half of the sum is retained by him. Some of the people who came to see us told us that they had to pay 3 to 4 pesos for an ordinary cotton undergarment and four pesos for a short, 10-*vershok* [44-cm] knife which is indispensable in their work and which they also use as a weapon. Since the Governor's expenses cannot possibly be high in such a remote and fertile place, he is well compensated for his exile, so to speak, to such a lonely spot. But many of the natives, though born in the islands, are bored—especially those of the working classes.

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- 1 Author's note: When we dined with the Governor of the Mariana Islands he asked me whether I would object to having some of the officers serving under him sitting next to us at the table because we owed our rank to the Imperial Command, while they had been appointed by him under the right granted him by the king. In this the Governor was not showing respect to me, but to an officer in the service of the Russian Empire, and therefore I am convinced that all Russians would be pleased to learn about the great respect paid to our Sovereign and our Fatherland by foreigners in most remote parts of the world. Ed. comment: This remark was made by Golovnin in 1821, in a letter to the editor of the magazine *Syn Otechestva*.
 - 2 Ed. note: Not exactly; they were not born in Guam, but were Filipino natives.
 - 3 Ed. note: He obviously did not see the "convento" in Agaña, but it is true that a couple of Augustinians could hardly constitute a monastery. He might also have heard the rumors to the effect that some priests were "cohabiting" with their maids by this time (see the narratives of the Freyxinet expedition).

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ста, расходы Губернатора не могутъ быть значитель- ^{Острова}
ны, по онъ, такъ сказать, за ссылку сюда и скуку, ^{Маріанскіе.} 1818.
здѣсь имъ переносимую, хорошо награждаются. Но мно- ^{Нолбрь.}
гіе здѣшніе жители, хотя и родились здѣсь, скучаютъ,
особливо изъ рабочаго народа. Множество изъ нихъ не-
отступно просились въ нашу службу, и одинъ молодой,
хорошій человекъ хотѣлъ даже оставить жену и дво-
ухъ дѣтей. Они знали, что мы идемъ въ Манилу и про-
сались съ нѣмъ, чтобы тамъ убѣжать.

Доходовъ Королю никакихъ съ острововъ не собира-
ется, даже табачный откупъ, почти во всѣхъ
Испанскихъ владѣніяхъ принадлежащій Королю, здѣсь
не существуетъ, и всякій, кто возвращаетъ табакъ,
поступаетъ съ нимъ какъ хочетъ; поему здѣшніе
жители ходятъ почти безпрестанно съ сигаркою въ
рукахъ: меня увѣряли, что многіе изъ нихъ, даже бѣд-
ные, выкуриваютъ по 30 сигарокъ въ день.

Маріанскіе острова ни съ кѣмъ никакой торгов-
ли не производятъ. Изъ Манилы присылаютъ сюда въ
годъ одно небольшое судно съ вещами, нужными для
жителей, да и то не всякое лѣто, и весьма рѣдко
случается, чтобы два судна въ одинъ годъ приходили.
Надобно знать, что хотя отъ Филиппинскихъ острововъ
до Маріанскихъ только съ небольшимъ 2000 верстъ;
но по причинѣ вѣтровъ, на переходъ изъ Манилы до
Гуахана Испанскія суда употребляютъ дней 50 и болѣе;
обратной же путь совершаютъ въ 15 или 12 дней.
Иностранцы же суда въ нѣсколько лѣтъ однажды
здѣсь появляются за прѣсною водою и съѣстными при-
пасами, и тогда у жителей праздникъ; ибо они полу-

A great many of them asked us repeatedly to take them into service, and one very nice young man was even willing to leave his wife and two children in order to get away. They knew that we were proceeding to Manila and wanted to come along in order to jump ship there.

No revenue is collected by the King, and even the concession on tobacco that belongs to the Crown in all the [other] Spanish colonies does not exist here. Anyone growing tobacco is free to do with it what he wishes, so that the local people walk around with a cigar between their teeth constantly. I was assured that many of them, even the poor ones, smoke as many as 30 cigars a day.

The Mariana Islands do not carry on trade with anyone. One small ship a year comes in with goods from Manila, but even that does not occur every year, and only rarely do two ships arrive. Although the Philippine islands are only 2,000 *verst*s [km] away, it takes a Spanish vessel about 50 days to reach here from Manila because of the winds, while in the opposite direction the crossing is made in 12 or 15 days. Foreign ships stop here only once in a great while to replenish their water and food supplies, and on these occasions it is a veritable holiday for the natives. They get good prices for their products, in goods or money. The Governor, who does not sell anything but gives away food products to foreign ships, is also glad to see them, for each ship's captain must reciprocate by presenting him with some European items unobtainable here. Formerly the Manila galleons stopped here, but now they have discontinued this practice.

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Острова чаюшь за произведенія свои хорошую плату вещами
 Маріанскіе. или деньгами. Губернапоръ, копорый ничего не прода-
 1818. етъ, но дарить съѣспные припасы, пакже радъ симъ
 Ноябрь. госпямъ; ибо всякій мореходецъ долженъ отдарить его
 какими нибудь Европейскими вещами, въ коихъ здѣсь
 недостапокъ. Прежде Манильскіе галіоны на обрат-
 номъ пути сюда заходили, но нынѣ они уже оставили
 сіе плаваніе.

Испанцы удерживаюшь за собою Маріанскіе остро-
 ва единспвенно для пого, чптобы не занялъ ихъ дру-
 гой народъ, копорый могъ бы бытъ весьма опаснымъ
 сосѣдомъ богатымъ ихъ владѣніямъ на Филиппинскихъ
 островахъ. Недавно общеспво корабельщиковъ Сѣверо-
 Американской Республики, поргующихъ на Сѣверо-за-
 падномъ берѣгу сей матерой земли, запѣяло было ос-
 новать колонію на самомъ сѣверномъ острову Маріан-
 ской гряды, называемомъ Григанъ, съ намѣреніемъ
 имѣть на переходѣ изъ Америки въ Канпонъ приспа-
 нище, гдѣ бы могли они даромъ получаь съѣспные
 припасы, вмѣспо пого, чпто на Сандвичевыхъ остро-
 вахъ должны платить за оныя. На сей конецъ перебра-
 ли они съ сихъ послѣднихъ острововъ на Григанъ
 нѣскольго семействъ Сандвичанъ подъ управленіемъ
 двухъ или трехъ своихъ мапросовъ. Испанцы долго не
 знали о существованіи сей колоніи, но когда получили
 въ Маниль объ ней свѣдѣніе, то Генераль Губернапоръ
 велѣлъ всѣхъ колонисповъ забрать, поселилъ на Гуаха-
 нѣ и употреблять къ дѣлу по способности; тамъ же
 нашли мы десяпка два бѣдныхъ Сандвичанъ. Соспо-

The Spanish retain these islands merely to keep them from being occupied by someone else who might prove to be a dangerous neighbor to their rich possessions in the Philippines. Not long ago a North American group of ship-owners trading on the north-west coast of that vast continent began a colony on the northernmost island of the group, Agrigan, in order to have a stopover on the trip from North America to Canton where their ships could obtain supplies free instead of buying them in the Sandwich Islands. With this end in mind the company brought over to Agrigan several families of Sandwich Islanders under the command of two or three of their own sailors. The Spanish were long unaware of the existence of this colony, but as soon as they learned about it in Manila, the Governor-General ordered all the colonists to be taken to Gualan and employed there according to their abilities. There we found about 20 poor Sandwich Islanders. Their condition would have been bearable if only taro were grown in these parts, as they use it to make a type of soft, sour dough which is their favorite food.¹ When they saw taro plants in tubs aboard the sloop, they became wildly excited; at once they began begging me to let them have the plants in order to cultivate them on shore, and without waiting for my permission, they were ready to put them in their boat.

1 Ed. note: Which they call "poi."

[p. 405 Russian]

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не ихъ было бы сносно, еслибъ росла здѣсь *тара*, изъ ко- Острова
торой они дѣлають родъ жидкаго кисловапаго пѣспа, Маріанскіе.
составляющаго любимое ихъ кушанье. Когда они уви- 1818.
дѣли у меня посаженную въ кадкахъ пару, то пришли въ Ноябрь.
непзьяснымъ воспоргъ; въ шужь минупу приспусти-
ли ко мнѣ съ прозьбами, чпобъ я опдалъ имъ ее по-
садить на берегу, и не дождавшись моего согласія, взду-
мали было тащипъ ее на лодку.

Въ заключеніе замѣчу, что Испанцы и Сандвиче-
скимъ оспровамъ дають имя Каролинскихъ, равно какъ
и шѣмъ, кои къ Югу опъ Маріанскихъ (Las Carolinas),
и Сандвичанъ называютъ Каролинцами (Carolinos).

Когда мы оспавили оспровъ Гуаханъ, порывы вѣ- Сѣверный
тра съ дождемъ сопровождали насъ на нѣкоторое раз- Великій
стояніе опъ берега; но съ полуночи 26 числа погода Океанъ.
сдѣлалась ясная, и дулъ свѣжій пасады во всѣ супки.
Въ полдень широта наша по обсерваціи была 14° 40'
12", долгопа по хронометрамъ, исправленная погрѣш-
ностію, найденною въ Гуаханъ *) 216° 52'. Вечеръ былъ
прекраснѣйшій: луна блиспала въ полномъ своемъ ве-
лчии, море было покойно и умѣренный вѣперъ давалъ
снспрый ходъ шлюпу; но въ сіе время Судьба гоповила
намъ ужасную учаспъ. Въ 10 часу вечера, сидя въ моей

*) Мы приняли за истинную долгопу залива Умапы ту,
которую опредѣлили Испанскій Капитанъ Малеспина (опъ
Кадисса 209° 05' 30", что сдѣлаешь опъ Гринвича 215°
10' 45"), и съ нею свою сравнили.

In conclusion, I shall mention that the Spaniards give the name of Caroline Islands (Las Carolinas) to the Sandwich Islands as well as to the islands to the south of the Marianas and refer to the Sandwich Islanders as Caroline Islanders (Carolinos).¹

After we left Guahan Island, gusts of wind and rain followed us for some distance, but from midnight of the 26th the weather became clear, and fresh trade winds blew for 24 hours. At noon, our latitude was 14°40'12" by observations, and the longitude was 216°52' by the chronometers, as corrected for the errors discovered at Guahan.² It was a most beautiful evening: the moon was shining in all its glory, the sea was calm, and a moderate wind was moving the sloop rapidly along. But just then, fate was preparing a dreadful shock for us. At 10 o'clock in the evening, sitting in my cabin, I detected the smell of smoke; wondering where it came from I immediately went to the next cabin to inquire, and to my great horror, learned from one of my men that a cabin in the officers' quarters was on fire.

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- 1 Ed. note: Either Golovnin misunderstood the Governor's explanations, or else he could not tell the difference between the two races; besides, the population statistics for Guam lumped them together, and Golovnin again fooled himself. "A little knowledge is dangerous," says an old proverb.
 - 2 Author's note: We took as the true longitude of Umatac Bay the one determined by the Spanish captain Malaspina (209°03'30" W of Cadiz, which makes it 215°20'45" W of Greenwich) and compared ours with that measurement. Ed. comment: However, the difference that he applied between these two meridians was 5-1/2 minutes too much.

[p. 406 Russian]

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Северный
Великий
Океанъ.
1818.
Ноябрь.

каюпѣ, я услышалъ запахъ дыма; не зная откуда оной происходилъ, я потчасъ пошелъ въ другую каюпу осведомиться, и съ ужасомъ узналъ опть одного изъ моихъ людей, что на кубрикѣ въ одной изъ офицерскихъ каюпъ пожаръ. Я бросился туда, велѣлъ подавать воды, и пожаръ былъ скоро упушенъ. Послѣ того велѣлъ я выломать на кубрикѣ всѣ каюпы и переборки, дабы впередъ имѣть памъ одинъ общій огонь подъ присмотромъ часоваго. По изслѣдованіи нашлось, что замоченное ромомъ бѣлье опть искры, нечаянно на него попавшей, вспыхнуло. Въ семъ случаѣ было всего хуже то, что въ началѣ пожара не дали знать объ ономъ, желая сами погасить его и скрыть случай сей опть свѣдѣнія другихъ, а чрезъ то подвергали Шлюпъ и экипажъ немалобѣжной гибели.

Теперь для перепущья предстояли намъ два порта, по положенію своему равно выгодные: Канпонъ въ Кипаѣ и Манила на Филиппинскихъ островахъ; но разность ихъ заставила меня предпочесть во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ Манилу. Одно только желаніе видѣть столь спранный и необыкновенный народъ, какомъ Кипайцы, могло понудить меня итти въ Канпонъ, но симъ любопытствомъ я долженъ былъ пожертвовать пользѣ службы: чрезвычайная дороговизна на всѣ съспные припасы въ Канпонѣ, обманы Кипайцевъ, притѣсненія, какія Мандарины дѣлають Европейскимъ кораблямъ, могли уже опклонить меня опть намѣренія итти въ Канпонъ. Но я имѣлъ еще другую, важнѣйшую причину не заходить въ Кипайскіе порты:

I rushed there, ordered water to be brought, and soon the fire was under control. After this event, I issued orders to remove all cabin partitions in the quarters, in order that only one communal fire could be supervised by a watchman. Later investigation showed that the fire was caused by a spark that fell by accident on some clothing damp with rum. The worst part of this incident was that no-one was notified when the fire broke out, because the people involved hoped to take care of it themselves and conceal the accident, thus exposing the sloop and the entire crew to certain destruction.

For our next stop, we now had a choice of two ports, equally advantageous in their location: Canton in China, and Manila in the Philippine Islands. However, the difference between them, in the final reckoning, made me prefer Manila.

...

Two sketches of Guam by Mikhail Tikhanov

Editor's notes.

The works by the official artist of the expedition were not published at the time, for various reasons, the main reason being that Tikhanov became mentally ill after the ship left Manila in 1819.

Out of 43 paintings that still exist in Leningrad, five are said to depict Guam Island. The two following sketches have already been published: 1) Natives of Guam Island; and 2) Cockfight at the Palace at Agaña. However, I notice that the cockfighters are wearing Filipino-type hats, called "salakot." This may indicate a scene of Manila, rather than Agaña.





Documents 1818D

The Golovnin expedition—Reports of Governor Medinilla, dated Umatac, 7 December 1818

Sources: PNA; copies in the Letter book of Governor Medinilla, 1818-1822, in LC Mss. Div., ref. Spanish Government Collection, Item 97, reel 9; cited in B&R 53:377; 82 leaves, rice paper.

Note: Copies of the official letters and consultations during the first term of Governor José de Medinilla y Pineda. First document dated Umata, 7 December 1818; last document dated San Ignacio de Agaña, 13 September 1822.

D1. Covering letter for correspondence sent to Manila aboard the Russian warship Kamchatka

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno.

Nº 205.

M. Y. S.

*La àseleracion de la salida para esta de la Fragata de Nacion Rusa llamada la **Kamtchatka**, y atenciones, que con motivo de su llegada me han cercado, à hecho no me sea facil poder contestar al todo de la correspondencia que devia remitir à esta Superioridad, lo que verificare por la Gavarra **Sonora**, que se haya proxima à dar la vela, ò por algun otro Buque se presentase antès.*

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.S. muchos años.

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

M. Y. S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Superior Gobierno.

Sin numero.

M. Y. S.

*Remito à V.S. el adjunto Yndice que comprende el presente Despacho en la Fragata de Guerra de Nacion Rusa llamada la **Kamtchatka** al cargo de su Comandante Don Basilio Golovnin.*

*Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.S. muchos años.
Villa de Umata, y Diciembre 7 de 1818.
M. Y.S.
José de Medinilla, y Pineda.*

Translation.

Superior Government—N° 205.

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

Most Illustrious Sir:

The speed with which the Russian frigate named **Kamchatka** is leaving for that capital, and the business that her visit has caused me, have made it difficult for me to answer all the correspondence that I had to remit to your Superior government; I will do so by the lighter **Sonora** that will sail soon, or by some other ship, if one appears beforehand.

May our Lord save Your Lordship for many years.

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

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Superior Government—Numberless.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I remit to Your Lordship the following index of the correspondence forming part of the present despatch aboard the Russian warship named **Kamchatka**, under the command of Don Basilio Golovnin.

May our Lord save Your Lordship for many years.

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

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

List of the letters that the Governor of the Mariana Islands remits to the M.I. Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands aboard the Russian frigate named **Kamchatka**.

N°

196 Report about having seen on 15 May [1818] a three-masted ship that did not let itself be recognized.

197 Report about the visit to the Island of Tinian on 23 November [1818] of a frigate and a brig of Anglo-American nationality [U.S.A.].

198 Record of proceedings as a result of Carolinians from the South having settled on the Island of Saypan.

199 Legal file in the case against Artillery Captain Ignacio Martinez.

200 Report about the official proclamation of the Royal Amnesty that the King has deigned to grant on the occasion of his wedding, and that of his brother, the Infante Don Carlos.

201 Report acknowledging the receipt of the Royal letter dated 22 March 1817 regarding the non-admittance of any prisoners unless they be remitted by the Authorities or Tribunals in the Americas.

202 Copy of an accounting report sent to the Ministers of the Royal Finances, regarding the collection of the 10% customs duties, from 1812 to date.

203 Report acknowledging the receipt by H.M.'s lighter **Sonora** of a certified copy of the Royal Order dated 2 September 1817, regarding the frigate **Consecuencia** of the Buenos Aires insurgents, and of the precautions taken for the defence of these islands.

204 Report about having sighted the lighter-type Russian frigate **Kamchatka** and her having anchored at the Town of Umata, and the help that was provided to them [reproduced below].

205 Report about not answering all the correspondence on account of the little time left before the departure of the Russian frigate.

Town of Umata in the Mariana Islands,

7 December 1818.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

D2. Report on the visit of the Russian warship Kamchatka

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno Superior.—Nº 204.

M. Y.S.

*El dia tres del corriente como à horas de las siete, y tres quartos de la mañana, recibí expreso del Alcalde Administrador del Partido de Pago diciendome de que en àquellas Mares, y por la Caveza Norte de la Ysla, se havia àvistado un Buque de tres Palos, con direccion àsia al Pueblo de Ynarajan, y àun no havia pasado media hora, quando havia recibido de las demas Administraciones, y Vigias que tengo situadas, once expresos mas, con igual noticia, lo que me dio motivo para haverlo pasado Oficio al primer Piloto, y Alferez de Fragata Don José Navarrete, haciendo entender la novedad, para que por su parte, y con concepto à la Gavarra tomase las Providencias que le pareciesen combenientes, y en seguida mandè tirar un cañonazo, y repicar la campana del Quartel, con el fin de que como advertida la Gente se reuniesen lo que efectuado dispuse sin perder tiempo pasasen armados, y uniformados à la Bateria de Santa Cruz quarenta Hombres para reforzarla, y beinte à la de Orote, y despues de haver distribuido los demas en los puestos que les estan señalados, y tomado las demas Providencias que me parecieron del caso, siendo como à horas de las onze, y media, me embarqué con el expresado Don José Navarrete para la Bateria de Santa Cruz, donde habiendo recibido à las quatro, un otro expreso del Alcalde del Pueblo de Ynarajan diciendome que el Buque que está à la vista, aunque muy enmarado àsia vela como en demanda del Puerto de la Villa de Umata, y que el Oficial situado en Fafayàn le havia salido à reconocer, me decidi à pasar à dicha Villa, en donde à las nueve, seme presentaron, el citado Oficial, y el otro que está en la Ysla de Cocos con la noticia de que habiendo reconocido el Buque, y àblado con los de Abordo les havian dicho que hera la Fragata de Guerra de Nacion Rusa llamada la **Kamtchatka** su Comandante el Capitan de la misma clase*

Don Basilio Golovnin que venia de àndar la redonda del Mundo, en solicitud de nuevos descubrimientos, y que necesitavan de hacer Aguada y Viveres, y al siguiente dia despues de haver adquirido todas las noticias necesarias para conocer de que el tál Buque no hera sospechoso con mas recibido por la tarde con las credenciales necesarias à un Oficial de los de su Bordo, con el Practico que le havia mandado desde por la mañana, dio fondo, y le hè franqueado al ènunciado Comandante sin otro Ynteres, mas que la complacencia de servirle, lo que se manifiesta por la relacion que con el mayor respeto àcompaño, con mas tratadole, y à los demas Oficiales, en los dias que han estado en tierra con la mayor benevolencia, y por separado franqueadole quantos àuxilios le han sido de necesidad, para el mayor àdelantamiento del Pintor, y Naturalista.

*El expresado Comandante, y Oficiales de su Bordo me han àsegurado que en Octubre havia àrrivado à las Yslas de San Duwich [sic] la Fragata Ynsurgente la **Argentina**, en prosecucion de viveres los quales havian sido negados pero que haviendose valido del advitrio [sic = arbitrio] de hacer Capitan, y su Apoderado à Francisco Manini, Natural de Californias, havia logrado selos proporcionan con unos setenta Yndios Naturales de las mismas Yslas para reforzar su Tripulacion, y que havia dado la vela para dicho Californias en consorcio de otra Fragata Ynsurgente, pero que infirian no rendiose el viaje con vien, à causa de que ni Oficiales, ni Tripulacion le obedecian al Comandante Don Ypolite, no permitian el que castigase à ninguno, y que quando lo queria verificar se vehia provisado [rather precisado] hacerlo con una Pistola en una mano, y en la otra el Latigo ò Palo; todo lo que me hà parecido indispensable el informar à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.*

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

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

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Lista que manifiesta los auxilios de viveres que hà proporcionado el Governador de [las] Yslas Marianas al Comandante de la Fragata de Nacion Rusa la Kamtchatka, para seguir su Derrota à Manila.

Cinco Rezes Bacunas.

Doce Puercos.

Seis Lechones.

Ochenta Gallinas.

Dos Tibores de Pescado en Escaveche.

Quatro patos.

Doscientos Huevos.

Mil Rayces de Nica.

Quinientos Yd. de Dago.

Veinte Racimos de Platanos.

Doce Aras [i.e. arrobas] de Naranjas de China.

Quatro Yd. de Limones ágrios.

Una Yd. de Ajos.

Berduras Varias.

Quatrocientos, y cinquenta Cocos.

Quinientos Sigarros puros.

Dos Frascos de Ubas en Aguardiente Ron.

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

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Translation.

Superior Government.—Nº 204.

Illustrious Sir:

On the 3rd instant, at about 7:45 a.m., I received an urgent message from the Mayor of the District of Pago, telling me that a three-masted ship had been seen in those seas and at the north point of the Island, heading for the town of Inarajan. Half an hour had hardly passed when I also received 11 more messages from the other Mayors and from the watchmen that I have on guard, with similar news which led me to write a note to the Chief Pilot and to Midshipman José Navarrete, to let them know the news, so that on their part and with respect to the lighter, they were to take the measures that might seem to them appropriate, I immediately ordered a gun to be fired, and the bell of the barracks tolled, to have the men assembled. Once this was done, without losing any time, I ordered them to get their weapons and put on their uniforms, sending 40 men to reinforce Fort Santa Cruz and 20 to the fort of Orote, and the rest to other posts. I took other measures that seemed required under the circumstances. At about 11:30, I embarked with the above-mentioned José Navarrete to go to Fort Santa Cruz. I was there, at 4 p.m., when I received another message from the Mayor of the Town of Inarajan, saying that the ship which was in sight, though far out to sea, seemed to be heading for the port of the Town of Umatac, and that the officer based in Fafayan had gone out to reconnoiter her. I then decided to go myself to said Town, where, at about 9, I received a report from said officer and another from the one based on Cocos Island, with the news that they had checked the ship and talked with those on board her; they were told that it was the Russian war frigate named **Kamchatka** commanded by Navy Commander Basil Golovnin who was making a voyage around the world, looking for new discoveries, and that they needed to take in water and food supplies.

The next day, after I had received all the necessary information to recognize that the ship was not suspicious, this was further confirmed in the afternoon by the receipt of the necessary credentials through an officer from the ship, after she anchored with the help of the local pilot whom I had despatched that morning. Without any interest other than simple courtesy, I have provided to said Commander what is shown in the list which I respectfully enclose. In addition, over the next few days that they remained

ashore, I treated him and the other officers with the greatest of benevolence, and I did as well provide them with as many things as the Painter, and Naturalist, needed for their research.

Said Commander, and his officers, have assured me that last October, the Insurgent frigate **Argentina** had visited the Sandwich Islands, seeking to find food supplies, but these were denied; however, after they had contracted Francisco Manini,¹ a native of the Californias, to act as the ship Captain and Supercargo, they had succeeded in getting about 60 Indian natives of the same Islands to reinforce their crew, and that they had sailed to the Californias in company with another insurgent frigate. However, they did not think that the venture would be successful, because neither the officers nor the crew obeyed the Commander, Don Hypolite.² They did not let him punish anyone, and when he had to, he had to carry a pistol in one hand, and the whip or the stick on the other. I have thought it proper to forward this information to Your Lordship, for your superior intelligence.

May our Lord save Your Lordship for many years.

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

Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

List showing the food supplies provided by the Governor of the Mariana Islands to the Commander of the Russian frigate Kamchatka, to enable her to pursue her voyage to Manila.

- 5 cows.
- 12 pigs.
- 6 piglets.
- 80 chickens.
- 2 large jars of pickled fish.
- 4 ducks.
- 200 eggs.
- 1,000 *Nica* roots.
- 500 *Dago* roots.
- 20 banana bunches.
- 12 arrobas of Chinese oranges.
- 4 arrobas of sour lemons.
- 1 arroba of garlic.
- Various green vegetables.
- 450 coconuts.
- 500 cigars.

1 Ed. note: A Spaniard based in the Hawaiian Islands, whose original last name was Marin.

2 Ed. note: Captain Hypolite Bouchard, who had been in the French Navy under Napoleon.

—2 bottles of grapes preserved in rum.

Town of Umatac in the Mariana Islands, 7 December 1818.
José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Documents 1818E

The shipwreck of the ship *Resource*, Captain Sowle

Note: The shipwreck of this U.S. ship occurred on a reef near Midway Island. One of the long boats made it to Agrigan Island in the Northern Marianas.

E1. The narrative of the shipwreck in 1818, and its aftermath in 1819, by Elijah Mayhew

Sources: Article in the newspaper Essex Register, Salem, Massachusetts, dated 7 January 1820, p. 3, column 1; reprinted in Ward's American Activities (see Bibliography), under Agrigan 2.

Loss of the Ship *Resource*.

[Introduction]

Mr. Elijah Mayhew, of Newburyport, one of the survivors of the crew of the late ship *Resource*, of New York, has furnished us with the following interesting narrative of the loss of that ship, and the sufferings and fate of her crew. The *Resource* sailed from New York in March 1817—arrived at the Marquesas Islands and obtained a cargo of sandal wood, with which she proceeded to Manilla,¹ and sailed again to the northward as far as Lat. 62° on a Sealing voyage; was at Kamschatka in Sept. 1818, and sailed again in Oct. in search of an island; where seals were said to be abundant, of which they had received information from the Russians, when she was lost as stated in the narrative:—

Information concerning the loss of the Ship *Resource*, of New York, Cornelius Soule, of Providence, R.I. Master, on a sealing voyage in the Pacific Ocean, while cruising for an island, in Lat. 28°30 N. lon. 180.

[Extract from the log kept by Elijah Mayhew]

Friday, Nov. 29, 1818

¹ Ed. note: It can be safely assumed that it crossed Micronesia and sighted Guam, on the way to Manila.

Commences with fresh breezes, and thick squally weather.—Top sails double reefed, main sail and jib furled, close hauled on the wind, wind east.—At 6 p.m. the man at the mast-head cried out: What is that? The Captain being on deck, stepped to the waist, and discovered breakers on the weather bow, and immediately ordered the helm hard up; at that moment the ship struck on a reef of rocks.—Hove the topsails aback, turned reefs out of the foretopsail, set the jib, and in about 20 minutes she wore off and run before the wind, the rudder being gone.—Tried the pumps, and found her making water very fast, and gaining on us; quit the pumps, cut away the foremast, cleared away the long boat and quarter boats; some hands employed getting bread and water on deck, which was put into the longboat; got her out, but being very leaky, could not keep her free; all hands except 7 took to the whale boats, and informed us that she was full of water; and we had lost sight of her soon after leaving the ship, it being very dark and blowing fresh.—We now lost all hopes, for we depended wholly upon the long boats for fresh water, having none in the whale boats. We made the boats fast together, and kept pulling to windward during the night, in the hope of picking something up drifting from the ship.

Saturday, Nov. 21

At day-light we discovered the long boat bottom upwards, and 3 of the men clinging to her, we immediately pulled up to her, and took them off, they being nearly exhausted; they informed us that the long-boat filled with water directly after leaving the ship, and they hove almost everything out of her to keep her from sinking; that she turned bottom up a few moments before we saw them, when Ruader, a native of South America, was drowned. Got the long boat upright, and found a top-gallant studding sail, a small hatchet, and about 10 fathoms of 2-1/2 inch rope; made both boats fast to the long boat, and divided ourselves 13 in each boat. Capt. Soule had in his boat 1 double barreled fouling piece, a small keg of powder, some shot, fish-hooks and lines, half bolt of duck, a compass, a bucket, a bag of bread, about a peck of rice, same quantity of beans, but not a drop of fresh water. In Mr. Harris's boat we had nearly a barrel of bread, half bolt of duck, a quadrant, a sextant, a small paint keg, but no fresh water.—Picked up a small tub. Lay by the long boat till 4 p.m. fitting sails and waist cloths for the boats; Soule thought it best to make fast to each other, and lay upon our oars during the night, it blowing fresh, and a rough sea.

Nov. 22

At sunrise set sail and stood to the southward, in hopes of reaching the island of Agrigan, in lat. 19 N. lon. 146 E. or being taken up by some ship, having in view to keep together, and agreed to keep before the wind till the morning if we lost sight of each other during the night. At noon served out one third of a biscuit to each man.—At 3 p.m. Capt. Soule shot a bird, which we picked up. At sunset fresh breezes and squally.—At 9 p.m. in a heavy squall, lost sight of Capt. Soule's boat all at once.—Kept before the wind during the night.

Nov. 23

Pleasant weather.—At daylight could see nothing of the other boat; stood to the northward and to the southward in hopes of falling in with her; not seeing her, stood S.W. Began to feel the want of fresh water; continued to serve one third of a biscuit a day.

Nov. 24

Fresh breezes and small showers of rain; caught by wringing some clothes nearly a quart of water.—Served two spoonfuls to each man.

Nov. 25

Light showers.—Caught about a pint of water. Made a wooden spoon to serve out water.

Nov. 26

Fresh breezes and rain.—Caught water to serve half a gill a day.¹—Ate the bird that Capt. Soule shot.

27th

Steady breezes and pleasant.—Hardly able to swallow our bread for want of water.

29th

Squalls of rain.—Caught about two quarts of water.

Dec. 1

Pleasant weather, but nearly exhausted for want of water.—Stephen LeRoach quite insane.

2nd

Fresh breezes and heavy showers of rain.—At 5 p.m. Stephen LeRoach died.—Caught about 4 gallons of fresh water, which filled our tub and keg; this by the blessing of God saved our lives, we being nearly exhausted.

3rd

Light breezes and pleasant; served 7 spoonfuls water to each man.

4th

Made a sail out of some duck, and fixed another mast. Continued to catch fresh water by the small quantity, so as to serve a gill per day.

11th

William S. Sparhawk died.

15th

Joseph Adams, carpenter, died.—At sunset discovered island bearing W.S.W. dist. about 25 miles.

16th

At 10 a.m. landed on the island of **Agrigan**. With much difficulty we saved the boat, being so weak we could hardly stand. Found plenty of cocoanuts and bread fruit; caught a few crabs and other shell fish.—Made a fish-hook by cutting the rim from a quarter of a dollar, but lost it the first bite.

1 Ed. note: A gill is a liquid measure equal to 1/4 pint U.S., i.e. 66 mL.

22nd

Built a hut to protect us from the weather.

27th

Made a fish-hook out of a silver dollar, and caught the fish that took the first hook, another of our crew (a native of South America) died.

1819, Jan. 7

Went to the south part of the island to live.

13th

Killed two goats being the only meat we had eat[en] since we left the ship.

Jan. 17

Mr. Joseph Harris (of Newburyport, the chief mate) while fishing, was washed off the rocks by the surf, and was drowned.

Feb. 23

Traveled round the island, saw hogs tracks, found a house standing, and the ruins of a number of others. Found some iron hoops, which served for fish-hooks, &c.

March 23

Returned to our house on the South Bluff, and began to lay up bread fruit.

April 11

Went over to the island of **Pagan**, about 30 miles from Agrigan, found plenty of coconuts, hogs, goats, fish, land crabs, pine-apples, &c.

17

Returned with a supply of animals and pine-apples.

22

Divided ourselves, 4 to live at the N.W. house and 4 at the South Bluff.

July 6

Felt the shock of an earthquake, and on the 30th another shock, very heavy.—Found old ruins of the ancient inhabitants.

Sept. 4

Living now very comfortable, having plenty to eat and drink, being hearty and strong, having our hogs and dogs running about us and keeping a sharp look-out for vessels.

Nov. 18, 1819

Was taken off the island (after remaining there eleven months and two days) by the Spanish brig **St. Rupert** [sic], Francisco Berrillo [sic],¹ master, from South America, bound for Manilla, who generously supplied us with a shirt and a pair of trousers each, we being nearly naked.

Dec. 22nd

Arrived at Manilla, and were detailed by the Governor till Jan. Received thirty cents each from the American Consul, Mr. Stuart, for our relief and comfort!

1 Ed. note: Rather San Ruperto, alias Aventurero, Captain Francisco Varela .

[List of the missing, and the survivors]

The following persons were in the missing boat:

- Captain Cornelius Soule, of Providence, R.I.
- Jacob Chandler, of Boston
- John Dodge, of New York
- Abraham Keetch, of do.
- George Furman, do.
- John Sago, do.
- John Vanderbeck, do.
- Henry Jerolman, do.
- Ceasar, a native of Bengal.
- 2 natives of South America, and 2 natives of Marquesas Islands.

The persons taken from the island, and who arrived at Manilla in the *St. Rupert*, are as follows:

- Elijah Mayhew, of Newburyport, arr. here [i.e. Salem] in brig. **Nautilus**
- Joseph Smith, of Boston, do. do.
- Evo Dorsey, of Boston, shipped for Canton.
- Urbane W. Butler, of Springfield, shipped on board ship **Aurora**, of Salem.
- Garret Braisted, New York, do.
- Barzillia Wyman, of Charlestown.
- Also 2 natives.¹

E2. The narrative of Barzillia Wyman, another survivor.

Sources: Article in the New Bedford Mercury, dated 16 June 1820, page 13; also, with shorter text, in the Boston Daily Advertiser of 7 June, the Independence Chronicle and Patriot of Boston of 7 June; cited by F. W. Howay in two of his articles: 1) in the American Neptune, 4:1 (1944): 56-57, and 2) in the Washington Historical Quarterly, of Seattle; reprinted in Ward's American Activities (1967), under Agrigan 3.

Loss of Ship Resource, of New York.

We have been favored with the protest of Barzillia Wyman, one of the crew of this ship, who arrived in this port a few days since, in the ship **Jane**, from Manilla, from which the following is extracts:

The ship **Resource**, Capt. Soule, left New York March 30, 1817, bound to the Pacific Ocean on a sealing voyage. She arrived at the Marquesas Islands, and proceeded thence to several other places, and finally sailed from Kamschatka, in the prosecution

¹ Ed. note: Ward has commented that it does not seem probable that a long boat could have travelled from longitude 180° (the site of the shipwreck) to longitude 145° (that of Agrigan) in less than a month. In fact, the time lapse was more than one and a half months.

of the voyage; and on the 20th [sic]¹ Nov. 1818, being in about lat. 28° N. and about long. 180° E. while under easy sail, at about 6 p.m. the ship struck on an unknown reef of rocks. The weather at the same time thick and squally, she remained about 10 minutes when she slid off, and on sounding the pumps, it was found she had made considerable water. The pumps were immediately set at work, but the water gained on them fast. The foremast was then cut away, and all hands were employed in clearing the wreck, and getting out the boats; after putting on board the boats provisions, water etc. the officers and crew got into them, (as the ship was sinking) pushed off, and the ship soon after sunk. The long boat having most of the provisions and water saved from the ship, being very leaky, was soon filled and capsized, and the contents lost. Some of the crew in her swam to the other boats, others clung to her till the morning, and were taken off, and one man was drowned. There were now the two other whale boats left, Capt. Soule and 12 men in one; Joseph Harris, the mate, and 12 men in the other; each boat had about 30 lbs. bread, and no water. They were now on allowance of half a biscuit per man a day.

The boats kept company all the next day, but soon after dark the captain's boat suddenly disappeared, and it was thought must have been upset, and all on board perished, as nothing was seen of her afterwards, the sea at the same time running very high. On the 15th [sic] Dec. the other boat landed on the uninhabited island of **Agrigan**, having had no water for 25 days, except what they caught as it fell from the heavens which gave them from one to three spoonfuls a man per day. Joseph LaRoach died on the 3rd Dec., Wm. Sparhawk, died the 12th; Joseph Adams, the 15th; and Mr. Harris the mate fell from a rock while fishing, and was drowned on the 17th Jan. Mr. Wyman and 7 others remained on the Island subsisting on what it afforded, it having been stocked with goats, and hogs, until the 17th Nov. 1819, having been there eleven months and one day, when they were discovered and taken off by a Spanish brig bound to Manilla, where they arrived on the 20th Dec. and Mr. Wyman took passage in the **Jane**. Three of the other men took passage to the United States, two went to Canton, and two went to Manilla.²

Two more of the survivors have arrived at Salem, in brig **Nautilus**, one of whom is Elijah Mayhew, of Newburyport, and the other Joseph Smith of Boston. Mr. Mayhew informs, that Evo Dorsey, of Boston; Urbane W. Butler, of Springfield; Garret Braister, of New-York; Barzillia Wyman (mentioned above) and two natives, all survivors, were taken off the Island of Agrigan, by the Spanish brig **St. Rupert**, Francisco Berrillo, master, from South America bound to Manilla, who generously supplied them with a shirt and pair of trousers each, they being nearly naked. Dec. 22, arrived at Manilla, and were detained by the Governor till Jan. Received *thirty cents* each, from the American Consul, Mr. Stuart, for their relief and comfort!

1 Ed. note: Wyman's dates sometimes differ from Mayhew's by 1 day, quite correctly, as west of 180° longitude, the dates should have been so advanced. Therefore, this date is a misprint for 30th of December, same as Mayhew which says 29th.

2 Ed. note: The rest was published only in the Essex Register, which got it from E1 above.

The following persons were in the missing boat: Capt. Cornelius Soule, of Providence, R.I., Jacob Chandler, of Boston; John Dodge, Abraham Keetch, George Furman, John Sago, John Vanderbeck, and Henry Jerolman of New-York; Ceasar, a native of Bengal; two natives of South America; and two natives of Marquesas Islands.

E3. Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Canton, to his friend in Providence, dated January 25, 1820

Sources: Newburyport Herald, of Newburyport, Mass., 25 May 1820, p. 24; reprinted in Ward's American Activities, under Marianas 3.

Note: The unnamed author quotes news received from Manila. Had he waited for the arrival of Evo Dorsey, he might have been better informed.

...
“By an arrival at Macao, from Manilla, news has been received at this place, that about the 25th of December last, four [sic] men had arrived there, reporting themselves to be part of the crew of the American ship **Resource**, Captain Soule, which ship they state to have struck on a rock or reef (unknown on the charts) some distance to the eastward of the Marian Islands, that they were obliged to leave the ship immediately, with two boats, the Captain taking with him six, and the other boat seven men; that when night came on, the Captain gave them a course to steer, which he judged would bring them to one of the Marian Islands; the seas during the night were high; that on the morning they saw nothing of the Captain's boat, but proceeded on their course, and after several days fell in with one of the islands where four [sic] of them landed, the other three having perished from fatigue. These are all the particulars we have been able to collect, which leaves us in great hopes that Captain Soule may yet be in safety.”

...

Document 1818F

No more subsidy from New Spain

Letter from Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 27 February 1818

Source: AGN Fil. 49, fol. 249.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

En Oficio de fecha doce de Octubre de mil ochocientos diez, y seis, se sirve V.E. decirme los motivos que ha tenido para no haber accedido à la solicitud de Don Gabriel de Yturbe è Yraeta, sobre la cobranza del Situado de estas Yslas, tanto por las Cantidades devengadas de los años que dejó de remitirse, como de las pertenecientes al dia; Lo que hice parte à los Yndividuos de esta Guarnicion, y tanto ellos como yo conocen lo justo de la negativa, en viata de tan Criticas àpuradas circunstancias, y àprecian sumamente las bondades de V.E., y quedan penetrados de gratitud, hasta el grado de tener este consuelo en su desgraciada situacion, por lo qual, y conformandose con el destino que les hà cavido à estos infelizes, quedan resignados en manos de la Providencia.

Yo por mi parte tributo à V.E. las devidas gracias por la molestia que se hà tomado à impulso de su Zelo, y ruego al Señor conserve su importante vida, y salud muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Febrero 27 de 1818.

Exmo. Señor.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

[A] Exmo. Sor. D. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Virrey de N.E.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

In a letter dated 12 October 1816, Y.E. was pleased to tell me the reasons why you did not accede to the request of Mr. Gabriel de Iturbe e Iraeta, concerning the subsidy of these Islands, not only the sums due for past years, but also those owed today. I transmitted this information to the individuals of this garrison. They, as myself, know how just is the denial, in view of such critical circumstances, and they appreciate very much the kindness of Y.E. and they remain filled with gratitude and hope that this news will

console you in your dire situation. Consequently, they accept the destiny that has befallen them, and remain resigned in the hands of Providence.

As for myself, I wish to impart my sincere thanks to Y.E. for the bother that you took as a result of your zeal, and I pray the Lord to save your important life, and health, for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 27 February 1818.

Your Excellency.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Excellency Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Viceroy of New Spain.

Document 1818G

Abandonment of Fort San José, rehabilitation of Fort Santo Angel, etc.

Source: LC Mss. Div., Span. Gov't Collection, Item 97 (cont'd).

Note: Fort San José had been built in 1803 (see Doc. 1803C).

Report of Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 17 December 1818

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno—Nº 209.

M. Y.S.

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

Tambien hago presente à V.S. de que la Punta ò Cerro escarpado que se halla situado con proximidad à el Canal de la Rada de la expresada Villa, y en èl que estubo antes la Bateria que se nombrò Santo Angel dado por inutil creyendolo en estado de desplo-marse, es el lugar de mas seguridad, solidez, y ventajas, para la mejor defenza del Puerto, como lo podrá informar à V.S.[,] si lo tuviese à vien con presencia del Planof[,] el Alférez de Fragata Don José Navarrete, pues pasè con el para el intento de que lo reconociese, lo que verifico con la mayor escrupulosidad, y provisionalmente le hè hecho poner en su cumbre tres de los quatro cañones indicados, y quando terminen las obras que hè mandado executar en la Bateria de Santa Cruz, harè se verifique las que considere ser de necesidad; lo que informo à V.S. para que si fuere de su Superior àgrado lo àprueve, y de lo contrario me mande lo que tenga por combeniente.

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.S. muchos años.

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

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government—N° 209.

Illustrious Sir:

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

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

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

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

Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

Editor's comments.

This plan of Fort Santo Angel is missing. The reason for the activity of Governor Medinilla during the second half of 1818 was due to an order he had received from Manila, and brought to him by Midshipman José Navarrete, the captain of his privately-owned brigantine, named **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores**, which had been captured on the last day of May 1818 off the coast of Cagayan Province, in NE Luzon (see Doc. 1818K). Navarrete returned to Guam in command of the lighter **Sonora** in September 1818. He soon went back to Manila with said ship, carrying the above report by Governor Medinilla (see Doc. 1812C).

Document 1818H

Governor Medinilla's 30-year service record

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, Item 97 (cont'd).

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 Josè Navarrete me àuxiliaria, 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. Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

[Petition]

M. Y.S.

Don Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda, Teniente del Regimiento de linea, El Ynfante Don Carlos, y actual Governador Político, Militar, y Capitan General de las Yslas Marianas, ànte V.S. con el mayor respeto se presenta, y dice: Que havindose inclinado desde sus tiernos años al honroso 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 Governador 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 Gefè en sus Empleos, y proximo à regresar à España, y àunque este suceso

*podiera haver hecho bariar de idea por faltarle la inmediacion, 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 desempeño 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 desempeño 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 tomó 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 árreglado, 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 Alferez de Fragata de la Real Armada Don José 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 Expedicion à sus Yslas, con barios obsequios para el Rey, y otros Principales, de que resultò huviesen buuelto 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 exâustos 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 Alferez de Fragata Don José Tirado, mandò el ènunciado Bergantin de su propiedad à las Yslas de Saypan y Tinian de donde logrà 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

à vitavan 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...*

[MCF faulty]

... movido ... por el bien publico y por el mejor ... actividad, y desinteres se deve ... salvado la Tripulacion, y c condesciendo S. M. con los ... de la Junta de Govierno dada expresada ... se hà servido declarar que la conducta que observo el exponente, con ... de la incinuada Fragata, hà merecido su Soberana àprovacion, y aprecio, mandando sele dèn 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 Huachochiri 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 empeco à servir en los Empleos</i>			<i>Tiempo que àqui sirvio, y quanto en cada Empleo.</i>		
<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Días Meses Años</i>		<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Años Meses Días</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 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 1815 en que previene S.M. que la conducta que observó con motivo de la perdida de la Fragata de la Real Compañía que se nombró **Santiago** há 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 1816, 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 Adjutant 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

- 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.

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, 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 Agrigan. 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

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- 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.

returned within 37 days with a load able to provide food supplies for the Garrison for six months.¹

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 matter 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.² 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.³

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

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- 1 Ed. note: March 1817 was therefore the earlier date at which a premanent 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).
 - 2 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.
 - 3 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!

of said Company, named **Santiago**, was shipwrecked near this Island on a reef in February 1814, when I provided assistance...

[MCF faulty]

...[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

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, which is to be found in the headwaters of Rio Mala, NW of present-day Huancayo. Other contemporary maps, dated 1814 and 1816, show that the same territory, plus another territory to the east of it, was then called the Province of Jauja.

Lieutenant 1 Sept. 1812

As a Lieutenant

3-3-18

Total as of 18 Dec. 181830-7-28
=====

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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Document 1824K

**Kotzebue's second voyage—Narrative of
Captain Kotzebue**

Source: A New Voyage Round the World, in the Years 1823, 24, 25, and 26. By Otto von Kotzebue, Post Captain in the Russian Imperial Navy (London, Colburn & Bentley, 1830).

**The narrative of Captain Kotzebue and his discovery of
Bikini****Introduction.**

In the month of March of the year 1823, I was appointed by His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, of glorious memory, to the command of a ship, at that time unfinished, but named the **Predpriatie** (Enterprise). She had been at first destined for a voyage purely scientific, but circumstances having occurred which rendered it necessary to change the object of the expedition, I was ordered to take in at Kronstadt a cargo to Kamchatka, and to sail from the latter place to the north-west coast of America, in order to protect the Russian-American Company from the smuggling carried on there by foreign traders. On this station my ship was to remain for one year, and then, being relieved by another, to return to Kronstadt. The course to be followed, both in going and returning, was left entirely to my own discretion.

On the first of May, the ship, whose Russian name, **Predpriatie**, I shall for the future omit, was declared complete. She was the first vessel built in Russia under a roof (a very excellent plan), was the size of a frigate of a middling rank, and, that she might not be unnecessarily burdened, was provided with only 24 six-pounders.

My crew consisted of Lieutenants Kordinkoff, Korsakoff, Bordschewitsch, and Pfefer; the Midshipmen Gekinoff, Alexander von Moller, Golowin, Count Heiden, Tschekin, Murawieff, Wukotitsch, and Paul von Moller; the Mates, Grigorieff, Gekimoff, and Simokoff, eight petty officers, and 115 sailors. We were accompanied by Professors Eschscholz and Lenz as Naturalists; Messrs. Preus and Hoffman as Astronomer

and Mineralogist; and Messrs. Victor and von Siegwald as Chaplain and Physician; so that, in all, we reckoned 145 persons.¹

We were richly provided with astronomical and other scientific instruments: we possessed two pendulum apparatus, and a theodolite made expressly for our expedition by the celebrated Reichenbach. This valuable instrument was executed with wonderful precision, and was of the greatest use in our astronomical observations on shore.

In June the ship arrived at Kronstadt, and on the 14th of July (old style, according to which all reckonings will be made in this voyage), she lay in the harbour fully equipped and ready to sail. On that day the cannon of the fortress and of the fleet in the roads announced the arrival of the Emperor, whom we had the pleasure of receiving on board our vessel.

His Majesty, after a close examination of the ship, honoured us by the assurance of his imperial satisfaction; the sailors received a sum of money, and I and my officers a written expression of thanks.

With the gracious cordiality peculiar to him, the amiable monarch wished us a happy voyage, and retired, followed by our enthusiastic blessings.

...

[Vol. 1]

Radack Chain of Islands.

On the fifth of April [1824], at noon, we found ourselves, according to our observation, in the latitude 11°24' South, and in the longitude 174°24' [W of Greenwich]. We had left the north-west point of the island of Pola 140 miles behind us. The weather was clear, but we looked in vain from the mast-head for land.

Hence we gave up any further search in this quarter, and directed our course to the north, for the shortest way to cut the Equator, and then, by the help of the north-east tradewind, to reach Radack, where we intended to stop and make observations on the pendulum, the results of which, in the neighbourhood of the Equator, would be important to us. I appointed Otdia [Wotje], belonging to this chain of islands, for our residence, as affording the most convenient anchorage for large ships.

We were so much delayed by calms, that we could not reach the 9th degree of south latitude until the 19th of April. Here we encountered gusts of wind and torrents of rain, and a current that carried us daily from 20 to 30 miles westward. When we were under 3 degrees south latitude, and 180 degrees longitude, the current suddenly changed, and we were driven just as strongly to the East—a circumstance too remarkable to be passed over in silence. At a distance from land in the vicinity of the Equator, the currents are always westerly. Here it was precisely contrary; from what cause I am unable to explain.

¹ Ed. note: Unfortunately, there was no artist, or painter, on this voyage. Eschscholtz had been with Kotzebue's first voyage.

From the 5th degree of south latitude to the Equator, we daily perceived signs of the neighbourhood of land. When we were exactly in 4°15' latitude, and 178° longitude, heavy gales brought swarms of butterflies and small land-birds to the ship; we must therefore have been near land, but we looked for it in vain; and this discovery remains for some future navigator.¹

On the 22nd we cut the Equator in the longitude 179°43' and once more found ourselves in our own Northern Hemisphere—nearer to our native country, though the course by which we must reach it would be still longer than that we had traversed. Our old acquaintance the Great Bear showed himself once more, and we looked upon him with joy, as though he had brought intelligence from our distant homes.

WE now again employed Parrot's machine to draw up water from a depth of 800 fathoms. Its temperature was only 6 degrees of Réaumur, while that of the water at the surface was 23 degrees.²

A tolerable strong wind, which blew during several successive days, brought us within sight of the Radack Islands, on the morning of the 28th of April.

To those who are yet unacquainted with these islands, and cannot or will not have recourse to my former voyage, I must be excused giving a few particulars concerning them.

In the year 1816 [rather 1817], in the ship **Rurik**, I discovered the chain of islands called by their inhabitants, Radack. It consists of several groups lying near each other, and these again of many small islands united by reefs and surrounding great basins of water. All these being formed by the coral insect, are very low, and still but thinly covered with soil, so that they lack the luxuriance of vegetation usual in this climate; their population is scanty; and the most important island of a group commonly gives its name to the whole.

The Radack people are tall and well made, of a dark brown complexion; their black hair is neatly bound up, and that of the women decorated with flowers and strings of bivalve-shells. Their features are soft and agreeable, and many of both sexes may be considered beautiful. They attain a great age, and though less robust than some other South Sea islanders, and subsisting wholly on fish and vegetables, are generally healthy. In gentleness and good nature they excel them all, even perhaps the Tahitians.

The chief or sovereign of all these islands is named Lamari; the chiefs of the particular groups are subordinate to him; and under these are the chiefs of the separate islands composing each group. The chief of the group Otdia is called Rarik. I gave his portrait in my former voyage, and was particularly pleased with him, and with another native of the same group, named Lagediak. An inhabitant named Kadu of the group Kawen, no native, but thrown there by a storm from the island of Ulle, made the voyage from Otdia to Unalashka and back with us in the ship **Rurik**, and gained the good-will of the whole crew. He gave us some instructions in the Radack language; and on our sec-

1 Ed. note: The ship was then east of the Ellice, or Tuvalu, Islands.

2 Ed. note: To get °C, multiply °R by 0.8.

ond visit could interpret pretty well between us and the islanders, as he already spoke a little Russian: his portrait also is prefixed to one of the volumes of my former voyage.

After an absence of eight [rather 7] years, I was now again in sight of my favourite Radack Islands, where I had passed several weeks among some of the best of Nature's children. Whoever has read my former narrative, will imagine the pleasure with which I anticipated my certain welcome; I pictured myself a meeting on which the heavens themselves appeared to smile. It was an uncommonly fine day, and a fresh and favourable wind carried us quickly towards land. Our inquiring glances soon showed us from the deck, on the island Otdia, the airy groves of palms which enclose the residence of Rarik, and under whose shade I had so often sat among the friendly islanders. We could now distinguish boats sailing about on the inner basins, from one island to another, and a crowd of people running to the shore to gaze at the ship. I knew my timid friends too well, not to guess what was passing in their minds. I had indeed, on parting from them, promised to visit them again, but they would easily perceive that the great three-masted ship they now saw was not the small two-masted **Rurik** of their acquaintance. If, therefore, the first glimpse of the vessel had flattered them with the expectation of seeing me again, their earlier pleasure had been converted into fear. Uncertain how they might be treated by the strangers, the women and children fled to the interior, and all the canoes were set in motion to carry their little possessions to some place of comparative safety. The most courageous among them advanced armed with spears to the shore, displaying their valour while the danger was yet distant.

It is not surprising that timorous apprehensions should agitate these poor people on the appearance of a strange vessel. Their western neighbours, the inhabitants of the islands of Ralick, and of the southern islands of the groups Mediuro and Arno, which are much more thickly peopled, sometimes attack them with a superior force, plunder them, destroy their fruit trees, and leave them scarcely subsistence enough to preserve them from starving. They had indeed imbibed from the crew of the **Rurik** a favourable opinion of white people; but the ship which now approached them was a monster in comparison to it, and they were excusable in supposing it manned by another and unknown race.

We now reached the group Otdia, and sailed close under the outward reef, towards the Schischmaref Strait, through which I proposed to enter the basin. The sight of the ship diffused terror throughout all the islands as we passed, and the natives fled for concealment to the forests. As we approached the Lagediak Strait, the breeze was sufficient to warrant us in venturing through it; I therefore gave up my intention of entering by the Schischmaref Strait where the wind would be against us, spread all sail, and soon rode on the placid waters of the basin. I would not, however, advise seamen, without an adequate inducement, to choose this strait: it is so narrow that stones might easily be thrown across from either shore; while, on the contrary, the breadth of the Schischmaref Strait admits of tacking, and renders its passage easy with a good ship. The water in the Lagediak is so transparent, that in a depth of 14 fathoms, every stone at the bot-

tom is discernible; the officer who sat in the tops on the watch for shallows, deceived by this appearance, expected every moment that the ship would run aground.

We continued to sail pleasantly on the beautiful smooth water of the basin, but the wind blowing directly off the island of Otdia (after the whole group is named, and where I hoped to meet with Rarik), I was compelled, as it grew dark, to cast anchor before the island of Ormed, in a depth of 32 fathoms, on a bottom of fine coral sand. Until the ship entered this natural harbour, the courage of the islanders did not quite forsake them, as they supposed the entrance to be unknown to us, and the exterior coast they trusted to the protection of the surf; but when we had penetrated into the basin, the panic became universal. We observed a constant running backwards and forwards on the shore; canoes hastily laden and rowed away, some to the right and some to the left, but none coming near us. The whole island of Ormed seemed, on our arrival, to have fairly given up the ghost. It was not until after dark that we could perceive any trace of life upon it; large fires were then kindled in two places at some distance from each other, while many smaller ones were flickering between them. We could also hear a sort of shrieking song, accompanied by the drum, which I knew to be their manner of calling on the gods for help, and which proved the extent of the alarm we had occasioned. This religious rite lasted through the night, but with the morning's dawn my friends had again disappeared, and the stillness of death prevailed as before.

We weighed anchor, and endeavoured by tacking to reach Otdia, and in so doing, often came very close upon the little picturesque bright green islands which studded the sparkling lake. The fresh morning breeze wafted aromatic odours towards us; but the huts of the inhabitants stood empty and desolate. When we were near Otdia, we again descried canoes sailing as close as possible to the shore. The population was busy on the strand, but no-one seemed rightly to know what should be done in this alarming crisis. We next saw a long procession of islanders, bearing branches of palm as symbols of peace, taking advantage of the ebb-tide to cross the reef towards Otdia, and carrying baskets of coconuts and other fruits on poles. Hence it appeared that my friends had yielded to their destiny, and hoped to win the favour of the intruders by humility and presents. From their former dismay, I anticipated that Kadu was absent, or he would have inspired his countrymen with some confidence.

We dropped anchor at noon opposite Otdia, on the same spot where the **Rurik** formerly rode. I then ordered a small two-oared boat to be lowered, and to make my first visit as little formidable as possible to my friends, went ashore with only Dr. Eschscholtz and two sailors. We rowed direct to Rarik's residence, where no human being was visible. A little canoe, bringing three men from a neighbouring island, now neared the shore, but immediately endeavoured to escape on observing that we steered towards it; in vain I waved a white handkerchief, a signal I had formerly been accustomed to make; they persisted in crowding sail, and taking all possible pains to get out of our reach; but their extreme anxiety now rendered that difficult which they usually perform with great dexterity. While they disputed vehemently among themselves, we gained materially upon them, and their entangled ropes refusing the assistance of their sails, they were on

the point of trusting to their skill in swimming for safety, when two words from me changed all this terror into equally clamorous joy. I called to them "Totabu," the word into which they had tortured my name; and "Aidarah," an expression signifying both "friend" and "good." They stood motionless, waiting for a repetition of the cry, to convince themselves that their ears had not deceived them; but on my reiterating "Totabu Aidarah," they burst into the wildest acclamations of joy; called aloud to the shore, "Hei Totabu, Totabu!" and leaving their canoe to take care of itself, swam to land, incessantly repeating their exclamations of joy.

The inhabitants of Otdia, who had been observing us from behind the bushes, now that the well-known name resounded through the island, sprang from their concealment, giving vent to their rapture in frolic gestures, dances, and songs. Numbers hurried to the strand; others ran into the water as high as their hips, to be the first to welcome us. I was now generally recognized, and called Rarik, because, according to the custom prevailing here, I had sealed my friendship with that chief by an exchange of names. They also recognized Dr. Eschscholtz, who had been of my former expedition, and heartily rejoiced in seeing again their beloved "Dein Nam." This was the name he had borne among them, because when they asked his name, and he did not understand the question, several of our people called to him "Dein name," which was immediately adopted as his designation.

Four islanders lifted me from the boat, and carried me ashore, to where Lagediak awaited me with open arms, and pressed me most cordially to his bosom. The powerful tones of the Triton horn now resounded through the woods, and our friends announced the approach of Rarik. He soon appeared running at full speed towards us, and embraced me several times, endeavouring in every possible way to express his joy at our return.

Though the friends to whom I was thus restored were but poor ignorant savages, I was deeply affected by the ardour of their reception; their unsophisticated hearts beat with sincere affection towards me—and seldom have I felt this happy consciousness among the civilized nations of the world!

Even the women and children now made their appearance; and, among them, Rarik's loquacious mother, who with much gesticulation made me a long speech, of which I understood very little. When she had concluded, Rarik and Lagediak, each offering me an arm, led me to the house of the former.

Upon a verdant spot before it, surrounded and shaded by bread-fruit trees, young girls were busily spreading mats for Dr. Eschscholtz and myself to sit on. Rarik and Lagediak seated themselves facing us, and the mother (80 years of age) by my side, at a little distance. The other islanders formed a compact circle around us; the nearest line seating themselves, and those behind standing, to secure a better view of us. Some climbed the trees; and fathers raised their children in their arms, that they might see over the heads of the people. The women brought baskets of flowers, and decorated us with garlands; and Rarik's mother, drawing from her ears the beautiful white flower of the lily kind, so carefully cultivated here as an indispensable ornament of the female

sex, did her best to fasten it into mine with strings of grass, while the people expressed their sympathy by continual cries of "Aidarah." In the meantime the young girls were employed in pressing into shells the juice of the Pandanus, which they presented to us, with a sort of sweetmeat called *Mogan*, prepared from the same fruit; the flavour of both is very agreeable.

We were now overwhelmed with questions from all sides; to which, from our imperfect knowledge of their language, we could return but few answers. Rarik and Lagediak expressed their astonishment at the size of our ship, inquired what was become of the **Rurik**, and, whether their friends Timaro, Tamiso, &c. (Schischmaref and Chamisso) were still living, how they were, and why they did not accompany us.

After the first ebullition of joy at our meeting, I thought I perceived by the deportment of Rarik, that he had something on his mind; he seemed conscious of some fault, and in vain endeavoured, under friendly looks and words, to conceal a latent uneasiness. I even thought I could trace a similar feeling in his mother and Lagediak. Pained by these appearances, I asked for an explanation. Rarik could no longer control his feelings, but immediately fell, like a repentant child, in tears upon my neck, without however confessing the cause of his agitation. On quitting the island eight [rather 7] years previously, I had appointed Kadu to the guardianship of the plants and animals we left behind, with the strongest injunctions on all the islanders to avoid injuring them, and threats of exacting a severe account on my return for any such offence. I had not yet ventured to inquire after them, fearful that the report might prove unsatisfactory, and cast a cloud over the pleasure of our meeting. It now occurred to me that Rarik must in some way have injured Kadu; perhaps he might even have put him to death. I looked sternly in Rarik's face, while I inquired after him, but he answered me quite innocently that Kadu was well and residing on the Aur group of islands with Chief Lamari. The old mother then took up the conversation, and very diffusively related that Lamari, soon after our departure, had come hither with a fleet, and forcibly carried to Aur all the animals, plants, tools, pieces of iron—in short, whatever we had left on the island.

Lagediak confirmed this tale, and added, that Lamari had demanded of every islander, under pain of death, the last piece of iron in his possession. Kadu, he said, soon after our departure, had married a handsome girl, the daughter or relation of the chief of Ormed, had been raised to the dignity of a Tamon-ellip, or great-commander, by Lamari; and having freely made over the half of his treasures to this personage (a step which I had myself advised) had been permitted to retain peaceable possession of the remainder. It was also by his own desire that Lamari had removed him to Aur, where he continued his superintendence of the plants and animals. Kadu had commissioned Lagediak to relate all these circumstances to me, with a request that I would visit him at Aur; an invitation which with regret I was prevented accepting by the large size of my ship.

I was glad, however, that Kadu had settled in Aur, as I hoped that the animals and plants with which I had enriched these islands would flourish under his care; and I

learned from Rarik that when he was a short time before in Aur, on a visit to his father, they had propagated, and were doing well. Swine and goats already formed part of their festival provisions, and Rarik had himself partaken of such a feast. I rejoiced in this information, and in the promise it afforded, that through my means the time may be approaching when the barbarous custom of sacrificing the third or fourth child of every marriage, from fear of famine, may wholly cease.

The cat was the only animal of those I had left at Otdia which remained there; and it was no longer of the domestic species; it had become very numerous and entirely wild, but as yet had occasioned no sensible diminution in the number of rats. It may be hoped, however, that as the cats have no other food, those voracious peasts of the gardens may at length be exterminated. These cats, under the influence of a strange climate, and in an undomesticated state, may perhaps undergo some change of properties and habits, by which naturalists, always well pleased to enlarge their zoological lists, may be led to consider them as an unknown species of tiger. To obviate this error, I advertise such gentlemen beforehand, that the animal in question is absolutely nothing more than the ordinary European household cat.

Of the plants which we had introduced to the Radack people, the vine alone had failed. Lagediak pointed out to me the spot on which we had planted it. It had withered, but not until, from the extreme fruitfulness of the soil, its tendrils had reached the tops of the highest trees.

I was not surprised that Kadu should have married soon after our departure a native of the island of Ormed. The girls there are particularly handsome, and we had some suspicion of an affair of the heart, from the sudden change in his previous determination to accompany us to Russia, which took place immediately after an excursion he had made with Mr. Chamisso to Ormed. Fortunately for himself, he preferred a quiet domestic life under his own beautiful sky, to tempting the severity of our northern climate, which would probably soon have destroyed him; and fortunately for his countrymen, he remained to cultivate among them the beneficial arts of gardening and breeding of cattle.

The melancholy of Rarik still continuing after all this explanations, I again inquired the cause. He then tremblingly led me by the arm to the coconut tree, against which I had fastened a copper-plate, bearing the name of my ship, and the date of my discovery of the island, and denouncing severe punishment in case of its removal. It had disappeared—how easily might Rarik and Lagediak, and the crowd of people, all equally dejected, who followed us, have excused themselves by an assertion, that Lamari, on his predatory expedition, had carried off this plate; but they were too honourable. Imploring my pardon, they candidly confessed that they had been deficient in their care of it, that it had been stolen, and that they had been unable to discover the thief.

Rejoiced to find that their melancholy arose from no cause more serious than this, I cordially embraced my friends, while they wept for joy in my arms. Their happiness was now complete, and the multitude returned with us, shouting for joy, to Rarik's dwelling, where an *Eb*, or artless opera, was represented, the subject being my crew of the

Rurik and myself: each song celebrated one of us individually, and the praises of the whole were chanted in the concluding chorus. I regretted much that I could not understand them better. The words, *moll* (iron), *aidarah* (friend), *tamon* (commander), *oa ellip* (great boat), and Kadu's name, were frequently repeated. The Radack people preserve their traditions in these poetic representations; and as they assemble every evening to amuse themselves with dancing and singing, the children, while taking part in these innocent pleasures, learn the history of their country in the most agreeable manner, and communicate it in their turn to succeeding generations.

When the dramatic piece was concluded, and I had distributed all the little presents I had brought, I returned to my vessel, my friends promising me a visit the same day.

I now had all the boats lowered to bring ashore our tent and pendulum apparatus. The islanders received the sailors with great alacrity, brought them coconuts, helped them to disembark, and set up the tent, and appeared delighted with our intention of establishing ourselves on land.

Rarik and Lagediak were the first who visited us in the afternoon. They rowed several times in their little canoe round the ship, contemplated it very attentively, and with emotions of wonder, repeatedly exclaiming, *Erico! Erico!*—a word denoting admiration. When I met them upon deck, they forgot to salute me, stood at first riveted to the spot like statues, until an “O, o!” stretched to a minute's length, gave vent at last to their astonishment. I led them round, and showed them all that could interest them, their surprise increasing with every novelty they saw.

Lagediak inquired if the ship and all its appurtenances had been made in Russia; and on my answering in the affirmative, exclaimed: *Tamon Russia, ellip, ellip!* words which my readers will now be prepared to understand.

Lagediak soon commenced an admeasurement of the ship in all directions, with a string he had brought for this purpose: having obtained the dimensions of the ship's body, he next climbed the masts, to measure the yards and sails. My friends also expressed much surprise at the great number of men on board, and tried to count them. At the number ten, they always made a knot on a piece of string, and then began again. In comparison with the complement of the **Rurik** (only 20 persons), my present crew must have appeared extremely numerous.

A crowd of the islanders soon came on board, without the least hesitation or fear. Though very merry, and quite at home, they were all well-behaved and modest. Incessant laughter pealed from below, where these lovers of mirth had mingled with our sailors, in all sorts of tricks and jests; the different parties danced and sang alternatively, each laughing heartily at the performances of the other. They exchanged embraces and presents; of the guests especially not one was empty-handed; they had brought their finest fruit, and little specimens of their handiwork; and each, with unaffected cordiality, lavished the contents of his cornucopia on a chosen friend. The setting sun gave the signal for separation, and it was obeyed amidst mutual promises of meeting again on the morrow.

Lagediak, after finishing his measurements, did not again move from my side. His desire of knowledge was boundless; nor could the explanations I was obliged to give upon the most insignificant articles satisfy his curiosity. On learning that we could stay only a few days at Otdia, he again became very sorrowful, and most earnestly pressed me to spend the remainder of my life here. He left nothing untried to procure my acquiescence in this wish: love, ambition, glory, were successively held out as lures: I should have the most beautiful woman of the islands for my wife; I should kill the tyrant and usurper Lamari, as he had killed his predecessor, and should reign in his stead Tamon of Radack. As I let him talk on without interruption, he supposed I should accede to his plans. In his joy over this offspring of his own imagination, he jumped about the cabin like a child, and, on quitting the ship, earnestly enjoined me to say nothing to Rarik of our project.

Lagediak, on visiting me again the following morning, brought me roasted fish, bread-fruit, and fresh coconuts, for breakfast; he drank coffee with me, and appeared to think it not much amiss. He brought with him his son, about 13 or 14 years of age, to present to me. This interesting boy appeared to inherit the disposition of his amiable father. His intelligent countenance afforded a promise, which the modesty and propriety of his conduct confirmed; he might easily have been educated for our most refined society.

Lagediak soon recurred to his yesterday's project of making me chief of Radack. He sketched the plan of its execution, and entered upon the further measures which would be requisite to give power and stability to the new government. We were first to sail to Aur and vanquish Lamari, and then to attack the hostile group of the Mediuro Islands, the conquest of which would render me master of the whole chain of Radack. Animated by these valiant projects, he flourished his fist as if already in battle, until it encountered a tea-cup, which fell in a thousand fragments to the ground. His natural timidity suddenly banished the heroism into which his subject had wrought him: he feared he had done me an injury, and consequently incurred my displeasure. I re-assured him on this head, but gave him much pain by representing the impossibility of my remaining in Radack, as my duty called me elsewhere. After some minutes of silent consideration, he led his son to me, and begged I would take him with me to Russia. I was then obliged to explain to him that I should never return to Radack, and that if his son accompanied me, he must take leave of him forever. This was too much for the father's heart; he embraced his son, and would no longer think of a separation. He was also overcome with sorrow at the idea of seeing me for the last time; and a little self-interest probably mingled in the melancholy look he cast upon a hatchet which I had given him, as he exclaimed: "I shall never get any iron again!"

I now turned the conversation to Mediuro, and expressed a wish to know how the campaign had prospered, which Lamari, when I was last here, was about to undertake against those islands. He understood me perfectly, and taxed to the utmost his powers of pantomime to give me an account of the war, in which he had himself been engaged.

Lamari's fleet, as I understood my informant, consisted of 40 vessels; and therefore, judging by the size of the boats here, the whole army could not be above 400 strong, including the women, who, from the rear, lend assistance to the combattants by throwing stones at the enemy, and by assuming the surgeon's office. This force was collected from the whole Radack chain; the war was bloody, and lasted six whole days. Five of the enemy were slain, and Lamari gained a splendid victory with the loss of one man! The fleet returned triumphant, laden with coconuts, bread-fruit, and pandanus. Kadu had especially distinguished himself: he was armed with a sabre and lance, and wore a white shirt, and wide trousers, which formidable attire was completed by a red cap on his head. All the hatchets, above 100 in number, which I had given to the Radack people, and which Lamari afterwards appropriated, were fastened on long poles and distributed among the best warriors; this gave the army of Lamari a great advantage, so that I might take credit to myself for the happy issue of the campaign.

Lagediak informed me further that Lamari had also determined on an expedition to the Odia¹ group of islands, belonging to the Ralik chain. The inhabitants of these had heard something of the treasures which the Radack people had acquired by my visit, and their rapacity being excited, had made an attack on the Kawen group of the Radack chain, without the usual declaration of war, and thus taking the inhabitants by surprise, had beaten and plundered them, and returned home laden with booty, though the Kawen people had made a valorous resistance, and killed two of the Odians without losing a man themselves. This appeared to have occurred about a year before my arrival, and the vengeance of Lamari had been hitherto delayed; the levying and provisioning an army being here a work of time. Radack is so thinly populated that all the islands must send their quota of men, which, on account of the extension of the chain, cannot be very speedily performed. For a voyage to the Ralik chain and back, victualling for four weeks at least is necessary, as the return is against the tradewind. The *Mogan*, which is principally used in these expeditions, is very nutritious, and the Radack people are very moderate, so that a small quantity suffices for their support, otherwise they could not provision their canoes for voyages of this length.

I was surprised to find Lagediak perfectly secure of the success of this undertaking, and expressed my fears that his countrymen might possibly be worsted, but he continued sanguine,—for the hatchets with which his brethren were armed, the sword, and dread-inspiring costume of Kadu, were sources of confidence which could not be abated.

During this conversation in the cabin, several islanders came on board, and the noise from below resembled that of the preceding day. Rarik had also arrived, decorated with fresh garlands of flowers, and had brought me some trifling presents. The generally-dreaded Langin, Tamon of Egmedio, presented himself to me this day, for the first time: he appeared glad to see me, but when on deck, the size of the ship, and the number of

1 This group must not be confused with Otdia where we were at this time. Ed. comment: That Odia is now written Ujae.

the crew, impressed him with so much alarm, that his very teeth chattered. This anguish attack continued some time, but was at length cured by our friendly deportment.

Accompanied by Rarik and Lagediak, I rowed ashore, and found Messrs. Preus and Lenz already busy with the pendulum. They were perfectly satisfied with the natives, who had behaved very well, and, except by special permission to come nearer, had kept at the appointed distance from the tent. They usually sat in a circle round the place, where the observations were made, and gazed with wonder at the astronomer who had so much business with the wun, taking him no doubt for a conjuror.

In the hours of recreation, we allowed them to come to the tent, and they always joyfully availed themselves of the permission, performing a thousand little services, which made them appear really necessary to us, yet remaining invariably so modest, gentle, and friendly, that my company declared them to be, without exception, the most amiable people on earth.

Rarik took me to his house, to witness another dramatic representation: the subject was the war on Mediuro. Women sang, or rather screamed, the deeds of the warriors; and the men in their dances endeavoured, by angry gestures and brandishing their lances, to describe the valour of the combattants. I expressed to Rarik my wish to know more of their method of warfare; he and Lagediak in consequence assembled two troops, which they opposed to each other at a short distance, as hostile armies; the first rank, in both, consisting of men, and the second of women. The former were armed with sticks instead of lances, the latter had their baskets filled with pandanus seeds for stones, and their hair, instead of being as usual, tastefully bound up, hung dishevelled and wild about their heads, giving them the appearance of maniacs. Rarik placed himself at the head of one troop, and Lagediak of the other: both gave the signal for attack, by blowing their horns. The adverse forces approached; but instead of the battle began a comic dance, in which the two armies emulated each other in grimaces, furious gesticulations, and a distortion of the eyes, which left only the whites visible, while the women shrieked a war-song, which, if their opponents had been lovers of harmony, would assuredly have put them to flight. The leaders on each side took no share in these violent exertions, but stood still, animating their troops by the tones of the horn. When exhausted by these efforts, the horns were silent, and the armies separated by mutual consent, looking on while some of the most valiant from each side came forward to challenge with threats and abuse a champion of the enemy to single combat. This was represented by dancing and songs, and occasional movements with the hand, as if to throw the lance, which the antagonist sought to avoid by dexterously springing aside. The respective armies and their leaders animated the courage of their warriors by battle-songs, until the horns were blown again; the armies once more slowly approached each other; the champions retired into their ranks, and the battle was renewed with a prodigious noise; spears waved in the air; pandanus seeds flew from the delicate hands of the female warriors, over the heads of their husbands, upon the enemy, but the armies never came near enough to be really engaged. The leaders remained in front loudly blowing their horns, and sometimes giving commands. Finally, by accident or design, one of Lagediak's men

fell; the battle was now over, the victory decided, and the signal given for drawing off the forces. Both armies were so exhausted, that they threw themselves on the grass, and amidst laughing and merriment, gave themselves up to repose.

A large sail-boat now put ashore, and an old man with white hair and beard was lifted from it; his shrivelled skin hung loosely over his emaciated form, and his weakness was so extreme, that he could only approach us by crawling on his hands and feet. Rarik and Lagediak went to meet and welcome him. It was my old acquaintance, Langediu, Tamon of Ormed. When our frigate lay at anchor before his island, he had not ventured, he said, to visit us, not knowing whether we were friends or foes; but when he heard that Totabu had arrived, he determined to make an effort to see me once more before his death. The old man crawled up to me and embraced me, shedding tears of joy; he talked a great deal, and spoke of Kadu being with Lamari in Aur.

On my former visit, the traces of old age were scarcely perceptible in Langediu; but in the intervening eight [rather 7] years they had increased rapidly; still, although his body was so weak that he could only crawl on all-fours, he retained all the faculties of his mind, all his original vivacity and good-humour, and his facetious remarks excited the merriment of the whole assembly. I have in many instances observed that at Radack, old age brings with it no particular disease, and that the mind remains unimpaired until its mortal covering sinks into the grave. A fine climate, moderate labour, and a vegetable diet, probably all contribute to produce this effect.

Langediu having intimated his wish to see the *Oa ellip*, I immediately rowed in my boat to the ship, followed by him in his *Oa warro*, or war canoe. He was much pleased with the vessel, and all that he saw, and not less so with the little presents he received; but a circumstance occurred that caused the honourable old man some chagrin: one of his attendants having concluded a friendship with the cook, took advantage of it to secrete a knife in his canoe; the cook missed the knife, and his suspicions immediately fell on his friend. His person and canoe were searched, and on the discovery of the stolen treasure the criminal confessed his fault. He trembled exceedingly, probably remembering the flogging one of his countrymen received on board the **Rurik** for a similar offence. As my stay was this time to be so short, I considered the flogging superfluous, and magnanimously forgave him, with a reproof, and an admonition never to steal again. Poor old Langediu was much hurt. He crawled about the ship in an agitated manner, exclaiming: *Kabuderih emo aidarah* (stealing not good), severely reprimanded, and threatened the offender,—showed him all the presents received from us, observing how much we must be shocked to be robbed, notwithstanding all our generosity. He then led him to the guns, made him remark their great number, and said: *Manih Emich, manih ni, ma*, (kill the island, kill the coconut trees, the bread-fruit trees).¹ Probably the old man had learned from Kadu the effect the guns would produce. After much chafing and scolding, he ordered the offender back into the canoe, and forbade him to

1 Ed. note: The word for island is “emich,” not “emich,” according to Chamisso’s vocabulary. It is now written “ane.”

come again on board:—not one word was uttered by the thief during the whole time, and he instantly obeyed the order to quit the vessel, but the old master could not be pacified. He frequently repeated: *Kabuderih emo aidarah*, and his visit afforded him no more pleasure. He took an early leave of us, requesting that we would come to him on his island.

The face of the thief appeared familiar to me; and Lagediak, in answer to my inquiries, informed me, laughing, that this was the brother of the man who had been beaten on board the **Rurik**. The propensity to theft appears to be a family failing. No other Radack man during our stay attempted to purloin the smallest trifle.

In the afternoon, a large boat sailed through the Lagediak Straits into the basin. I flattered myself with the arrival of some of my friends from Aur, perhaps Kadu himself; but it was the gay Labugar from Eregub [Erikub], brought hither by curiosity, having seen us sail past his island.

When he heard who the strangers were, he immediately came to the ship. His joy at seeing me again was very great; but he regretted much that his friend Timaro, with whom he had exchanged names, was not of our company. The spirits of Labugar had lost during eight [rather 7] years none of their sprightliness; but his face looked much older, and his hair had become grey.

The fine weather induced me on the 3rd of May to visit Langediu on the island of Ormed; he received me with the greatest joy, and offered me his most costly treasures as presents. The children, grand-children, and great-grand-children of the good old man assembled round his house, and represented a dramatic piece for my amusement, in which Langediu himself played a principal part, and astonished me by the animation of his action and singing. As this was one of the best representations I have seen in Radack, I will describe it, in the hope that my readers will also be interested by it.

The number of the *dramatis personæ* was 26, 13 men and 13 women, who seated themselves in the following order on a spot of smooth turf. Then men sat in a semi-circle also, so that by uniting the points, an entire circle would have been formed, but a space of about six feet was left at both ends, in each of which sat an old woman provided with a drum. This drum, made of the hollow trunk of a tree, is about three-foot long, six inches in diameter at each end, narrowed like an hour-glas, to half that thickness in the middle. Both ends are covered with the skin of the shark; it is held under the arm, and struck with the palm of the hand. In the middle of the circle, old Langediu took his station with a handsome young woman, sitting back to back. The whole party were elegantly adorned about the head, and the females about the body also, with garlands of flowers. Outside the circle stood two men with horns. The hollow tones of these horns are the signal for a chorus performed by the whole company, with violent movements of the arms and gesticulations meant to be in consonance with the words. When this ceased, a duet from the pair in the middle was accompanied by the drums and horns only; Langediu fully equalling his young companion in animation. The chorus then began again, and this alternation was repeated several times, until the young songstress whose motions had been growing more and more vehement, suddenly fell

down as dead. Langediu's song then became lower and more plaintive: he bent over the body, and seemed to express the deepest sorrow; the whole circle joined in his lamentations, and the play concluded.

Deficient as was my knowledge of the language, I was still able clearly to understand the subject of this tragedy, which represented a marriage ceremony. The young girl was forced to accept of a husband whom she did not love, and preferred death to such a union. Perhaps the reason of old Langediu's playing the part of the lover might be, to give more probability to the young bride's objections and resolutions.

The young females assembled here, among whom the deceased bride of Langediu soon re-appeared, fresh and lively as ever, reminded me of Kadu's assertion, that the women of Ormed were the handsomest in Radack. Some of them were really very attractive, and their flowery adornments extremely becoming. These people have more taste than any other of the South Sea islanders; and the manner in which the women dress their hair, and decorate it with flowers, would have a beautiful effect even in an European ball-room. When the actors had recovered from the fatigue of their performance, dinner, which some of the females had been long preparing in the hut, was served to us. Only a few of the persons assembled enjoyed the honour of partaking our meal. Some of these were females. The ground of Lagediu's hut was covered with matting, on which we sat, and the provisions were placed on clean coconut leaves in the middle. Everyone had a coconut leaf for a plate. Upon the dishes were laid wooden spoons, with which the guests helped themselves—an improvement since my former visit to Radack, when their mode was to help themselves from the dish with their hands. Langediu remarked, that the order of his table pleased me, and said *Mamuan Russia mogai* (the Russians eat thus). I rejoiced in the increased civilization denoted by this more becoming mode of eating; probably introduced by Kadu, who had seen it during his stay among us, I enjoyed a still greater pleasure, when after the first course of baked bread-fruits, came one of yams, which I had brought here from the Sandwich Islands. At Otdia, I had been told that Lamari had carried away to Aur all the plants I had left behind. I was therefore much surprised at the sight of the yams. They perfectly supply the place of our potatoes, are wholesome and pleasant, and, if cultivated with moderate industry, are a certain resource against famine. Lagediu told me, that Kadu had planted the yams on Ormed, and after dinner showed me a pretty large field very well stocked with them.

The delightful feelings with which I surveyed the new plantation may be imagined, when it is recollected, that these poor islanders, from want of means of subsistence, are compelled, assuredly with heavy hearts, to murder their own offspring, and that this yam alone is sufficient to remove so horrible a necessity. I might joyfully affirm, that through my instrumentality the distressed mother need no longer look forward to the birth of her third or fourth child with the dreadful consciousness that she endured all her pain only to deliver a sacrifice to the hand of the murderer. When she should clasp her child to her breast, and see her husband look on it with a father's tenderness, they

might both remember "Totabu," and the beneficent plants which he had given them. I beg pardon for this digression, and return to our dinner.

After the yams, a number of dishes were produced, prepared from the powdered coconut-wood, which is made with water into a thick paste, and then baked in small cakes; it has no taste at all, and cannot be very nutritious. A dessert of *Mogan* and Pandanus juice concluded the repast. The drink was coconut-milk, sucked from a small hole made in the nut. The conversation, in which the females, who are treated extremely well, took part, was very lively, but perfectly decorous. I wished to understand more of it: from single words, I inferred that they were speaking of the ship and of the dramatic entertainment, and should have been glad to have contributed my share to the general amusement. After I had delighted the host and the amiable company by presents of hatchets, knives, scissors, and necklaces, which latter were by no means in as great estimation here as on the Navigators' Islands [i.e. Samoa], I took my leave, and returned early in the evening to the ship.

Time passed very quickly at Otdia, as it usually does when pleasantly spent; and, to the great sorrow of our friends, the day of our departure drew near. On Sunday the sailors were allowed to amuse themselves on shore; and as there were some municians among them, they carried their instruments with them, to take leave of the islanders with a brilliant musical festival. The jubilee that ensued exceeds all description. The whole population of Otdia and the neighbouring islands assembled round our tent, and the music acted upon them like Huon's horn on Oberon. They danced and leaped about, sometimes hurrying the sailors into similar antics, and forming altogether a scene which would have provoked the most solemn philosopher to laughter. I was much pleased with observing the cordial good-will that subsisted between the natives and my crew, and with the reflection that this second visit would also leave on the minds of the Radack people an impression favourable to white men.

The females looked on at a distance during these gambols. Decorum did not allow them to mingle in them, and also restrained them from ever visiting the ship.

Among the groups I observed a crowd of children assembled round an elderly sailor, who was amusing and caressing them. He had been on duty outside the tent ever since our arrival at the islands, and as the Russians are particularly fond of children, these little creatures had grown quite sociable with him. A pretty lively little girl appeared his special favourite. She was allowed to play him all kinds of tricks, without being reproved; and even when she pulled him by the hair, he pulled again, and seemed as much entertained as she was.

When the islanders learned the day fixed for our departure, they visited us on board in greater numbers than ever, always bringing presents with them. They spoke of parting with great sorrow, and earnestly pressed us to return soon. With respect to the presents we had recently made them, they expressed their fears that Lamari would again plunder them, when he should learn that we had been there. I therefore commissioned Lagediak, in the presence of a great number of islanders, to inform Lamari, from me, that if he should ever presume to plunder the possessor of the smallest article presented

by us, whenever white men should again visit Radack, they would, without fail, take exemplary and severe vengeance upon him. He understood me, and promised to execute my commission.

Lagediak now seldom left me; and his grief at our approaching separation was really affecting.

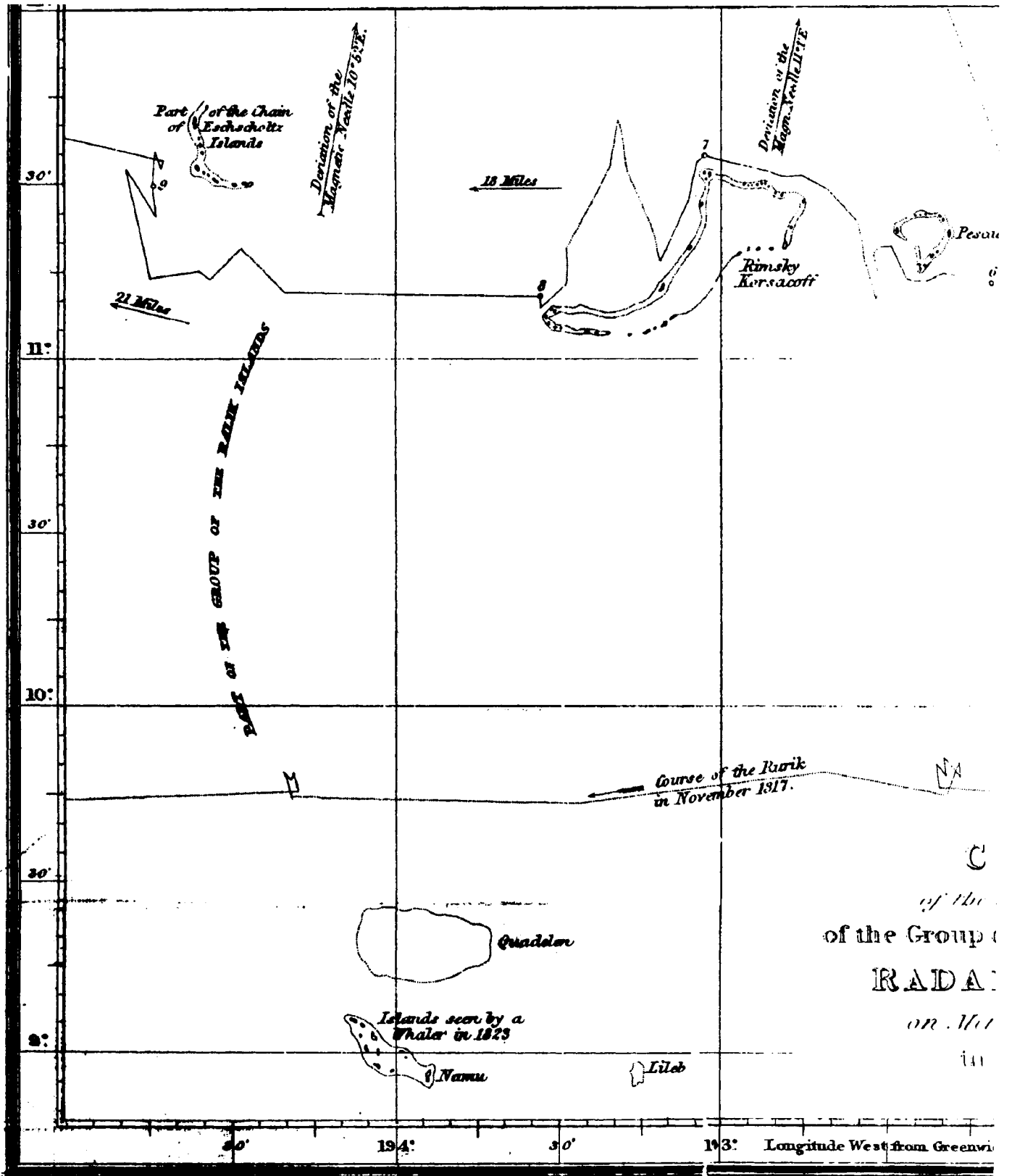
On the morning of the appointed day, the 6th of May, when we had begun to weigh anchor, he came in great haste in a large canoe, and brought a number of young coconut plants. On my inquiring for what purpose he intended them, he answered, that he wished me to plant them in Russia, in remembrance of him. I then recollected his having once asked me if coconut trees grew in Russia, and that I had of course replied in the negative. He had then turned the conversation on some other subject, and I thought no more of it. He had, however, resolved on enriching my country with this fine fruit, and had reserved for the day of our parting this last proof of his regard. I explained to him that it was far too cold in Russia for the coconut trees to flourish, and that for that reason I was unwilling to rob him of his plants. He mourned much over the failure of his kind intentions, packed up his plants again, and when he saw our sails spread and our departure inevitable, took leave of us like a child that is forcibly separated from beloved parents. To the rest of our friends we had bidden farewell the evening before.

We sailed through the Schischmaref Straits, and then between the Otdia and Aur groups, whence we steered directly to the group Ligiep, in order to lay down correctly its eastern coasts, for which, in my former voyage, circumstances had been unfavourable. On the following day we reached the southern edge of this group, and sailed near enough to see from thence clear over to the northern. We then proceeded westward, keeping always near enough to other islands to distinguish objects upon them with the naked eye. I now plainly perceived that the course I had taken in the **Rurik** had prevented my seeing the whole of this group; and the result is, that it appears on the accompanying map, according to our present correct survey, half as large again as I had before represented it.

The inhabitants of Ligiep, on seeing the ship, directly out to sea from between the reefs, in a crowd of sailing canoes, to follow us, but were too timid to come within cannon range. We lay to, when they also took in their sails, but contented themselves with contemplating us from a sage distance; and as the favourable weather would not permit us to waste more time, we continued our voyage without making farther attempts to entice them to the ship.

On the north-west of the group Ligiep we found several larger islands, which, being covered with fine coconut trees, induced the supposition that they may be more thickly populated.

We also found, as is shown upon the map, two broad entrances to the inland sea round which this group is scattered, which, after a very accurate examination, appeared perfectly safe and convenient for the passage of the largest ship of the line, since, ac-



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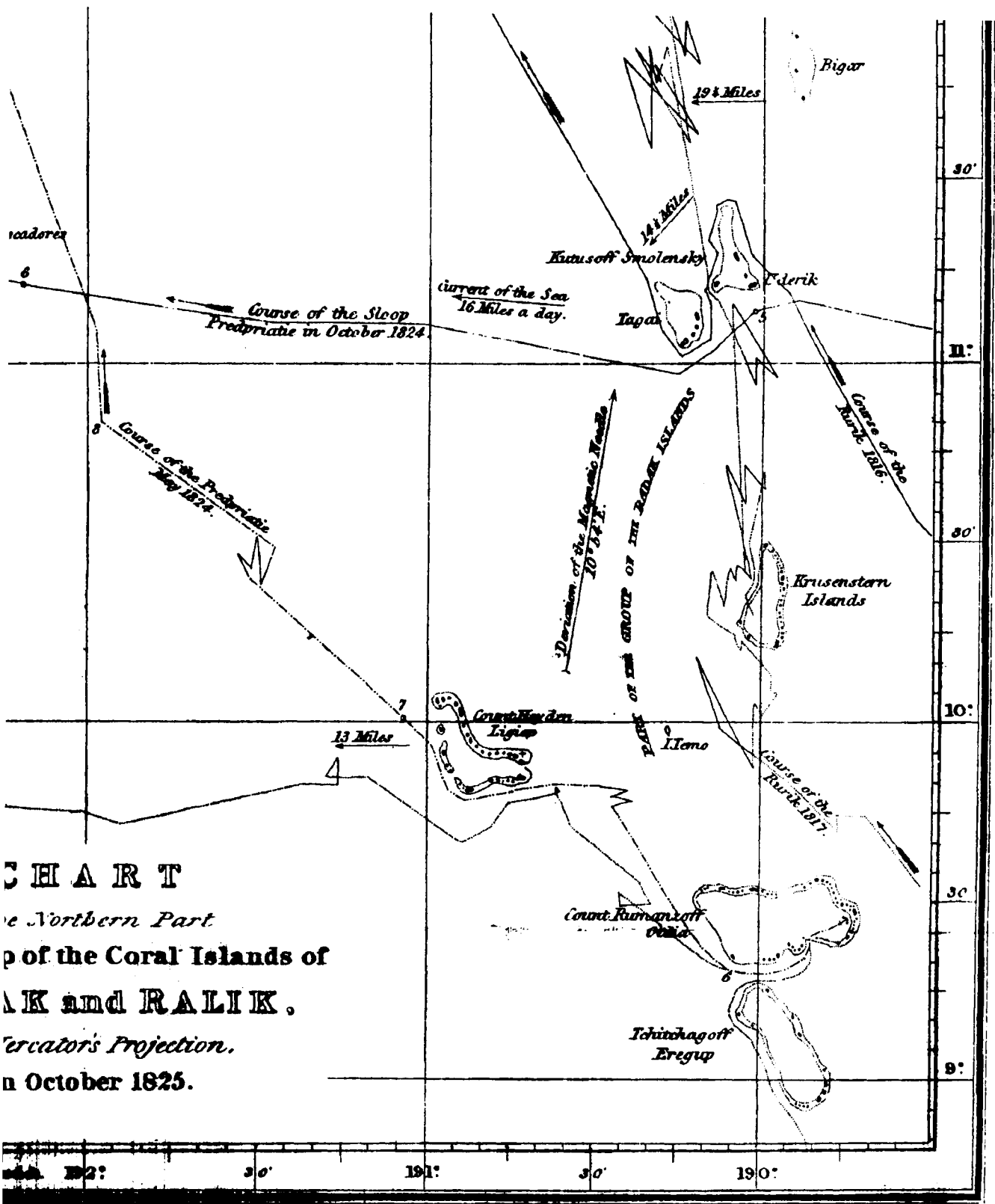


CHART
of the Northern Part
of the Coral Islands of
the MARSHALL and RALIK.
Mercator's Projection.
in October 1825.

Eng. by Sid. Hall, Bury St. Edmunds.

ording to their direction, it is possible, by help of the tradewind, to sail in and out without tacking. There seems no doubt that the interior of this group offers the best anchorage; and should any navigator wish to put into Radack, I recommend this harbour to him as the most commodious.

At noon the north-west point of the Ligiep group lay about a mile off us due east, and we found by a close observation the latitude to be 10°3'40" North, and the longitude 190°58'3" [W of Greenwich].

Directly after this observation, I had all sail set, and steered with a fresh wind to the north-west, in the hope of falling in with the group Ralik.

As darkness came on, we again took in most of the sails, and endeavoured to keep the vessel during the night as much as possible on the same spot. With break of day we continued our voyage; but the weather, hitherto so fine, now became very gloomy. The heavy rain permitted us only to see to a short distance; and as no hope of improvement appeared, I gave up the idea of visiting Ralik, and bent my course direct for Kamtschatka.

We often thought and conversed upon the interesting inhabitants of Radack, of whom we had forever taken leave. Since this chain lies far out of the course usually pursued by navigators in the South Sea, it will not soon be visited again, and may in course of time be entirely forgotten. Whether this will be for their benefit or their misfortune, he who rules the destinies of man can alone foresee.

It is certain that the Radack chain has been peopled much later than most of the South Sea islands; but whence, and at what period, is quite unknown. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it would be, that the inhabitants owe their origin to the Carolines. They have no tradition on the subject. Their language is quite different from all the Polynesian dialects, and appears of more recent formation. Whence have these people derived characters so much superior to those of other South Sea islanders, many of whom, enjoying as fine a climate, and a more bountiful soil, resemble beasts of prey? I attribute this in some measure to the superior purity of manners among the females. Experience teaches us, that wherever that sex is held in its due estimation, morals are proportionably refined.

To be thus esteemed, woman must resist the attacks of licentiousness. When she associates virtue with her other attractions, she will soon obtain an influence over the most savage of the other sex; and thus have the females of Radack contributed to form the amiable character of their countrymen.

Other fortunate circumstance may have combined with this, to which the ante-christian Tahitians were certainly indebted. It is justice, however, to assert here, that, upon perfect conviction, I give a decided preference to the Radack people over the inhabitants of Tahiti.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

[Vol. 2]
The Pescadores, the Rimsky-Korsakoff, The Eschscholtz, and
the Bronus [sic] Isles.¹

On leaving the Sandwich Isles, we steered southward, it being my intention to sail, by a track not hitherto pursued by navigators who have left us records of their voyages, to the Radack chain of islands. At Hanaruro, several captains had mentioned to me an island situated in 17°32' latitude, and 163°52' longitude. On the 23rd of September we crossed this point and saw indeed birds of a description that rarely fly to any great distance from land; but the reported island itself we were unable to descry even from the mast-head, although the atmosphere was perfectly clear:—so little is the intelligence of masters of trading-vessels to be relied on.

On the 26th, we were, by observation, in 14°32' latitude, and 169°38' longitude. During the whole of the day, large flights of such sea-birds were seen as indicate the neighbourhood of land, and even some land-birds; so that no doubt remained of our having sailed at no great distance from an island hitherto unknown, the discovery of which is reserved for some future voyager. During the whole of this course, we had frequent signs of the vicinity of land, but never to the same extent as on this day.

A captain, who had frequently made the voyage from the Sandwich Isles to Canton, asserts his having discovered a shoal in 14°42' latitude, and 170°30' longitude. I can neither confirm nor confute this assertion; and my only motive for repeating it here is, that vessels passing near that point may be put upon their guard.

On the 5th of October we reached the Udirik group, the most northern of the islands belonging to the Radack chain. We sailed past its southern point, at a distance of only three miles, for the purpose of rectifying our longitude, that, in case of discovering the Ralik chain, we might be enabled to ascertain the exact difference between that and Radack. We therefore continued our course due west, in the direction of the Pescadore Islands, to obtain ocular demonstration that these and the Udirik group are not one and the same; an opinion which is still entertained by some persons, on the ground that the discoverers of the former have mistaken their longitude.

We continued our course due west throughout the day, with very fine weather, and having a man constantly upon the look-out from the mast-head. During the night we had the benefit of the full moon; we then carried but little sail; but at break of day we again set all our top-sails.

At noon, the watch called from the tops that land was right ahead of us. It soon came in sight, and proved to be a group of low, thickly-wooded coral islands, forming, as usual, a circle round a basin. At one o'clock in the afternoon we reached within three miles of them, and had, from the mast-head, a clear view of their whole extent. While

1 Ed. note: Pescadores is Rongerik, Rimsky-Korsakoff is Rongelap, Eschscholtz is Bikini, and Bronus Isles is Brown's Range, i.e. Eniwetok atoll.

occupied in surveying them, we doubled their most southern point, at a distance of only half a mile from the reefs, and perceived that their greatest length is from east to west, in which direction they take in a space of ten miles. The aspect of these green islands is pleasing to the eye, and, according to appearance, they would amply supply the necessities of a population not superabundant; but though we sailed very near them, and used our telescopes, we could discover no trace of human habitation.

According to accurate astronomical observations, the middle of this group lies under $11^{\circ}19'21''$ latitude, and $192^{\circ}25'3''$ longitude. In comparing the situation of the Pescadores, as given by Captain Wallis, their discoverer, with this observation, it is scarcely possible to believe in the identity of the groups. I have, however, left them the name of Pescadores, because the two observations nearly correspond. After having sailed round the whole group, we came, at four o'clock in the afternoon, so close to their north-western point, that every movement on land might have been distinctly seen with the naked eye; yet even here there was nothing to indicate the presence of man, though Wallis communicated with the inhabitants, if, indeed, these islands be really the Pescadores. If so, these people must have become extinct long ago, as no monument of their former existence is now visible. When we had completed our survey, we again proceeded westward, and, within half an hour, the watch again announced land in sight. The evening was now so far advanced, that we determined to lay-to, in order to avoid the danger of too near an approach to the coral reefs during the night, and deferred our survey till the following morning. At break of day we saw the islands which we have called the Pescadores, lying six miles to the eastward; whilst those which had risen on our horizon the preceding evening had wholly disappeared. We had diverged from them in the night; but, with a brisk tradewind, we regained the sight of them in an hour. At eight o'clock in the morning we came within three miles of the nearest island, and running parallel with the land, began our examination. It was another group of coral islands connected by reefs round a basin. Here also vegetation was luxuriant, and the cocoa-trees rose to a towering height, but not a trace of man could be discerned; and we therefore concluded they were uninhabited, as we were near enough to distinguish any object with the naked eye. Favoured by a fresh breeze, we sailed westward along the islands, till nightfall, without reaching the end of this long group. During the night we had much difficulty in keeping our position, owing to a tolerably smart gale, which, in these unknown waters, would have been attended by no inconsiderable danger, but that the land lay to windward of us; and were therefore well pleased in the morning to find that the different landmarks by which we had been guided overnight, were still visible, so that we were enabled to pursue our observations without interruption.

The greatest length of this group, which I named, after our second Lieutenant, Rimski-Korsakoff, is from east-north-east to west-south-west, in which direction it is, fifty-four miles long. Its greatest breadth is ten miles. As we were sailing along the islands to windward of us, we could plainly distinguish from the mast-head those which lay at the other side of the basin.

After having terminated our observations, we pursued a southerly course, in hopes of discovering more land, and sailed at a great rate during the whole of the day, without seeing any thing.

[Discovery of Bikini]

At night we lay-to; but the following morning, the 9th of October, we had scarcely spread our sails, before the man at the mast-head discovered some low islands to the north, which we had already passed, and which now lay to windward of us. I immediately changed our course, and endeavoured to approach them by dint of tacking, but a strong easterly current, which increased as we drew nearer to the land, almost baffled our efforts. We succeeded with much difficulty in getting within eleven miles and a half of the western extremity of the group, distinguished by a small round hill, which at noon lay due east, our latitude by observation being $11^{\circ}30'32''$, and our longitude $194^{\circ}34'$. From this point we could see the group, stretching to the verge of the horizon, in a south-easterly and north-easterly direction. We again attempted to approach them nearer; but not succeeding, we were obliged to continue our course to the westward, contenting ourselves with determining the position of the western extremity, $11^{\circ}40'11''$ latitude, and $194^{\circ}37'35''$ longitude, from which point they must stretch considerably to the east. These, like other coral islands, probably lie round a basin: of population we could see no trace, though there was every appearance of their being habitable. I named them, after our worthy Doctor and Professor, Eschscholtz, who was now making the second voyage with me.

It is unnecessary to add any thing here respecting the situations of these three groups of isles, which have been laid down, with the greatest possible accuracy, in the chart accompanying this volume; one thing only I beg to observe, that they bear not the slightest resemblance to the Pescadores described by Wallis. He did not possess the facilities for ascertaining the longitude, which have been invented since his time. His Pescadores may be situated elsewhere; but even if one of these groups should be the Pescadores, we may justly claim the discovery of the other two. This discovery is of some value, inasmuch as these groups are no doubt the northern extremity of the Ralik chain; and their position and distance from Radak being now ascertained, there will hereafter be little difficulty in discovering the remaining groups of the chain.

[Re-discovery of Eniwetok]

From the Eschscholtz Isles we steered for the Bronus [sic] Isles, it being my wish to try the accuracy of their geographical position, and to ascertain whether the interval between the two groups was wholly free of islands.

On the 11th of October, at noon, being in latitude $11^{\circ}21'39''$, and longitude $196^{\circ}35'$, the Bronus Isles were descried from the mast-head, at a distance of twenty miles. We approached within a mile and a half of the southern extremity of the group, from which point we were able to survey the whole, which we found, like other coral groups, to consist of a circle of islands connected by a reef. The Bronus Isles, however, appeared of

more ancient formation than any we had yet seen; the land was somewhat more elevated, and the trees were larger and stronger. Here also we saw no appearance of inhabitants.

A calm which suddenly set in exposed us to the danger of being driven by a powerful current upon the reef; but when we were already very near the breakers, the direction of the current varied, running southward parallel with the coast. By this means we were enabled to double the southern extremity of the group, and a gentle breeze soon after springing up, conveyed us to a safe distance from the land. According to our observation, this southern extremity lies in latitude $11^{\circ}20'50''$, and longitude $197^{\circ}28'30''$. It was my intention to have noted the position of the whole group, for which purpose I endeavoured during the night to keep the ship in its vicinity; but at daybreak the current had carried us so far to leeward, that land could scarcely be perceived from the mast-head. As it was utterly impossible to make any way against the united force of the current and tradewind, I was obliged to abandon my design, upon which we steered for the Ladrões, or Mariana Isles, where I intended to take in fresh provisions.

It is a striking phenomenon, and one not easily accounted for, that in 11° north latitude, from the Radak chain to the Bronus Isles, there should be a current of a mile and a half per hour.

The Ladrões [sic] Islands.

Having, in my former voyage, given a detailed account of these islands, I need not here add much concerning them. A fresh breeze, and fine weather, made our voyage agreeable and rapid. On the morning of the 25th [rather 18th?] of October [1824], we saw the island Sarpana [i.e. Rota], which belongs to the Ladrões,¹ lying before us at the distance of 25 miles, and soon after distinguished the principal island, Guaham, whither we were bound. The longitude of the eastern point of Sarpana was found to be $214^{\circ}38'$ [W. of Greenwich].

The aspect of the eastern point of Guaham, which is exposed to a constant tradewind, does not suggest an idea of the fertility of the island; but the traveller is agreeably surprised at the sight of its western coast, where Nature has been most prodigal; and cannot but remember with sorrow the extermination of the natives by the Spaniards on their taking possession of the islands and forcibly introducing the Catholic religion.²

It is remarkable that the soil of Guaham, under the first stratum of earth, consists of coral blocks not yet quite dissolved; from which it may be conjectured, that a former group of low coral islands, as well as the basin which they enclosed, were forced upwards by the power of subterranean fire; and in the manner the island of Guaham

1 Ed. note: It is strange for Kotzebue to refer to the Marianas by their old names. I think that he was copying Krusenstern too closely (see below).

2 Ed. note: This wrong viewpoint seems lifted directly out of Captain Burney's diatribes.

has been formed. This hypothesis is confirmed by Mr. Hoffman's discovery of a crater on the island, with a fire still burning in its abyss.¹

The fortress, standing on what is called the Devil's Point, intended for the defence of the town of Agadna, was so peacefully disposed, that not one of its cannon was fit for use. I saw, to my great astonishment, in the harbour Caldera de Apra, ships bearing the English and North American flags. The Spaniards do not usually permit the entrance of foreign vessels; but I was informed by the captains of these, that the whalers who pursue their occupations on the coast of Japan, now frequently choose Guaham for refitting and victualling their ships. I also heard, with much pleasure, that they exclusively use our Admiral Krusenstern's chart of the Japanese coast; and they assured me, that objects even of minor importance are laid down in it with the greatest accuracy. How much cause have seamen for thankfulness to one who has provided them with such a chart! their lives frequently depend on the correctness of these guides; and an erroneous one may be worse than none at all.

As I only intended stopping here a few days, and the harbour is by no means safe, I determined not to enter it, but sent an officer to the Governor, with a list of fresh provisions which I requested his assistance in procuring. On the following morning, I rowed with some of my officers ashore, and we were received by the Governor, Don Ganga Herrero, who had already taken measures for supplying our wants, with great civility, though not without some degree of Spanish stateliness.

His government here confirms an observation repeatedly made, that a few years of a bad administration are sufficient to undo all that a good one may have effected by a long series of exertions. Eight years ago, when Medinilla was governor, the most perfect content, and prosperity to a certain extent, existed in Guaham; and now, by the fault of one man, everything bears a totally different aspect. So much depends on the choice of the person to whom power is delegated, at such a distance from the seat of sovereignty as that the complaints of the oppressed can seldom reach it. Herrero is even accused of the murder of some English and American sailors; and, on this occasion, Spanish justice has not been in vain appealed to by their comrades; for, as I afterwards learned, the order for Herrero's arrest was already made out at the moment when, in perfect self-confidence and enjoyment, he was entertaining me with lively songs, accompanied by himself on the guitar; and Medinilla has been again appointed to the command, that he may endeavour to repair the evils Herrero had occasioned.

Of my earlier acquaintances, I now met only the estimable Don Luis de Torres, the friend of the Carolinians, who communicated to Mr. Chamisso many interesting particulars respecting these amiable islanders. After our departure in the **Rurik**, he had again made a voyage to the Carolines, and had persuaded several families to come and settle at Guaham. The yearly visits of their little flotillas was in the harbour. Being clever seamen, they are much employed by the Spaniards, who are very ignorant in this respect, in their voyages to the other Mariana Islands, with which, unassisted by their Ca-

1 Ed. note: Hoffman was the mineralogist of the expedition.

rolinian friends, these would hold but little communication. We had an opportunity of seeing two of their canoes come in from Sarpana [sic], when the sea ran high, and the wind was very strong, and greatly admired the skill with which they were managed.

This revolt of the Spanish colonies has not extended itself to these islands. The inhabitants of Guaham have maintained their loyalty, notwithstanding the tyranny of their governor, and unseduced by an example recently given them. A Spanish ship of the line and a frigate, with fugitive loyalists from Peru, lately touched here; they were bound for Manila; but the crews of both ships mutinied, put the officers and passengers ashore, and returned to Peru to make common cause with the insurgents.

After remaining four days before Agadna, we took in our provisions, for which ten times the price was demanded that we had paid here eight years ago, and left Guaham on the 22nd of October, directing our course for the Bashi Islands, as I intended to pass through their straits into the China Sea, and then sail direct to Manila.

...

Document 1827C1

Mertens' Paper on the Caroline Islands—Original version in French

Source: M. Mertens, "Mémoire sur l'archipel des Carolines, particulièrement sur les îles basses", [St.-Petersbourg, 1830]. UH# Pac DU563.M47.

Note: Dr. Mertens was senior member of the Lütke expedition. See 1827C2 for translation.

The narrative of William Floyd, as reported by Dr. Mertens

Parmi les îles qui, de tems en tems, interrompent l'uniformité de l'immense nappe d'eau que nous offre l'Océan Pacifique, et qu'on pourrait peut-être comparer aux tentes des peuples nomades qui varient la monotonie des steppes du grand plateau de l'Asie, il y en a un grand nombre situées vers le midi de la zone torride septentrionale, qui, s'étendant parallèlement avec l'équateur sur un espace de 30° de longitude, sont connues sous le nom général des Carolines. On est convenu de comprendre sous cette dénomination toutes les îles placées au sud de l'Archipel des Mariannes, jusqu'à 2 ou 3° de lat. N., depuis les îles Palaos, jusqu'à l'île d'Ualan, ou entre les longitudes de 134° et 164° à l'est du méridien de Greenwich. Cependant, quoique les géographes de l'Europe aient imposé cette dénomination à toutes ces îles, qui d'abord n'avait été donnée qu'à une seule, à présent totalement ignorée, on ne peut s'empêcher de la trouver arbitraire, à cause de la variété des divers peuples qui se trouvent rangés dans cet espace; car, quoique ceux-ci fassent partie du domaine de ce qu'on appelle jusqu'à ce jour race malaise, ils constituent néanmoins des branches très distinctes, tant par la différence des traits de leur physionomie, que par leurs moeurs, la forme de leur gouvernement et leurs langues.

Ces îles n'ont en réalité de commun que le corail dont elles sont en partie ou totalement formées. Quoique les Espagnols traversassent depuis plus de cent ans, deux fois annuellement, l'Océan Pacifique dans toute sa largeur, en allant d'Acapulco aux Mariannes et aux Philippines, ils ne soupçonnèrent nullement l'existence de ces îles, parce qu'ils naviguaient toujours dans la même direction, à quelques degrés plus au nord de cet archipel; ce ne fut que vers la fin du 17ième siècle et au commencement du 18ième, que les premières notions sur cette partie intéressante de l'Océanie nous furent communiquées par des missionnaires jésuites qui les avaient recueillies de quelques insu-

lares de ces parages, et que des tempêtes avaient jetés, à différentes époques, sur les côtes des Philippines et des Mariannes. Ils racontèrent qu'entre le 6° et le 10° de lat. N., et environ à 30° à l'est du cap du St.-Esprit, il existait un grand nombre d'îles, divisées en cinq provinces dont chacune était gouvernée par un roi particulier, et parlait une langue différente; que ces îles étaient habitées par un peuple bon, civilisé, navigateur et ayant des notions religieuses. Dans le principe on n'avait entrepris que quelques voyages pour la conversion de ces insulaires, ensuite on fonda dans une de ces îles un établissement pour les missionnaires, qui devaient travailler à la conquête de leurs âmes. Mais depuis que le Père Cantova, le plus zélé et le plus véridique des missionnaires y eut souffert le martyre, ces infidèles furent oubliés, et durant près d'un siècle, les cartes de ces missionnaires, et particulièrement celles du Père Cantova, furent les seuls guides des compilateurs pour cette partie de la mer du Sud. Voulant faire entrer dans un espace assez resserré quantité d'îles dont ils n'avaient que des notions confuses, il se forma sur les cartes un tel labyrinthe, que la plupart des navigateurs redoutaient de l'approcher; ceux des plus entreprenans s'étonnaient en le traversant, de ne pas même trouver un vestige de terre là où ils s'attendaient à rencontrer des archipels entiers; d'autres, favorisés par le hasard, découvrirent quelques îles, mais ces derniers ne s'inquiétant guère des recherches nécessaires pour constater l'identité de leurs découvertes avec ce qui existait déjà sur les cartes, furent très contents de pouvoir s'immortaliser en leur donnant leurs propres noms. Ils ajoutèrent donc à leur carte de nouveaux groupes, sans anéantir les anciens, et augmentèrent ainsi la confusion qui régnait déjà. Les noms indiens se confondirent avec les noms européens, parfois plus baroques que les premiers, et de cette manière il se forma un chaos, que les hydrographes les plus savans désespérèrent de réussir à débrouiller. Ils tranchèrent enfin la difficulté en déclarant que la plus grande partie des îles nommées par Cantova et d'autres, n'avaient jamais existé. Il n'en était pourtant pas ainsi; déjà les notices du Dr. Chamisso donnaient lieu à une supposition contraire, mais malgré tout l'intérêt qu'offraient ses écrits sous le rapport ethnographique, ils ne pouvaient être que d'une utilité secondaire pour les géographes. Les expéditions de Freycinet, de Duperrey et la nôtre dissipèrent enfin complètement les ténèbres qui enveloppaient ces régions; on reconnut, à peu d'exceptions près, non seulement toutes les îles mentionnées par Cantova, mais bien d'autres encore, ce qui prouva toute sa véracité. Si les récits du Révérend Père ont pu produire la confusion dont nous venons de parler, la cause provient uniquement de ce qu'en questionnant les habitans sur les endroits qui leur sont connus, il est beaucoup plus facile d'en tirer des éclaircissemens positifs sur le nombre des îles et leur position respective, que sur l'étendue des lieux ou leur distance. Ajoutons encore qu'une des causes de cette confusion provient de ce que la moindre petite île de l'archipel dont nous traitons, a son nom qui lui est propre, et jouit d'une certaine célébrité. De là arriva que les îles qu'on apercevait à peine sur la surface de la mer, reçurent sur les cartes une étendue considérable, et que les groupes ayant quatre à cinq lieues de circonférence, y occupèrent un espace de plusieurs degrés.

*Le groupe d'Ouléai, patrie de Kadou, l'intéressant compagnon de voyage du Capitaine Kotzebue, nous présente un exemple remarquable dans ce genre. Les anciennes cartes représentaient ce groupe s'étendant de plusieurs degrés en longitude; le Capitaine Freycinet qui en avait reçu des notices de Don Louis de Torres, crut devoir le resserrer jusqu'à 23 lieues, et fut persuadé de lui avoir assigné à peu près les vraies limites; cependant il était encore lui-même dans la plus grande des erreurs, puisqu'une reconnaissance détaillée, faite par le **Séniavine**, n'a donné que deux lieues pour la plus grande étendue de ce groupe; il en était de même de presque tous les autres de cet archipel. Sans compter les îles d'Eap [Yap] et de Pally [Palau], l'archipel des Carolines consiste en 46 groupes qui renferment 400 îles. Notre corvette a reconnu 26 groupes dont 10 ou 12 sont une découverte nouvelle. Nous trouvâmes que la plus grande partie était disposée en groupes à fleur d'eau, rangés assez souvent en forme de fer à cheval, dont l'intérieur renferme une lagune. Il y a en outre quelques petites îles détachées, et d'autres qui possèdent dans leur sein des terres volcaniques, qui en font des îles élevées. Ces dernières îles hautes sont:*

1) l'île d'Ualan [Kosrae] ou nous avons passé trois semaines de la manière la plus agréable, avec le peuple le plus doux qu'on puisse s'imaginer;

2) l'île Pounipète [Pohnpei] appartenant au groupe du Séniavine, la plus intéressante des découvertes de l'expédition dont j'avais l'honneur de faire partie. Quoique surpassant en hauteur toutes les autres îles qui composent l'archipel des Carolines (elle s'élève à près de 3000 pieds anglais au-dessus de la mer), elle fut aperçue la dernière par un de ces hasards étrangers, qui ne sont rien moins qu'extraordinaires dans l'histoire des découvertes maritimes. Cantova parle d'une île Falupet, dont les habitans adorent le requin; il n'y a pas de doute que ce ne soit notre Pounipète.

La 3ème île haute, que nous ne fîmes qu'entrevoir, est Roug [Chuuk], aperçue en 1807 par le Capitaine Doublon, et découverte de nouveau par le Capitaine Duperrey. Ce navigateur l'appelle Hogoleu, dans la supposition qu'on ne peut en effet révoquer en doute que ce ne soit la même dont parle Cantova sous le nom d'Hogolloe¹ ou de Tarres [rather Torres]. Le Capitaine Lütke, s'appuyant sur des recherches qui passeraient les bornes de ce discours, croit pouvoir affirmer que c'est encore la même que l'île Quirosa, découverte dans le second voyage de Mendana. A en juger par l'extérieur et par ce que j'ai appris de la première par William Floyd, elles seront comme Ualan de structure basaltique; ce produit volcanique s'y montre à découvert dans le centre, tandis que sur les côtes la vue en est dérobée par des masses madréporiques calcaires et des coraux de date récente...

*...
Il règne parmi les habitans de ces deux différentes espèces d'îles qui composent l'archipel des Carolines, une assez grande différence par rapport aux moeurs et aux coutumes. Tandis que ceux des îles élevées uniquement à l'exception d'Ualan, sont engagés*

1 W. Floyd, dont nous aurons occasion de parler plus loin et qui avait lui-même visité cette île, ne l'appelait qu'Olla.

dans des guerres éternelles avec leurs voisins, nous voyons ceux des îles basses jouir de la paix la plus parfaite; ils ne s'occupent que de la culture du sol, du commerce, ainsi que de travaux industriels. On dirait qu'ils ont un dégoût naturel pour la guerre, qui ne leur est cependant nullement inconnue; ils tirent même parti des dissensions de leurs voisins, en leur fournissant les armes dont ils manquent. Les plus belles lances et les meilleures massues sont fabriquées dans les îles basses; elles sont faites de la partie la plus dure du tronc des cocotiers; et comme le travail en est très soigné, elles sont bien recherchées et coûtent fort cher. Les habitans sont beaux, bien proportionnés, plutôt maigres que gras, de taille moyenne mais plutôt grands que petits, ce qu'on ne suppose-rait pas d'après les récits de plusieurs voyageurs modernes.

[Mesures du corps d'un indigène typique des Carolines, probablement un indigène de Kosrae]

Pour donner une idée plus distincte de la taille de ces insulaires, je joins ici les dimensions du corps prises sur un individu qui surpassait de fort peu la taille moyenne.

<i>Hauteur de sa taille:</i>	<i>5' 10"</i>	
<i>Circonférence de la tête:</i>	<i>1'11"</i>	
<i>Longueur de la tête depuis le sommet jusqu'au menton:</i>	<i>0'11"</i>	
<i>Circonférence du cou:</i>	<i>1'4"</i>	
<i>Largeur d'une épaule à l'autre:</i>	<i>1'8"</i>	
<i>Largeur de la poitrine:</i>	<i>1'4-1/2"</i>	
<i>De l'extrémité supérieure du sternum jusqu'au nombril</i>	<i>1'3"</i>	
<i>Circonférence de la taille à la hauteur des hanches</i>	<i>3'3"</i>	
<i>Longueur de ...?...</i>	<i>2'10"</i>	
<i>Longueur du bras depuis l'acromion jusqu'à l'extrémité des doigts</i>	<i>1'7"</i>	
<i>Longueur des jambes depuis le trochanter major jusqu'au talon</i>	<i>3'4-1/2"</i>	
<i>La plus grande circonférence de la cuisse</i>	<i>2'0"</i>	
<i>Longueur depuis le trochanter major jusqu'au genou</i>	<i>1'10"</i>	
<i>Du genou au talon</i>	<i>1'10-1/2"</i>	
<i>Longueur du pied</i>	<i>1'0"</i>	
<i>Sa plus grande largeur</i>	<i>0'6"</i>	
<i>Circonférence du mollet</i>	<i>1'5"</i>	
<i>Longueur de la main</i>	<i>0'8"</i>	

Ils sont très actifs, et d'une physionomie très agréable qui prévient extrêmement en leur faveur; la bonhomie est peinte dans tous leurs traits; leur chevelure est épaisse et d'un beau châtain noir (très rarement rousse); leurs cheveux sont généralement attachés en un grand noeud; ils ont le front très élevé, mais fuyant cependant en arrière; le nez

prononcé, mais plat et large; la bouche assez grande; les lèvres épaisses, les dents blanches comme de l'ivoire; les yeux bien fendus et garnis de superbes cils; les tempes comprimées; les pommettes très peu saillantes; le menton proéminent, avec une barbe assez souvent très épaisse, cependant plus généralement peu fournie.¹ On a plus ordinairement compris ces peuples sous le nom général de race malaise, mais il ne faut qu'un coup-d'oeil pour les distinguer des véritables malais qui habitent les îles des Indes et les Philippines. Plusieurs différences nationales des habitans de ces îles n'échappent pas à l'observateur, particulièrement de celles qui sont situées plus vers l'ouest, d'avec celles de l'est. Les habitans du groupe du Sèniavine [Pohnpei] nous parurent différer de tous les autres, tant par la conformation de leurs traits que par leur costume et leurs habitudes.

[Visit to the Mortlock Islands]

Notre première entrevue avec les habitans de îles basses des Carolines eut lieu au groupe de Lougounor. Aussitôt que nous fumes en vue de leurs îles, nous vîmes sortir leurs pirogues du récif qui les met à l'abri des vagues. Dès qu'ils se virent en pleine mer, ils déployèrent leurs voiles et vinrent à notre rencontre; arrivés auprès du Sèniavine, qui s'était mis en panne, ils retirèrent leurs voiles, nous adressèrent la parole, qu'ils accompagnèrent de signes qui nous firent comprendre qu'ils désiraient venir à bord de notre bâtiment; à peine leur eut-on jeté une corde pour fixer leur barque, que tous ceux qui se trouvaient dans la pirogue, à l'exception de deux qui y restèrent pour la surveiller, se rendirent à bord et se mirent à sauter sur le tillac sans éprouver le moindre embarras ou la moindre crainte ou méfiance. La plupart étaient nus sauf une ceinture qu'ils portaient en forme de suspensoire autour des reins; quelques-uns avaient en outre une espèce de mante qui rappelle extrêmement le Poncho des habitans du Chili, fait de deux bandes de la largeur d'une écharpe, cousues ensemble dans toute leur largeur à l'exception d'une ouverture laissée au milieu pour y passer la tête. Cette mante ressemble par sa coupe infiniment à une chasuble, seulement qu'elle est plus courte, car elle ne tombe même pas jusqu'aux genoux. Plusieurs d'entr'eux avaient un large chapeau pyramidal, fait de feuilles du Pandanus, qui les garantissait complètement de l'ardeur des rayons du soleil; des colliers en coquilles, en fleurs ou faits de la coque ligneuse des cocos, des fleurs dans leurs cheveux et aux oreilles, tels étaient les ornemens qui complétaient leur parure. Ils témoignaient le plus grand contentement de se trouver au milieu de nous, et faisaient vivement éclater leur joie. Ils prenaient intérêt à tout ce qu'ils voyaient, mais particulièrement à tout ce qui avait rapport au vaisseau et à la navigation. Nous avons vu des chefs de ces bons insulaires leur donner l'ordre de prendre toutes les dimensions du vaisseau, pour sa longueur, sa largeur, sa profondeur, la hauteur des mâts; ils exam-

1 Il est inconcevable que M. Lesson ait pu donner une origine japonaise à la physionomie de ces insulaires que n'en diffère pas moins que la nôtre. Ed. comment: This remark confirms that the typical individual measured above was a Kosrean.

inaient avec soin la direction des voiles, et prenaient tous les renseignemens possibles au sujet de notre bâtiment.

*Le commerce s'établit de suite entre nous; les habitans apportaient des cocos, du poisson, des coquilles, différentes parties de leur costume, des appareils pour la pêche, des boîtes, de l'arrow-root, des poules, etc. qu'ils offraient d'échanger pour des articles de manufacture européenne; le fer avait la préférence sur tout, particulièrement les couteaux et les ciseaux qui leur paraissaient d'un prix inestimable; ils appréciaient infiniment les aiguilles, mais ce qui excitait le plus leur admiration était la hache. Différentes bagatelles en quincaillerie, de petites perles en verre, des miroirs, des rubans, des mouchoirs attiraient aussi leur attention et étaient reçus avec transport. Nous avons souvent eu l'occasion de remarquer que les objets qui pouvaient leur être de quelque utilité réelle, obtenaient toujours la préférence sur ceux qui n'étaient que purement de luxe. Ils trafiquaient en véritables marchands; rien n'était donné gratis, mais jamais il ne leur arrivait de refuser de livrer l'article choisi; après en avoir reçu le prix convenu, ils ne témoignaient aucune méfiance, et donnaient même d'avance leurs marchandises, persuadés que nous montrerions la même équité à leur égard. Il n'y avait rien à attendre d'eux quant aux présens, quoiqu'ils fussent bien loin de refuser les nôtres, et qu'ils les recherchassent même, tant pour eux que pour leurs femmes et leurs enfans. Ils ne montraient aucune crainte de descendre dans les entre-ponts, se plaisaient dans les cabines où nos occupations attiraient toute leur attention; ils aimaient à nous voir peindre et examiner avec intérêt les produits de leurs îles, dont ils s'efforçaient même de nous donner des notions. La première fois qu'ils aperçurent un miroir, ils furent frappés d'étonnement et ne purent d'abord se persuader que ce fût leur image qui s'y retraçât; une semblable merveille leur paraissait incroyable, inexplicable. Ce ne fut qu'après mille mouvemens et gestes bizarres, et surtout après avoir examiné le revers du miroir, qu'ils furent persuadés qu'il rendait véritablement leur image. Lorsqu'ils se trouvaient à table avec nous, ils observaient la plus grande décence; ils firent de suite usage des couteaux, de fourchettes et de cuillères, et nous assuraient que la soupe et tous les autres plats que nous leur présentions étaient de leur goût, quoiqu'il n'y ait aucun doute qu'ils prononçaient souvent le mot **mammal**, qui, en leur langue, signifie bon. Le sucre, le biscuit et le riz faisaient leurs délices; le café leur plaisait extrêmement, mais l'eau de vie et même le vin leur faisaient horreur. Des bocaux d'un verre blanc et transparent comme l'eau qu'ils contenaient, excitèrent vivement leur admiration. On put cependant observer qu'ils portaient le coup-d'oeil le plus scrutateur sur tous les objets qu'ils apercevaient chez nous. Il est impossible de rencontrer plus de bonhomie que parmi ces insulaires; ignorant complètement l'usage ou la valeur de quantité des choses qui s'offraient à leur vue, leur premier mouvement était toujours d'y porter la main, de s'en saisir pour les examiner de plus près; on se figure aisément combien peu ils s'entendaient à manier des sextans, des montres, etc., mais il suffisait d'une seule observation pour les arrêter, et pour être sûr qu'ils ne les toucheraient plus, et qu'ils feraient en outre part aux absens de la défense qui leur avait été faite à cet égard.*

Une sorte d'intimité s'établit bientôt entre nous. Les naturels ne s'opposaient à aucun de nos désirs, se tenaient tranquillement assis quand on faisait leurs portraits, dansaient quand nous paraissions le désirer, et mettaient tout en oeuvre pour nous plaire. Ils parlaient beaucoup, nous adressaient continuellement la parole pour nous raconter ce qui se passait dans les îles voisines, nous entretenaient de leurs femmes, de leurs enfans, nous promettaient d'avance de toutes les productions de leur île, pourvu que nous voulissions bien leur faire visite. On a déjà vu plus haut qu'ils aimaient de préférence le biscuit et le sucre, surtout le dernier; souvent nous avons pris plaisir à les voir en réserver une petite portion qu'ils mettaient soigneusement dans leurs ceintures ou qu'ils gardaient dans la main; ils allaient avec ce trésor se jeter à la nage pour gagner leurs canots, afin de porter promptement ces délicatesses à leurs femmes et à leurs enfans. Malgré le vif désir qu'ils témoignaient de posséder plusieurs des objets qui se présentaient à leur vue, nous n'en avons jamais été volés; ils étaient satisfaits de tout ce que nous voulions bien leur donner, et ils ne se formalisaient nullement lorsque nous leurs refusions quelque article qu'ils nous demandaient. Ils joussaient sur notre vaisseau de la plus grande liberté, allaient et venaient sur le tillac, l'entrepont et les cabines sans contrainte, y restaient autant qu'ils le désiraient, et jamais ils n'abusèrent de notre confiance.

Ils nous firent connaître leurs chefs dès notre première entrevue; ils observaient envers eux la plus parfaite soumission, mais du reste il était impossible de remarquer une distinction de rang parmi eux; ils semblaient être tous de la même classe, et on ne témoignait aucune déférence particulière à ceux qui étaient pourtant regardés comme les Princes, les seigneurs de ces îles.

Ils ne cessaient de nous inviter à nous rendre chez eux, à y faire un séjour de quelque durée, nous montraient de loin l'entrée du groupe d'îles qu'ils habitaient, et finirent par nous arracher la promesse de nous y rendre. Quand nous jetâmes l'ancre au milieu de leur lagune, nous fûmes à l'instant comme assiégés par leurs canots, qui nous entourèrent de toutes parts; la population mâle vint examiner de près notre bâtiment; tous voulaient à la fois monter sur le tillac, mais les chefs seuls jouirent pour lors de ce privilège avec quelques uns de ceux qui les accompagnaient, et qu'ils nous recommandaient plus particulièrement. La gaieté la plus franche régnait parmi eux, nous ne nous sommes jamais aperçus qu'aucun ait envié ce que nous avons donné à d'autres. Quoique nous ayons beaucoup fréquenté ces insulaires, nous n'avons pas une seule fois été témoins de querelles entr'eux. Toujours gais, toujours contents, ils semblaient avoir conservé l'innocence et la naïveté de la première enfance. Ils ne menèrent jamais de femmes sur notre vaisseau, et nous crûmes qu'ils s'efforçaient d'en découvrir chez nous; ils paraissaient fort étonnés de ne pas réussir dans leurs recherches. La blancheur de notre peau les surprenait beaucoup; à la vue de notre poitrine et de nos bras découverts, ils restaient émerveillés; ils accordaient une préférence marquée à notre teint, au point de leur inspirer même une sorte de dédain pour la leur. Pour nous donner une preuve de leur admiration, ils pressaient étroitement notre poitrine et nos bras contre eux, en approchaient leurs nez comme pour les sentir, et étaient transportés d'allégresse à leur vue et

à leur toucher. Ils nous accueillèrent sur leurs îles avec la plus grande cordialité, nous conduisirent dans une grande maison où se trouvaient quelques chefs, y étendirent des nattes pour nous asseoir, nous présentèrent des cocos ainsi que de tout ce qu'ils avaient de plus rare et de meilleur pour nous bien régaler. La maison dans laquelle on nous introduisait n'était autre chose qu'un grant toit, soutenu par des piliers et recouvert de feuilles de cocos. Le devant de cette demeure était complètement ouvert, ainsi que le fond: les côtés en étaient fermés, mais seulement en partie; au centre se trouvait une espèce de foyer, et dans l'intérieur on apercevait plusieurs cloisons, derrière lesquelles on plaçait des appareils pour la pêche, etc. Les chefs acceptaient toujours avec plaisir les présens que nous leurs offrions, et nous donnaient en retour des nattes, des cordages et des cocos.

Lorsque nous commençâmes nos recherches pour l'histoire naturelle, toute la jeunesse de l'île nous offrit ses services, mais après avoir témoigné le désir de n'être pas incommodés par cette troupe d'enfans, ils nous quittèrent sur le champ, et quelques uns seulement nous servirent de guides. Personne ne parut avoir le moindre désir de savoir où nous allions, il semblait que ce bon peuple s'intéressât à ce qu'on ne mît pas la plus légère entrave à nos recherches, car ils étaient toujours prêts à applanir les difficultés qui se présentaient.

Au commencement ils éprouvaient la plus grande frayeur aux coups de fusil, mais ils s'y accoutumèrent insensiblement. Ils nous dénichaient des oiseaux, mais malheureusement avec tant de bruit et de clameurs, que leurs secours dans ces occasions nous devenait non seulement inutile, mais de plus mettait obstacle à notre réussite. Nos guides, en nous accompagnant à travers l'île de la manière la plus aimable, ne manquaient pas, dès qu'ils s'aperçurent que nous attachions du prix à connaître les noms des différens végétaux, et autres objets que nous rencontrions, de nous les nommer, même sans que nous le leur demandions. Leur joie fut extrême lorsqu'ils virent qu'à l'aide de nos notes nous en avions retenu les noms. Ils se mettaient ensuite à nous examiner, ce qui excitait en eux la gaieté la plus bruyante, surtout lorsque nous nous trompions, et qu'ils devaient nous reprendre. Leurs démonstrations joyeuses et leurs vives acclamations attiraient en pareille occasion d'autres naturels du pays, auxquels ils s'empressaient de communiquer la cause de leur enjouement. Quelquefois nous nous sommes vus poursuivis par de petits garçons qui ne cessaient de faire les examinateurs; il suffisait alors d'avertir les plus âgés que cela commençait à nous fatiguer, et on les éloignait aussitôt. Ce qui les étonnait le plus était que nous avions appris à compter jusqu'à dix en leur langue; à chaque maison devant laquelle nous passions nous étions obligés, pour faire plaisir à nos guides, de faire parade de nos progrès en répétant ces dix premiers chiffres devant la société qui s'y trouvait rassemblée; de grandes acclamations de surprise et de satisfaction étaient toujours notre récompense. Les objets qui attiraient plus particulièrement notre attention, nous furent expliqués avec le plus grand soin, mais malheureusement nous ne comprenions pas toujours les détails qu'ils se donnaient la peine de nous communiquer; les propriétés utiles ou nuisibles des plantes, les bonnes ou mauvaises qualités des animaux nous furent mentionnées avec le plus grand em-

pressement. Les différentes plantes que j'avais cueillies, étaient portées par eux avec tout le soin imaginable, mais non sans qu'ils se procurassent le plaisir de les faire admirer par tous ceux que nous rencontrions. Ils mettaient le plus grand zèle à nous obliger: tantôt ils grimpaient sur les arbres pour nous chercher les fleurs que nous désirions avoir; d'autres fois ils se jetaient dans les brisans, et nous rapportaient des oursins de mer, avec tout ce qu'ils croyaient pouvoir nous être agréable. Ils nous conduisaient partout, et avaient soin surtout de nous faire passer devant les maisons de leurs chefs, qui nous recevaient parfaitement bien et nous régalaient de cocos. En recevant les petits cadeaux que nous leur présentions, leurs yeux pétillaient de joie; ils les serraient soigneusement au même instant.

*Nous fûmes étonnés malgré la confiance entière qu'ils nous témoignaient, de ne pas entrevoir une seule femme; nous nous aperçûmes bientôt qu'on les avait dérobées à notre vue, et que nous devions même éviter de passer devant les maisons où elles se trouvaient; si par hasard nous paraissions vouloir nous en approcher, nos guides employaient presque la force pour nous en détourner, en prononçant le mot **farak! farak!** exclamation qui finissait par nous ennuyer à l'excès, et qui retentit encore à nos oreilles. Il y avait cependant dans la manière dont ils s'y prenaient pour nous engager à suivre une autre route, tant de bonhomie, qu'il était impossible de se fâcher contr'eux, quoiqu'ils répétassent sans discontinuer leur interjection; nous finîmes par en rire.*

Chaque chef avait plusieurs maisons à sa disposition: la première était celle où il faisait sa résidence; la seconde était construite de la même manière que la grande maison dans laquelle on nous avait introduits à notre arrivée, seulement qu'il s'y trouvait un plus grand nombre de cloisons d'où nous entendîmes souvent des cris d'enfants, sans qu'il nous fût jamais permis d'y jeter même un coup-d'oeil. C'était là qu'ils semblaient aussi déposer leurs richesses qui consistaient en cordages, en nattes, en habillemens, en appareils pour la pêche, en pierres pour aiguiser leurs haches faites de différentes espèces de coquilles, en couteaux et autres objets européens. Cette seconde maison était destinée à servir d'abri aux pirogues qu'ils y plaçaient quand le tems l'exigeait. La troisième maison, beaucoup plus petite, était pour les femmes; la quatrième, encore plus petite, était formée seulement d'un petit toit qui descendait obliquement presque jusqu'à terre, ce qui laissait fort peu d'élévation aux murs; celle-ci se trouvait généralement vis-à-vis l'entrée de derrière de la grande maison; nous en vîmes souvent la porte ornée de branches vertes; elle nous parut être destinée à servir de tombeau à la famille du chef.

Nous ne vîmes que peu de plantations sur le groupe de Lougounor, et celles que nous aperçûmes ne consistaient qu'en aroïdées qui occupaient les endroits marécageux; il s'y trouvait peu d'eau douce, nous n'en avons entrevu que quelques petites mares dont l'eau était souvent très amère et sulphureuse. La base du tronc d'un grand nombre de cocotiers était creusée pour servir, comme nous l'avons supposé, d'espèces de réservoirs pour l'eau de pluie; la plupart de ces troncs creux à leur base contenaient une eau infiniment meilleure que celle des mares. Ce qui tient véritablement lieu de citernes sur ces îles, ce sont les cocotiers, tant par la boisson agréable contenue dans le fruit pré-

cieux de cet arbre, que par la liqueur que les naturels du pays savent tirer de l'arbre même, dans la saison ou il n'y a presque plus de fruits. Cette saison est extrêmement pénible pour les pauvres habitans, puisqu'ils ne possèdent que peu de productions végétales qui puissent se conserver pendant l'espace de tems qui leur serait nécessaire.

*Nous avons retrouvé partout le même peuple sur les autres groupes des îles basses des Carolines, que nous avons visités après celui de Lougounor; cette même hospitalité, cette bonhomie et enfin jusqu'à cette gaieté qui le caractérisent. Mais dans aucun de ces groupes nous n'avons rencontré ces moeurs lascives qu'on supposerait régner sur toutes les îles de l'immense Océan pacifique. Les voyages lointains que ces naturels entreprennent, leurs visites fréquentes chez leurs voisins, ainsi que leurs excursions jusques dans les colonies européennes, n'ont en rien altéré l'innocence remarquable de leurs moeurs, ni fait naître en eux le désir de s'approprier d'une manière illégitime le bien d'autrui. On serait porté à croire que l'esprit de commerce qui les anime leur a appris de bonne heure à respecter chez les autres ce qu'ils n'ont eux-même acquis qu'avec peine, et dont ils sont en état d'apprécier la valeur. Les habitans du groupe d'Ouléai [Woleai], ainsi que ceux de l'île isolée de Feiss [Fais], furent moins sévères à notre égard quant à ce qui concernait leurs femmes; ils leur permettaient de se trouver dans notre société, et il ne fallait que peu de tems pour qu'une liaison intime s'établît entre nous; malgré cette sorte d'intimité et la confiance sans bornes qu'on nous accordait, il n'y a pas un seul individu sur le **Séniavine** qui puisse se vanter d'avoir obtenu quelques faveurs d'une belle des îles basses des Carolines. On ne peut citer les femmes pour leur beauté, elles sont même plutôt laides; leurs traits distinctifs sont une fort petite taille, une figure large et la gorge pendante lorsqu'à peine la première fraîcheur est passée; elles sont nues de même que les hommes, à l'exception d'une large bande attachée autour des reins, et faite d'un tissu rayé. Dans l'île de Feiss nous remarquâmes que les jeunes filles portaient en outre une frange qui tombait depuis la ceinture jusqu'aux genoux; elle était faite des fibres de l'*Hibiscus*.*

*Dans toutes les îles basses du côté de l'est nous avons observé que la manière de se tatouer était absolument la même, et consistait en quelques lignes régulières le long des cuisses, des jambes et de la poitrine; on nous a assuré que les femmes se tatouaient en outre très élégamment dans les parties couvertes par la bande ci-dessus mentionnée, embellissement dont les maris seuls jouissent. Parmi plusieurs de ces femmes nous avons remarqué un autre ornement des plus bizarres; il consistait en une ou plusieurs lignes sur les bras et sur les épaules, formées par de petits boutons qui viennent au moyen de petites incisions faites dans la première enfance, et frottées ensuite avec le suc qui découle des branches coupées du *Cerbera*, ou bien avec une espèce de moxa qu'on fait brûler sur la partie où l'on désire tracer des lignes; ces marques sont ineffaçables, on les conserve durant tout le cours de la vie. On prétend que cet ornement plaît extrêmement aux hommes. Dans le tems où ces boutons supurent ils ne ressemblent pas mal aux pustules de la vaccine, de sorte qu'en les voyant pour la première fois, on se figure avoir rencontré chez ces insulaires un substitut à cette découverte si précieuse pour le genre humain. Les femmes se parent de colliers faits de différens articles de fabrique indienne*

et européenne, et de larges bracelets d'écaïlle et de nacre de perle qu'elles portent tant aux poignets qu'au bas de la jambe. Elles ont un grand fond de coquetterie qui perce même jusque parmi les femmes les plus âgées. Elles nous demandaient sans cesse des grains de verre pour colliers, indiquant en même tems la longueur du bras pour nous faire comprendre la quantité qu'elles en désiraient avoir, mais à peine avait-on satisfait à leur demande, qu'elles tendaient de nouveau la main, de sorte qu'il était bien difficile de les contenter, surtout comme elles se présentaient ordinairement en grand nombre. A Ouléaï les femmes s'approchaient tout près de notre bâtiment, mais elles n'arrivaient jamais dans les canots des hommes. Elles se plaisaient à crier, à nous appeler par nos noms qu'elles prononçaient parfois de la manière la plus comique. Quoiqu'elles réitérassent sans cesse leurs demandes pour obtenir plus que nous leur avons donné, elles paraissaient ne recevoir nos cadeaux qu'avec une sorte de dédain, ce qui nous amusait infiniment. Plusieurs d'entr'elles portaient de jolies ceintures de la largeur d'environ deux doigts, faites du bois de la noix de coco, et de coquilles blanches arrangées ensemble de manière à rappeler les mosaïques dont se parent les élégantes de nos salons; comme je désirais extrêmement m'en procurer une, je leur offris un prix considérable, à leurs yeux, pour ce seul article, mais ces femmes multipliaient tellement leurs demandes à chaque fois que je cédaï à leurs réclamations, qu'il me fut impossible de réussir à m'en procurer une. Il paraît au reste que les femmes y attachent un grand prix; j'ai vu quelquefois des hommes s'en parer, mais ils ne s'en désistaient pas davantage, et nous alléguaient pour raison de leur refus que cet ornement appartenait à leurs femmes.

Les groupes de Lougounor et d'Ouléaï ont entr'eux le plus grand rapport, quant à l'aspect du pays et à sa végétation.

[Description of Faïs Island]

Feiss cependant diffère considérablement sous ce point de vue des autres îles basses des Carolines; elle se trouve tout-à-fait isolée, n'est entourée d'aucun récif, et ne renferme point de lagune; elle forme une seule masse de roches madréporiques qui s'élève, dans quelques endroits, à plus de douze toises au-dessus de la surface de la mer. Ce n'est nullement, comme on pourrait le croire, l'intérieur de l'île qui en constitue la partie la plus élevée, ce sont les côtes. On s'aperçoit visiblement qu'on descend à mesure qu'on s'éloigne du rivage, ce qui fait qu'on est tenté de croire que l'île contenait autrefois une lagune ou espèce de port qui a disparu par la retraite des eaux. Cette partie est maintenant la plus fertile; les naturels y cultivent une quantité de racines nourrissantes qu'on chercherait en vain dans les îles voisines; aussi paraissent-ils mettre le plus grand soin à leurs plantations. Lorsqu'ils goûtèrent chez nous pour la première fois des pommes de terre, ils nous en demandèrent sur le champ, et se hâtèrent le jour même de les planter. Les arbres à pain y sont rares, mais les bananiers s'y trouvent en assez grande abondance.

Les hommes diffèrent fort peu entr'eux sur tous ces groupes; ce n'est qu'en nous approchant de celui de Moggemog [Ulithi] que nous aperçûmes quelque changement dans les traits principaux de leur physionomie. Les habitans de toutes les îles qui se trouvent

à l'ouest de Lougounor, se tatouent d'une manière tout-à-fait différente; tandis qu'à Lougounor les hommes ne se tatouent que le haut des bras et les jambes en lignes longitudinales, ceux des îles situées au sud et au sud-ouest des Mariannes se tatouent le corps presque en entier, et les espèces de dessins dont ils se couvrent, leur donnent assez l'apparence d'être revêtus d'une armure. Nous fûmes fort étonnés d'apprendre que ces figures ou dessins prenaient leurs noms des diverses îles ou ils les avaient empruntés; que quelques unes de ces figures qu'ils avaient sur la poitrine, avaient été faites à Ouléai, celles des bras à Faroulap, à Feiss; celles des jambes à Eap, etc. Il paraît que, d'après les différens voyages qu'ils entreprennent et dont ils profitent pour se faire tatouer à la manière de leurs voisins, ces naturels attachent autant d'importance à ce genre de luxe, qui leur tient lieu de parure, que nos élégans à leurs costumes divers dont ils empruntent chacun des articles à différentes nations. L'intention de ces insulaires en suivant l'usage bizarre de se tatouer, est absolument la même qui anime nos élégans, qui se rendent esclaves de la mode. Pour vous en convaincre, je vous rapporterai le discours que tenait à ce sujet un de nos amis des îles Faroulep, qui pendant son séjour à Guahan avait appris assez d'Espagnol pour s'entretenir avec nous. Nous lui demandâmes pourquoi les hommes se soumettaient ainsi aux souffrances que doivent causer le tatouage, et quelle était la signification de cet usage singulier? Il nous répondit: *Todo lo mismo como la ropa, para placer a las mugeres.* (C'est tout comme votre habillement, pour plaire aux femmes.) On ne peut se défendre de rendre justice à ces insulaires du soin extrême qu'ils prennent de leurs femmes; il est impossible de se faire une idée des soins qu'ils leur prodiguent, et leurs moindres désirs sont autant de lois qu'ils exécutent avec le plus grand empressement. Lorsque les présens que nous leur faisons plaisaient à leurs femmes, ils n'hésitaient pas à les leur offrir; celles-ci à leur tour paraient leurs enfans des dons qu'elles venaient de recevoir.

J'eus le désir d'acheter à l'île de Feiss quelques unes de leurs bandes d'un beau tissu orné de superbes dessins qu'on pourrait comparer à ceux de nos schals [sic]; les hommes étaient toujours disposés à me les céder, mais les femmes leur adressaient dans ces occasions des discours où la douceur était loin de régner, et d'après lesquels je n'obtenais qu'un refus formel; ces scènes ne paraissaient nullement troubler l'union; la gaîté revenait, et au bout de quelques instans on ne se serait pas douté qu'il y eût eu la moindre altercation. J'ai déjà dit plus haut que ces insulaires n'avaient en rien perdu de l'innocence et de la simplicité de leurs moeurs par leur commerce avec d'autres peuples; j'observai pourtant que les chefs du groupe d'Ouléai prenaient déjà plaisir à s'entendre nommer pilotes ou capitaines, et que, lorsqu'ils se présentaient à nous, pour se donner plus d'importance et obtenir plus de cadeaux, ils déroulaient à nos yeux un tissu contenant les lettres qu'ils avaient reçues à différentes époques des Capitaines de bâtimens baleiniers anglais, pour être expédié par eux à Guahan, à Don Louis Torres.¹ Plusieurs

1 Ces lettres qui seront sûrement présentées à beaucoup d'autres voyageurs, nous amusèrent par la naïveté de leur style; dans l'une d'elles le Capitaine mandait qu'il avait à bord le premier et le second Gouverneur, en parlant des chefs des insulaires (The first and second Governor).

de ces insulaires se plaisaient à porter des chemises européennes. Au groupe de Moggemog l'usage du tabac était introduit, et on nous en demandait avec instance.

[William Lloyd's story]

*Lorsque le **Sénia vine** arriva pour la seconde fois aux îles Carolines vers la fin du mois de Novembre 1828, il fit la découverte du groupe de Mourilleu. Nous fûmes fort étonnés de distinguer dans une des premières pirogues qui s'avançaient à notre rencontre, un homme que nous reconnûmes pour être un européen, d'après le contraste frappant de son teint avec celui des insulaires qui l'entouraient, et qui était d'un brun foncé; il nous fit tous les signes imaginables pour nous engager à mettre notre bâtiment en panne. Le Capitaine de Lütke ne tarda pas à remplir le vœu qu'il exprimait avec tant d'ardeur. Lorsque nous fûmes à portée de l'entendre, nous vîmes que c'était un Anglais qui nous adressait la parole: il supplia le Capitaine de le recevoir. Notre excellent chef, dont l'humanité ne fut jamais implorée en vain, se rendit à sa prière, et nous eûmes la satisfaction peu d'instans après de voir paraître sur le tillac.*

*William Floyd, jeune Anglais des environs de Gloucester, qui appartenait au baleinier the **Prudent**, Capit. Galloway, qui l'avait abandonné sur ces îles, il y a environ dix-huit mois; il y avait été bien accueilli de la manière la plus hospitalière par ces insulaires qui ne cherchaient qu'à adoucir son sort par leurs soins et leurs attentions; ils ne lui donnèrent jamais lieu de regretter sa patrie, mais en revoyant pour la première fois, depuis son séjour parmi eux, des voiles européennes, l'amour de la patrie se réveille en lui; il leur fit part aussitôt du désir qu'il éprouvait de rejoindre ses compatriotes. Ces braves insulaires employèrent toute leur éloquence pour l'engager à ne pas quitter ceux qui l'aimaient si sincèrement, et qui étaient toujours prêts à remplir jusqu'à ses moindres désirs. Dès qu'ils virent que sa résolution était inébranlable, ils l'accompagnèrent jusqu'à notre vaisseau, le comblèrent de nouveaux présens et prirent enfin congé de lui, en le suivant des yeux aussi loin qu'il leur fut possible de l'apercevoir, et répétant à chaque instant son nom.*

William Floyd ne nous quitta qu'à Manille, où nous trouvâmes moyen de le transférer à bord d'un bâtiment américain. Durant les quatre semaines qu'il passa avec nous, nous n'eûmes qu'à nous louer de sa conduite, il était complètement revenu de ses folies de jeunesse. Son long séjour chez ce peuple hospitalier, dont il avait appris passablement la langue, le mit à même de nous communiquer quantité de détails intéressants à leur sujet. Je m'empressai de mettre à profit cette circonstance heureuse pour recueillir de nouveaux renseignements, qui, je n'en doute point, ne manqueront pas d'intéresser le lecteur en faveur de ce peuple éminemment bon, dont la simplicité et la pureté de mœurs le distinguent de presque toutes les peuplades dispersées dans l'étendue immense de la Mer Pacifique. Un seul et même chef règne sur les groupes de Fananou et de Mourilleu, et les îles qui les composent paient un tribut annuel à ce chef suprême, nommé dans leur langue Tamol; ce tribut consiste en fruits de l'arbre à pain, en cocos, en nattes, etc. On apprendra avec surprise qu'une seule des îles du groupe de Fananou est exempte de ce tribut; que les habitans de cette île, quoique sur le même récif, dédaignent toute com-

munication avec leurs voisins, éloignés d'eux seulement de quelques pas; qu'ils ne font aucun cas du chef, et vont jusqu'à refuser de le reconnaître. Quoique le Tamol aille lui-même à la pêche, on ne manque jamais de lui réserver ce qui se trouve de plus beau, de plus grand de la pêche générale. Ses sujets le nourrissent parfaitement bien; tout ce qu'il commande est considéré comme lois expresses, quoique du reste elles ne soient pas maintenues dans toute leur rigueur. Le chef est, comme ses sujets, soumis aux lois. Floyd m'a cité plusieurs faits qui viennent à l'appui de ses discours. Si par exemple le Tamol désire se marier une seconde fois, il est obligé de satisfaire au tribut qu'on exige de tout individu qui veut contracter de nouveaux liens. Il n'a aucun droit sur les femmes de ses sujets, et tout roi qu'il est, il ne peut s'unir à aucune d'elles sans avoir préalablement obtenu son consentement.

Les vieillards de l'île sont en général choisis comme juges; être réprimandé par eux, c'est envisager comme la peine la plus grave qu'on puisse encourir. Lorsque les affaires sont d'une nature plus compliquée, on a recourt au Tamol qui retire de grands avantages de ces appels, car ses sujets sont obligés, pour lui rendre hommage, de lui offrir des présents à la suite de l'arrêt rendu. Il faut ajouter pour l'honneur du Tamol, qu'il s'efforce de prévenir les querelles, les dissensions qui pourraient s'élever parmi le peuple, mettant de côté, en pareille circonstance, tout intérêt personnel. Jamais les parties intéressées ne le quittent sans s'être réconciliées.

La succession à la dignité de Tamol n'est pas héréditaire, et le fils ne saurait en aucun cas succéder à son père. Lorsqu'il vient à mourir on s'adresse au frère du défunt, et s'il n'en avait pas, cette dignité est conférée à l'un de ceux qui avaient été de ses meilleurs amis; celui qu'on choisit n'a pas le droit de refuser la place qu'on lui offre; le plus sage, le plus juste est toujours élu de préférence au plus riche ou au plus puissant.

[Marriage and child rearing]

Ils n'ont en général qu'une seule femme, cependant nous avons connu quelques individus qui en avaient plusieurs. Celui qui désire s'unir à une femme, commence sa déclaration par lui offrir des présents, qui sont sur le champ acceptés si la proposition est favorablement accueillie. Dès que la jeune fille porte à son père les présents qu'elle vient de recevoir, le futur acquiert le droit de passer la nuit avec elle, quoique le mariage n'ait lieu que le lendemain. Qu'on ne se figure pas que les noces chez ces peuples causent beaucoup d'embarras; au contraire, tout se passe sans apprêts, sans fête quelconque; toute la cérémonie consiste dans le consentement que la jeune fille donne de vivre avec celui qui l'a choisie pour compagne, et dans ses adieux à ses parents. Lorsqu'on ne se convient pas, ou qu'on est ennuyé l'un de l'autre, on se sépare avec la même facilité avec laquelle l'union a été contractée. Quand on se marie pour la première fois, on n'est pas tenu à payer de tribut, mais dès que l'on contracte de nouveaux liens, on est obligé d'y satisfaire en donnant une certaine quantité de nattes ou de fruits aux insulaires. Lorsqu'une séparation a lieu entre deux époux, les enfants appartiennent au père, et la mère ne conserve aucun droit sur eux. Le mari qui en tous tems est rempli d'égards pour sa femme, redouble de soins et d'attention durant sa grossesse; dès que cet état se mani-

festes, elle interrompt ses travaux, reste presque toujours à la maison enveloppée de nattes; pendant ce tems son mari se charge de la servir. Il n'est plus permis aux hommes de manger avec elle; les jeunes garçons qui ne portent pas même encore de ceinture, le peuvent cependant; ceux-ci sont seuls chargés de lui apporter les cocos qui lui sont nécessaires, et dont il lui faut une grande quantité, parce que toute boisson lui est défendue à l'exception du lait de ce fruit; plusieurs individus de cocotiers et de Jaquiers lui sont néanmoins strictement interdits. Quand l'époque de l'accouchement approche, elle est entourée de femmes rassemblées pour la soigner; dès que les douleurs commencent à se faire sentir, ces femmes se mettent à crier et à chanter pour que le mari n'entende pas les cris de son épouse durant le travail de l'enfantement. Ces femmes sont bien habiles dans l'art de l'accouchement; elles connaissent plusieurs manoeuvres, possèdent plusieurs secrets pour faciliter la naissance de l'enfant. Chez ces peuples on n'entend jamais parler de fausses-couches, non plus de la naissance d'aucun monstre; ils paraissent presque ignorer ces sortes d'accidens. Deux jours après l'accouchement la mère se baigne dans de l'eau douce, et ce n'est qu'au bout de cinq ou six mois qu'elle recommence ses travaux accoutumés. Les mères ne sèvent pas leurs enfans à la même époque que nous avons coutume de le faire, mais beaucoup plus tard; il y en a qui les nourrissent jusqu'à l'âge de dix ans; nous avons retrouvé ce même usage chez les peuples qui habitent le détroit de Behring.

Les mêmes précautions qui sont observées durant le tems de la grossesse, le sont également à l'époque de l'indisposition périodique des femmes; il ne leur est pas permis alors de se peindre la figure de jaune ou d'orange, couleurs extrêmement de leur goût, et par lesquelles elles croient relever l'éclat de leurs charmes. Il leur est aussi défendu de se servir d'huile pour les cheveux. Les bains d'eau douce leur sont ordonnés, et il y a même des pièces d'eau désignées pour cet objet. Dans la plupart des îles il est non seulement défendu aux hommes de s'y désaltérer, mais même de s'en approcher. Lorsqu'un mari injurie ou insulte sa femme, les amis de celle-ci l'emmènent de chez lui à l'instant même.

Ces égards, cette indulgence qu'on témoigne aux femmes, sont portés au plus haut degré; car dans le cas où un mari surprendrait la sienne en adultère, la seule punition qu'on lui infligerait serait de lui refuser l'entrée de la maison pendant quelques jours. L'homme ne s'en tire pas aussi facilement: le mari se jette sur lui en poussant des cris épouvantables qui attirent toute la population de l'île, il l'attaque alors avec un petit instrument muni de dents de requin assez aigues pour produire des écorchures qu'il conserve longtems en punition de son crime. La fureur du mari dans les premiers instans est à son comble, il ne respire que la vengeance; la vie de l'adultère est même en danger s'il se trouve être plus faible que le mari, mais généralement la foule qui survient l'empêche d'assouvir sa vengeance dans le sang de celui qui l'a outragé, elle cherche à le calmer, et parvient même à les réconcilier; le mari se contente ordinairement en pareille occasion de quelques nattes, après quoi celui auquel il voulait arracher la vie il n'y avait qu'un instant, obtient son pardon, et tout est oublié. Ces sortes de scènes une fois calmées, n'altèrent en rien les relations amicales qui subsistaient avant de semblables évèn-

mens. L'usage bizarre qui règne au groupe d'Ouléai, et qui consiste en ce que le mari permette à son ami, s'il se trouve sous son toit, de le remplacer pour une nuit auprès de sa femme, est tout-à-fait inconnu dans les îles que W. Floyd a habitées; il n'en a même jamais entendu parler.

Quoique les maris n'aiment pas que leurs femmes reçoivent des visites d'hommes, il est permis aux deux sexes, tant qu'ils ne sont pas mariés, de passer des nuits entières ensemble à causer et à danser au clair de la lune. Floyd m'a assuré que ces parties nocturnes se passent presque toujours dans la plus parfaite innocence. Malgré ce manque total aux bienséances, la réputation d'une jeune fille ne souffre en rien d'une semblable liberté. On n'exige la fidélité que des femmes qui ont à remplir les fonctions et les devoirs de mères de famille.

Quelqu'égarés que ces insulaires observent en vers les femmes, ils ont cependant établi certaines lois auxquelles elles doivent se conformer; par exemple, il leur est défendu de jamais ouvrir la bouche lorsqu'elles se trouvent dans la maison où les assemblées ont lieu, et qui servent de logement aux étrangers; ces maisons sont situées au bord de la mer; quoique tous les habitans de l'île s'y réunissent pour leurs assemblées, elles n'appartiennent ni au gouvernement ni au roi, et sont la propriété de quelque insulaire qui croit prouver par là son patriotisme. Outre ces maisons, il y en a d'autres qui servent de domicile à tous les hommes non mariés; elles appartiennent également à des particuliers qui en font volontairement le sacrifice pour concourir au bien public. Les hommes se lèvent de grand matin; leur premier soin est de se rendre au rivage pour se laver, se baigner et se rincer la bouche. Il leur est défendu d'employer de l'eau douce à ces différens usages, et ils sont persuadés que quiconque le ferait, tenterait en vain de prendre du poisson s'il allait à la pêche. Ces mêmes défenses s'étendent aux femmes, excepté dans les cas particuliers ci-dessus mentionnés qui exigent l'emploi de l'eau douce. Les femmes doivent se baigner du côté opposé à celui où les hommes se rendent pour le même objet, ou à l'heure où ils ne s'y trouvent pas. Ce ne sont, selon William Floyd, que les enfans que la curiosité attire, et qui, n'allant pas encore à la pêche, ne sont pas retenus par la crainte de revenir sans provisions, qui osent se glisser dans le bois pour parvenir au bord de la mer, afin de contempler les femmes lorsqu'elles se baignent, se mettant peu en peine des préjugés et des conventions établies. La décence va même jusqu'à défendre aux femmes de se montrer sur le rivage aux heures où les hommes reviennent de la pêche, parce que, pour être plus à l'aise, ils se dépouillent du peu de vêtement qui les couvrent. Après le bain, lorsque les hommes ne sont pas occupés à quelques travaux, ils se rendent tous dans la maison commune pour s'y amuser; ils n'y manquent jamais de sujets qui excitent leur gaîté, mais malgré cela, ils ne tardent pas à se fatiguer de leurs plaisanteries mutuelles, de sorte que peu de tems après toute la société se livre au repos. Rien ne contrarie d'avantage ces insulaires que lorsqu'on interrompt leur sommeil matinal, qui est leur plus grande jouissance. Ils n'ont pas d'heures fixes pour les repas, chacun mange quand il en sent le besoin ou quand il est forcé de profiter d'une occasion qui se présente, et qu'il ne retrouverait pas dans la saison où certaines provisions sont rares. Les femmes sont toujours chargées du soin de la cuisine, qui se fait

dans des maisons destinées à cet usage. La cuisine et la fabrique des nattes, pour lesquelles on emploie les feuilles du Pandanus, les occupent presque uniquement. Elles font en outre des tissus des fibres du bananier et du mude de l'hibiscus populneus, qui servent d'habillemens pour les deux sexes. Ces tissus, qui ne manquent véritablement ni d'art ni de goût, se fabriquent sur des espèces de métiers. Les différens objets qu'ils emploient pour ce genre de travail, particulièrement la navette, ressemblent extrêmement à ceux dont nous nous servons pour le même usage.

[The Carolinian language]

William Floyd m'a souvent dit que la langue des habitans des îles Carolines n'est pas difficile à apprendre, du moins telle que les hommes la parlent entr'eux. Il est parvenu promptement à se faire entendre de ces insulaires et à les comprendre lui-même, mais il ajoutait que rien n'était plus difficile que d'avoir toujours présent à l'esprit une infinité d'expressions qu'on doit éviter de jamais proférer en présence des femmes. Il y a, pour ainsi dire, une langue d'étiquette en usage pour leur société. Rien ne prouve mieux que cet usage le grans respect de ces sauvages pour le sexe, ainsi que l'attention qu'ils apportent aux devoirs de la vie sociale. Ce serait agir contre toute bienséance que de ne pas suivre cette première règle de la conversation; l'homme qui y manquerait, serait banni de la société, et ne serait jamais ... que lorsqu'il se trouvait seul avec elles. W. Floyd m'a pourtant raconté que lorsqu'il se trouvait seul avec elles, il se plaisait à employer, en leur parlant, les mêmes expressions dont il se servait en s'adressant aux hommes, que ce langage les amusait beaucoup, et qu'elles ne faisaient que rire et chuchoter entr'elles lorsqu'un mot qui n'était pas sanctionné pour leur société, venait à être prononcé. Malgré cette licence qu'il se permettait, il n'en était pas moins obligé de changer de manière de parler lorsque les insulaires paraissaient; le plus grand cérémonial était observé en leur présence. Ils avaient été jusqu'à menacer Floyd de le faire transporter sur une île déserte, s'il continuait à manquer au respect dû aux femmes, en se servant d'expressions défendues en leur présence. Qu'on ne s'imagine pas, comme on le pourrait facilement d'après tant de rigueur, qu'elles eussent une signification équivoque; pas du tout. Mais les objets les plus ordinaires, les plus usités, changent complètement de dénomination lorsqu'on s'entretient avec elles; c'est presque une langue nouvelle. On sera sans doute étonné d'apprendre que malgré cette sévérité sur le choix des expressions pour les choses les plus significatives, on soit libre de leur parler de tout indistinctement, et de plus, que les conversations sont souvent très licencieuses. Dans les commencemens Floyd eut beaucoup de peine à s'accoutumer à ce singulier usage.

On aimait extrêmement à l'entendre parler des nations européennes; dès qu'il commençait ses récits, il se formait autour de lui un cercle nombreux d'hommes et de femmes qui prêtaient l'oreille la plus attentive à ses discours, mais à chaque instant les hommes l'interrompaient en criant: "pennant! pennant!" (ce qui signifie défendu). Ce mot exprime également toute chose contraire à la loi, par exemple, : il y a des arbres qui sont pennant, c'est-à-dire, auxquels il n'est pas permis de toucher; un terrain duquel on ne doit pas s'approcher, etc. Cette expression de "pennant" a absolument la même sig-

nification que le mot *Tabou*, employé par d'autres habitans de l'Océanie. Les femmes cependant, en présence des insulaires, ne souriaient ni ne changeaient nullement de physionomie en entendant prononcer ce mot "pennant", et affectaient même de ne le pas comprendre. Le rire entre pour beaucoup dans la conversation de ces insulaires quand ils sont entr'eux. W. Floyd allait jusqu'à prétendre que des phrases entières se comprenaient par le seul rire. Ces habitans en général aimaient extrêmement à parler; leurs soirées se passent ordinairement à raconter des histoires où les aventures de ceux qui ont fait des voyages lointains; ils s'entretiennent aussi avec plaisir des îles nouvelles ou inconnues qu'ils ont visitées ou aperçues, de leurs habitans, de leurs productions, de la manière dont ils ont été accueillis par les naturels, de ce qu'ils ont remarqué dans les colonies espagnoles, particulièrement des vaisseaux qu'ils ont vus, et de l'endroit où ils ont été observés. Leurs entretiens sur ces différens sujets se prolongent jusque fort avant dans la nuit. C'est par ces conversations que se maintient la connaissance de la situation des différentes îles qui composent l'Archipel des Carolines. Il est vraiment surprenant avec quelle exactitude ils savent indiquer la direction dans laquelle elles se trouvent, le nombre de journées nécessaires pour y arriver, les chefs auxquels elles appartiennent, le nombre de pièces d'eau douce que ces îles contiennent, ainsi que celui des habitans, des pirogues, etc. Il est à regretter que W. Floyd ne se soit pas occupé avec plus de détail de ces différens points, et que le *Séniavine* n'ait pu s'arrêter dans les mêmes îles qu'il a habitées, car nous aurions sûrement réussi avec son aide à obtenir des renseignemens précieux sur la statistique des îles Carolines. Les habitans des îles où nous passâmes tandis que Floyd se trouvait avec nous, parlaient une langue dont il ne comprenait que peu de mots; la langue dans laquelle Floyd s'entretenait pendant son séjour chez ses bons amis, les Caroliolins, étaient sans doute un mélange d'Anglais et de la langue de ces îles. Il avait appris autant de leur langue, qu'eux de la sienne; de manière qu'ils parvenaient à s'entendre mutuellement, comme ils s'étaient accoutumés les uns aux autres. Mais les habitans des îles que nous avons vues plus tard conjointement avec Floyd, parlaient ou un autre idiôme, ou une langue tout à fait différente.

[Fishing]

Une des première branches de l'économie de ces naturels consiste dans la pêche; ils sont fort à plaindre dans la saison où cette ressource vient à leur manquer. La nature bienfaisante a abondamment fourni ces parages d'une quantité immense de poissons, dont la variété des couleurs et la singularité des formes surpassent tout ce que l'imagination peut se figurer de plus beau, de plus éclatant; la chair en est délicate et très nourrissante. On en trouve en abondance pendant toute l'année, excepté dans les mois qui répondraient chez nous à ceux d'Octobre et de Novembre, époque où il devient très rare, et à laquelle on ne peut s'en procurer que difficilement. Cette saison est des plus pénibles pour ces pauvres insulaires, car ils éprouvent en outre en même tems un manque presque total de fruits, de sorte que ceux qui n'ont pas les moyens de se procurer des vivres conservés, souffrent la plus affreuse disette durant près de trois mois de l'année. Quoique je doive nombre de détails intéressans à W. Floyd concernaat la mé-

thode employée pour prendre les différentes espèces de poissons, il n'a pu me satisfaire aussi complètement que je l'aurais désiré, n'ayant pris part qu'une seule fois à une pêche de quelque importance. Dans les premiers tems de son séjour dans ces îles il avait partagé ses vêtemens entre les naturels, et n'en possédait plus aucun lorsqu'ils l'engagèrent à les accompagner à la pêche. Il accepta avec plaisir cette proposition, pensant que, toujours à l'ombre de majestueux Jaquiers, il ne pourrait être sensible au manque d'habits dans un climat des plus agréables. Mais lorsque dans la pirogue il se trouva exposé à l'ardeur des rayons du soleil le plus brûlant, il fut saisi d'une telle inflammation de peau que sa vie fut quelque tems en danger. Ces bons insulaires qui avaient été loin de prévoir que leur excursion serait suivie d'un si triste résultat, redoublèrent dès ce moment de soins et d'attentions pour lui, et ne voulurent plus qu'il les suivit à de semblables excursions. Lorsque ces naturels se disposent à une partie de pêche, ils quittent ordinairement l'île à l'aube du jour, et n'y reviennent que vers deux ou trois heures de l'après-midi. A leur retour ils se rassemblent dans la grande maison commune, où ils se régalent du fruit de leur pêche, ayant soin de garder pour eux le poisson le plus grand, et d'envoyer à leurs femmes et enfans le plus petit, puisque l'entrée des "Ims" est interdits à pareille heure de la journée aux femmes et aux enfans, même aux garçons de six à douze ans. Tout individu qui se prépare à aller à la pêche est forcé, d'après les conventions établies, à n'avoir eu aucun commerce avec sa femme pendant les huit ou neuf jours qui la précèdent, et doit passer ce même nombre de nuits dans la maison commune assignée aux hommes non mariés. Cette loi est maintenue avec la plus stricte rigueur; celui qui aurait reçu la moindre faveur d'une femme quelconque, serait forcé de s'y soumettre, et de renoncer à cette partie de pêche, s'il ne voulait, d'après la croyance générale, risquer de gagner les maladies les plus dangereuses, particulièrement des enflures aux jambes. Les femmes, dont la discrétion ne s'étend qu'à garder le secret de leur liaison avec quelque étranger, feraient connaître de suite celui qui voudrait manquer à cette loi invariable, le tourneraient en ridicule, et le poursuivraient en l'appelant Manabour, nom dont Floyd n'a pu me donner la signification. Cette loi va même jusqu'à défendre aux hommes de toucher les appareils qui appartiennent à la pêche durant les 24 heures où ils ont rempli le devoir nuptial. Cette loi cependant ne concerne pas les femmes, elles sont toujours libres d'aller à la pêche, à l'exception du tems de leur grossesse, ou de celui où elles nourrissent. Ces insulaires ont différentes méthodes de prendre le poisson; celle qui leur réussit le mieux, dans la saison favorable à la pêche, est de faire usage de bannetons ou mannequins de marée, dont ils possèdent diverses espèces. Les plus ordinaires sont plats ou ronds, l'ouverture est en forme d'entonnoir beaucoup plus large à l'entrée que dans l'intérieur. Ils placent toujours l'ouverture du banneton à la rencontre du courant, et ont soin d'y mettre des pierres pour qu'il aille au fond de l'eau, où ils le laissent deux jours; il n'est permis de retourner à l'endroit où ils l'ont déposé qu'au bout de ce tems pour examiner leur contenu. Chaque insulaire possède deux bannetons pour pouvoir se procurer tous les jours du poisson. Les petits (Ounababa) ont pour amorce de petites écrevisses, particulièrement de petits Bernars et du Bouro (fruit de l'arbre à pain aigri par la fermentation). Les grands bannetons (Ouh)

ne sont jamais amorçés, et sont exposés hors du récif, ordinairement dans des enfoncements peu profonds, et d'autres fois pourtant dans de bien considérables. On lance du bord ces derniers, après y avoir mis, ainsi que dans les premiers, des pierres pour qu'ils aillent de suite au fond; on a soin de remarquer la place où ils tombent dans la mer. La plus belle saison pour la pêche une fois passée, les bannetons restent plus ou moins de tems à l'endroit où ils ont été jetés, quelquefois même plusieurs semaines entières. Pour découvrir plus facilement la véritable place où ils ont été déposés, les pêcheurs, avant de chercher à les retirer, commencent par mâcher de la noix de coco qu'ils crachent dans la mer, pour en rendre l'eau, par le moyen de l'huile qui s'en détache, plus calme et plus transparente, après quoi ils réussissent promptement dans leurs recherches. Ils portent dans leurs pirogues un filet fait des fibres du cocotier, dans lequel ils mettent une certaine quantité de corail madréporique, traversé d'un bout à l'autre par un morceau de bois très dur dont les deux bouts sont pourvus d'un crochet; à l'un d'eux on fixe une corde dont l'autre bout s'attache à la pirogue. Dès qu'on a retrouvé l'endroit où on avait laissé le banneton, on enfonce soigneusement le filet avec le corail jusqu'à ce qu'il atteigne presque le banneton, alors ils le laissent tomber tout d'un coup pour que la pointe du crochet d'en bas puisse le percer, ayant soin que le poids du corail ne l'écrase pas; on tire alors la corde qui soutient le filet, et de cette manière on parvient à faire remonter le banneton.

*Les mannequins de marée sont faits avec le plus grand soin, même avec élégance; on emploie pour ce genre de travail des branches très souples qui viennent d'un certain arbrisseau (*Volkameria*). Ces bannetons ne ressemblent pas mal à ceux dont on se sert en Angleterre et en Allemagne pour le même usage. Il y a sur ces îles de ces mannequins de marée qui ont deux toises de longueur, et qui sont généralement la propriété de tout un groupe d'îles, dont on estime la richesse et l'importance, à raison de la quantité qu'ils en possèdent. Celui de Morillo n'en peut compter que quarante, tandis que d'autres en ont jusqu'à deux cents. On choisit, pour jeter dans les profondeurs considérables, les bannetons déjà vieux et usés, parce qu'ils ne peuvent plus supporter le mouvement des vagues, qui agirait trop fortement sur eux dans des enfoncements moins profonds. Outre ces deux espèces de bannetons, il y en a encore de très petits, de formes différentes, qui sont toujours amorçés et placés indistinctement dans la lagune, mais pour quelques heures seulement; on ne se sert de ceux-ci que pour les poissons les plus petits: ils sont destinés à l'usage des femmes et des enfans, parce que tout ce qu'ils contiennent doit leur appartenir, et que, vu leur petitesse, ils n'éprouvent ni fatigue ni difficulté dans leur maniement.*

La pêche qui a lieu pendant la nuit s'appelle Eddoll, et se fait de la manière suivante: on commence par prendre des feuilles de cocotier bien sèches, que malgré cela on expose encore toute la journée au soleil, ensuite on place ces feuilles trois à trois, l'une sur l'autre, et on les attache ainsi. Quelques heures après le coucher du soleil, les pêcheurs viennent prendre ces feuilles préparées, et s'en servent en guise de torches, qu'ils allument lorsque toute la population mâle de l'île entre dans la lagune; ils les tiennent de la main gauche, la droite étant employée par un filet à manche dont ils font usage dès

qu'ils voient un poisson. Chaque pêcheur est suivi d'un autre qui n'a autre chose à faire que de retirer le poisson pris dans les filets, de le tuer en le mordant à la tête, et de la mettre dans le mannequin de marée. On suit la même méthode pour la pêche des écrevisses, des crabes, des homards et des langoustes. On appelle Hattan la manière de prendre le poisson au moyen d'une perche pointue; les Caroliniens sont très experts dans cette sorte de pêche, mais elle n'est guère employée que pour les espèces vertes du genre Scarus, qu'on mange crues avec le fruit conservé du Jacquier (Mar).

Un autre procédé fort en usage pour la pêche, consiste à fendre des feuilles de cocotier dans toute la longueur du pétiole commun, à les tourner ensuite autour d'une corde, de manière que les folioles ressortent de tous côtés. Deux hommes tiennent un bout de cette corde tendue, ils avancent ainsi en demi-cercle, suivis d'une quantité de gens qui chassent le poisson devant eux vers les bannetons placés d'avance pour les recevoir. Comme ce genre de pêche ne se fait que sur des fonds où l'eau n'a pas plus de deux pieds de profondeur, les folioles fixées à la corde, empêchent le poisson de reculer. Cette méthode a particulièrement lieu pour les Anacans, espèce de brochet à long museau. Ils finissent enfin par resserrer de plus en plus le cercle qu'ils ont formé, et parviennent ainsi à forcer le poisson d'entrer dans les bannetons. Les femmes ne s'occupent d'aucune de ces différentes sortes de pêche que je viens de décrire; il y en a cependant une à laquelle elles prennent une part active (on l'appelle Bachebock). Les femmes avancent dans la lagune pendant la nuit, sans lumière, avec des filets assez grands dont l'ouverture est en forme de parallélogramme; elles se rangent en demi-cercle à une très petite distance l'une de l'autre. Les hommes armés de perches restent avec les garçons près du rivage jusqu'à ce que les femmes soient établies; ensuite ils courent vers elles en traversant avec grand bruit la lagune, pour rendre l'eau trouble et bourbeuse; le poisson mis ainsi en mouvement par cette manoeuvre, se trouve pris facilement dans les filets que les femmes ont tendus. Ces divers procédés assurent aux naturels une grande abondance de poisson, et ne leur prennent que fort peu de tems; malheureusement on ne peut les mettre en usage que dans les mois où le poisson abonde. Alors on ne se sert pas d'hameçons, on les conserve pour la saison où il reste rare et où on ne peut plus suivre les autres procédés qui sont infiniment plus prompts.

Ces insulaires ont trois différentes espèces d'hameçons pour la pêche. L'une de ces espèces a plus ou moins la forme d'un arc, elle est généralement très petite, et n'a presque jamais plus d'un pouce de longueur; elle est faite tantôt d'écaille, quelquefois tout simplement des compartimens osseux de la cuirasse des poissons coffres (Ostracion). A la plus grande hauteur de cet hameçon on attache une ligne, sur laquelle on enfile l'appât qu'on étend ensuite sur l'hameçon, de manière à changer sa direction horizontale en une longitudinale. Sitôt que le poisson a mordu à l'hameçon et a avalé l'appât, on retire la ligne; par ce mouvement, en dégageant la position forcée de l'hameçon, le poisson se trouve pris à travers la bouche. C'est particulièrement pour les espèces du genre Gerres (Tinga) qu'on emploie cette méthode. La seconde espèce d'hameçons est presque semblable aux nôtres; ils sont faits en nacre de perle ou en écaille, mais l'on se sert toujours de préférence de ceux de fabrique européenne. Les Caroliniens en sont extrême-

ment avides. Pour nous faire comprendre leur désir d'en obtenir de nous, ils se mettaient le doigt dans la bouche et la tiraient de côté de manière à imiter un poisson pris à l'hameçon. C'est à la pêche qui se fait au clair de la lune qu'on fait usage de ces hameçons, surtout pour les espèces de Sérrianus, Bodianus, Labrus et Balista. La troisième espèce est à peu près semblable à cette dernière, seulement que les hameçons en sont beaucoup plus grands; on les emploie pour le poisson d'une dimension plus considérable, tels que pour les Bonites et autres. La manière de se servir de cet hameçon est d'en fixer la ligne derrière les barques, et de la laisser traîner à sa suite, amorcée de poisson ou de jeunes feuilles non développées du cocotier.

Ces insulaires mangent le poisson tantôt cru, tantôt grillé, ou bien apprêté de la manière que nous allons décrire. Lorsqu'ils se disposent à l'apprêter, ils commencent par creuser un trou dans la terre, et y font du feu; dès qu'il est bien allumé, ils mettent dessus des pierres en corail, sur lesquelles, une fois bien chauffées et le feu éteint, on étend une couche de feuilles, ensuite on y place le poisson qu'on recouvre d'une couche semblable à la première, au-dessus de laquelle on remet des pierres de corail également échauffées, après quoi on bouche complètement ce trou, et le poisson reste ainsi déposé plus ou moins longtemps. W. Floyd m'a assuré que le poisson se conservait d'après cette méthode une semaine et plus. Lorsque ces insulaires veulent griller le poisson, ils l'enfilent sur des perches d'un bois assez dur. Les poissons qu'ils mangent crus, tels qu'ils sortent de l'eau, sont: les différentes espèces de Cares verts, diverses espèces de brochets à long museau, et quelques autres encore du genre Scomber. Les Picarels, les Gerres, les Mulles et beaucoup d'autres poissons sont cuits entre des pierres; tandis que ceux qui sont plus ou moins plats, tels que les Chaetodon, les Aspisurus, les Soles, etc., ainsi que les superbes Labroïdées, à l'exception des Scares, sont toujours grillés. Ces insulaires n'estiment pas beaucoup les Chaetodons, et ne les mangent que dans les tems de disette. Il s'en trouve des espèces que les hommes et même les garçons ne doivent jamais manger, s'ils ne veulent risquer d'avoir des douleurs aux jambes; les femmes cependant en mangent pendant le tems de leur grossesse et de leurs indispositions périodiques avec plaisir et avidité. Du poisson qui leur sert de nourriture ils savent tirer encore d'autres avantages; ils emploient par exemple les épines des Aspisurus, dont la base de la queue est armée, pour saigner, ainsi que pour une opération qu'on pourrait comparer à l'acupuncture des Japonais. Les dents de requin servent au même usage. Ils emploient la peau de ce poisson comme le font nos menuisiers.

La mer fournit à ces insulaires, outre une si grande variété de poissons, quantité d'autres animaux de la famille des Mollusques, Crustacées et des Echinodermes, auxquels ils ont particulièrement recours lorsqu'ils manquent de poisson. William Floyd prétend, ainsi que les Caroliniens, que les poulpes et les sèches sont un excellent manger quarante huit heures après avoir été cuits et débarrassés de la substance glaiseuse et fétide qui alors les enveloppe. Les femmes, qui sont seules chargées de la pêche de ces animaux, les emploient en outre pour rehausser leurs charmes, en observant la méthode suivante: elles placent sur elles un poulpe qui entoure de ses longs bras leurs épaules et leur gorge, afin que par l'action des ventouses, dont les bras de ces animaux sont pourvus,

il se forme sur ces parties des taches rouges, ce qu'elles considèrent comme un grand embellissement. On rencontre quelquefois des poulpes d'une très grand dimension, il y en a même que les habitants craignent de toucher, tant elles sont énormes; on n'en mange pas en général le corps, qui sert d'amorce à des poissons qui en sont extrêmement friands. Le noir qui en provient est employé à teindre des couronnes et des colliers faits de fleurs. Les parages de ces îles abondent en écrevisses bernards, qui vivent sur terre pendant le jour, sur le Tournefortia, arbre d'un feuillage très touffu qui croît près du rivage, et sur lequel ces animaux se retirent pour y dormir. Il y a d'autres espèces de Crustacées pour lesquelles on emploie les bannetons; mais pour les crabes, les homards et les langoustes on suit la méthode indiquée pour la pêche de nuit à la lueur des torches. Quant aux coquillages, dont ces insulaires font une grande consommation, W. Floyd n'a pu m'en donner des détails satisfaisants, n'étant pas en état de me désigner assez clairement les espèces différentes; il y en a qui sont toujours venimeuses, tandis que d'autres ne le sont que pendant certaines époques de l'année, et d'autres enfin qu'on peut manger en tout tems sans en éprouver d'inconvénient.

[Birds are used as food]

Quoique le poisson, les différentes espèces de Mollusques et de Crustacées constituent en partie la nourriture de ces insulaires, ils ne dédaignent pas les oiseaux, dont cependant une partie leur est défendue. Les hommes et les garçons par exemple ne doivent pas manger du Turdus columbinus, car s'ils s'en avisaient, ils tomberaient infailliblement des cocotiers en les grimant; c'est pourquoi ces oiseaux sont réservés aux femmes seulement.

Une espèce d'hirondelle noire de mer, qui est peut-être le Sterna tenuirostris, est absolument défendue sur plusieurs îles; cet oiseau ne doit y être apporté ni mort, ni en vie, car la perte totale des arbres à pain en serait la suite inévitable. Cependant il y a d'autres îles, telles que celles qui forment le groupe de Fananou, où, malgré la proximité de Mourilleu et de Roua, il n'existe aucune loi touchant cet oiseau. Le Sterna stolidus est cependant recherché partout, et on le mange grillé. Ce Sterna est un vrai don du ciel pour nombre de ces îles, parce que cet oiseau pond dans les mois où il n'y a ni poisson, ni fruit. A Roua dans une seule recherche de ses oeufs, on en ramasse jusqu'à mille, et on peut, pendant la saison, enlever jusqu'à trois fois les oeufs.

Une espèce de fous (Pelicanus piscator) est très estimée à cause de la quantité de chair qui la couvre. Les poules, que ces insulaires savent leur être venues des îles de l'occident, sont aussi très estimées par rapport à leurs oeufs, qui sont cependant fort difficiles à trouver, car ces poules sauvages, par un instinct naturel, les dérobent autant que possible aux attaques des rats dont ces îles sont infestées, ainsi qu'aux recherches de l'homme. Ces insulaires prennent beaucoup de plaisir aux combats de coqs, goût qui leur vient vraisemblablement des Espagnols. Les longues plumes de la queue du coq sont considérées comme le plus grand ornement pour la coiffure des hommes.

[Dancing and feasting in general]

Un des traits les plus caractéristiques des peuples qui habitent l'Océanie, est une gaîté habituelle qui leur inspire un goût excessif pour le plaisir; la musique et la danse sont leurs amusements favoris, leur passe-tems le plus agréable. Les habitans des îles Carolines, ceux des îles de la Société, des Amis, de Sandwich, etc. se livrent avec une égale ardeur aux mêmes plaisirs. Chez les premiers il y a moins de recherche et plus de simplicité dans les réunions. On ne trouve dans les fêtes qu'on célèbre dans ces îles, qu'une faible esquisse de celles que Cook a décrites; l'art chez ces peuples est encore dans son enfance; ils n'ont recours à aucun instrument quelconque; la naïveté, le naturel, font tout le charme de leurs fêtes; leurs concerts répandent une joie, une allégresse inconcevable sur toutes les îles où l'usage les a introduite. La profession du chant et de la danse n'est pas bornée dans ces îles, comme dans celles que ce fameux navigateur a visitées, à une certaine classe de la société; toute la jeunesse d'une île, ou d'un groupe d'îles, prend indistinctement une part active dans les concerts publics. Ces insulaires renouvellent tous les ans, ou tous les deux ans, leurs chansons; ils mettent tout le soin, toute l'application possible à les étudier et à les bien chanter; elles sont le produit de quelque génie distingué de leur groupe d'îles, ou même de quelque autre. A cet égard un échange continuel d'idées a lieu par le moyen de la navigation. Si, par exemple, il vient à la jeunesse d'une île le désir de faire briller son talent musical dans une autre, plus ou moins éloignée, elle n'hésite pas à se mettre en route, sûre d'avance d'être accueillie avec les démonstrations les plus sincères de satisfaction et de plaisir, que ces sortes de visites ne manquent jamais de produire. Il est des cas où ces réunions sont fixées à une date très éloignée. Dans l'année où nous découvrîmes les îles Mourilleu, une partie des habitans de îles Sotoal, Sonek [sic] et Tametam avaient pris l'engagement de se rendre au mois de Juin de l'année présente dans l'île de Fananou, résidence du chef de ce groupe, quoiqu'ils en fussent éloignés d'environ 200 milles maritimes, uniquement dans l'intention de faire partie d'une fête dans le genre de celle qu'on va décrire. On s'occupait déjà des différens préparatifs; on commençait à s'exercer pour le chant et la danse. Il était stipulé que soixante-dix canots seraient employés pour le voyage, et que chacun de ces canots contiendrait cinq chanteuses. Il n'y a nul rapport entre les chansons des deux sexes, et l'on s'efforce avec une scrupuleuse attention à ce que le sens de celles qui sont chantées par les hommes, ne puisse être saisi par les femmes; on s'exerce même à prononcer de manière à ce qu'aucun de ceux qui ne sont pas au nombre des initiés ne puisse comprendre un seul mot, parce qu'elles sont souvent licencieuses ou qu'il s'y trouve des mots "pennant"; les répétitions se font séparément pour la même raison; celles des hommes, dans la maison commune; celles des femmes, tantôt chez elles, tantôt dans le plus épais des bois.

Lorsqu'il arrive une société de ce genre dans une des îles, elle est toujours accueillie de la manière la plus hospitalière. On établit les hommes dans la maison commune; les chanteuses sont introduites dans le logement des femmes. Dès le soir, les hommes s'exercent pour la fête qui a toujours lieu le lendemain de leur arrivée; les femmes au contraire, passent la nuit à causer ou à dormir. Le lendemain, de grand matin, tout habitant

de l'île, qui n'est pas retenu par des circonstances particulières, commence par aller à la pêche, tandis que ceux qui se disposent à figurer, s'occupent de leur parure qui leur prend beaucoup de tems, et que nous allons détailler; elle ne se termine que vers le milieu du jour. Ils commencent par se verser de l'huile de coco sur la tête, s'en frottent les cheveux et la peau, vont ensuite se baigner dans de l'eau douce, ce qui est chez eux d'un grand luxe, parce qu'il est très difficile de s'en procurer, cette eau étant fort rare et d'un prix exorbitant. Ces bains pris après s'être huilés, donnent à leurs cheveux et à leur corps ce lustre et cette souplesse qu'ils mettent au-dessus de tout, et qui remplacent chez eux la beauté d'un teint européen. L'usage, la décence, et surtout la superstition exigent absolument que les deux sexes se baignent dans des endroits différens, car, d'après la croyance de ces peuples, jamais poisson ne se laisserait prendre dans les filets d'un homme qui se serait baigné dans une pièce d'eau qui aurait d'abord servi au même usage à l'autre sexe. Après le bain, les femmes procèdent à leur toilette; elles se parent de pendans d'oreilles, faits d'un bois très léger, élégamment peints et ornés des fleurs du Pandanus; elles considèrent cet ornement comme un talisman auquel les hommes ne peuvent résister; elles mettent ensuite des bracelets en écaille et en nacre de perle. Leur chevelure est ornée de guirlandes de fleurs odoriférentes, artistement formées, et posées avec le plus grand goût. Leur cou est chargé de colliers, qui à leurs yeux sont des plus riches, des plus précieux, quoique en effet ils ne se composent que de feuilles, de coquilles, de bois peint, etc. Leur vêtement consiste dans un tissu à larges raies jaunes et noires, fait des fibres du bananier, qu'elles s'attachent autour du corps au-dessus des hanches. Elles portent en outre une ceinture au haut de ce tissu, dont les bouts retombent jusqu'aux genoux; elle est faite des feuilles du cocotier. Les jeunes femmes sont comme à l'ordinaire nues jusqu'à la ceinture; celles d'un certain âge portent à cette occasion une mantille. Les hommes ne le cèdent en rien aux femmes pour la parure; ils s'ornent le cou, les bras et les jambes de jeunes feuilles de cocotier, s'attachent autour de la taille une belle ceinture orange, portent une couronne faite des fibres du bananier qu'ils teignent du jaune le plus vif, ce qui contraste singulièrement avec le noir d'ébène de leurs cheveux arrangés avec soin, et retenus par un grand peigne auquel on fixe une touffe de duvet, de laquelle s'élançe une longue plume de coq ou d'un paille en queue (Phaéton) d'une rare beauté, et qu'ils regardent comme leur plus bel ornement. Lorsque la saison le permet, leur collier est composé des feuilles d'une Scitaminée (Mazanta), plante très estimée, et qui ne se trouve que dans peu de ces îles.

La toilette achevée, deux ou trois hommes se rendent en cérémonie à la maison commune, où dès l'entrée ils commencent à chanter; à cet appel les autres chanteurs se rendent à l'instant au même endroit, et se placent tous à l'un des côtés de l'édifice. Ce n'est qu'alors que les chanteuses paraissent, et en arrivant se placent du côté opposé qui leur est assigné; toute l'île accourt aussitôt; hommes, femmes, vieillards, enfans, tous se pressent en foule pour assister à la fête. Les hommes ouvrent le concert, mais peu après la voix des femmes s'unit à la leur. Au commencement du concert ils sont tous assis, mais ils ne tardent pas à se lever pour joindre la danse à leurs chants; ils amusent ainsi le public pendant trois ou quatre heures de suite. Les femmes se retirent les premières

et toutes à la fois, tandis que les hommes prolongent la fête, et ne quittent la maison qu'après avoir été régalés de tout ce que l'île produit de plus recherché. Les habitans, dans de semblables occasions, rassemblent à l'envi les vivres, les délicatesses en usage parmi eux, et fournissent ainsi abondamment la fête. Le Tamol, ou chef, en fait les honneurs, et lorsque ses convives paraissent vouloir se retirer, il fait des instances pour les retenir, et les invite à une fête que les habitans de son île doivent donner en leur honneur, à quelques jours de distance, et qui est absolument dans le même genre.

Outre ces grandes fêtes, qui demandent tant d'apprêts, les insulaires se rassemblent souvent entr'eux pour danser et chanter, particulièrement pendant les trois mois d'été, lorsqu'il y a une plus grande abondance de poisson. Ils se réunissent ordinairement après le coucher du soleil, et la fête continue jusque fort avant dans la nuit.

La danse de ces peuples a un caractère qui leur est tout particulier; dès que cet exercice doit commencer dans les grandes fêtes qu'on a décrites, toute la jeunesse se lève, et va se placer de manière à former autant de lignes parallèles que le nombre de convives et le lieu choisi le permettent. Tous dansent à la fois, et les figures, qui ne manquent pas de variété, sont exécutées avec le plus grand ensemble. La mesure est observée avec une exactitude surprenante. Du reste, leur genre de danse consiste dans des mouvemens brusques et vifs du corps, des bras et des jambes; elle est en outre fort bruyante, parce qu'ils se frappent les mains l'une contre l'autre ou sur différentes parties du corps. Ils poussent avec cela, par intervalles, des cris inarticulés qu'ils décorent du nom de chant. Ils ne dansent pas, comme chez nous, toujours debout, parmi eux cet exercice a également lieu assis.

[Religion]

Un esprit qu'on nomme Hanno ou Hannoulape règne sur chaque groupe d'îlots des Carolines; c'est lui qui pourvoit ces îles de tout ce qui leur est nécessaire. Il paraît, d'après certaines données, qu'il est lui-même subordonné à un être qui lui est infiniment supérieur. Peu d'individus jouissent de la prérogative de voir cet esprit, de l'entendre et de faire connaître ses ordonnances, et ne la doivent qu'à l'intercession de leurs enfans morts en bas âge; du reste ils ne jouissent d'aucune considération particulière, ni d'aucun privilège. Ces élus sont parfois sujets aux attaques d'un esprit malveillant qui demeure dans les coraux sur lesquels ces îles reposent; celui-ci leur envie la faveur de contempler le front serein d'Hanno, qui est à jamais invisible pour lui. Lorsque cet esprit s'établit dans le corps d'un élu, on en consulte de suite un autre, après avoir préalablement conduit le possédé dans la maison commune destinée aux hommes non mariés; l'infortuné pousse des hurlemens affreux, fait mille contorsions épouvantables en se roulant par terre. Dès que le conjurateur arrive, il examine pendant quelque tems le malade avec la plus sérieuse attention, et finit par déclarer que le malin esprit s'est emparé de lui, qu'il doit sur le champ se préparer à combattre un ennemi aussi formidable, après quoi il le quitte en donnant ordre de faire chercher des cocos. Au bout de quelques heures il revient peint, huilé, paré, et armé de deux lances, en criant, se tordant les mains, et faisant tout le bruit imaginable, à mesure qu'il approche de la maison du malade. En entrant

il attaque directement le possédé, qui à l'instant se lève, se précipite sur son agresseur pour se mettre à l'abri de ses coups. Après un vigoureux combat, ils jettent leurs lances, et conjurateur et possédé, se saisissent de leurs Gour-gour ou bâtons dont ils se servent en dansant; c'est alors que la scène la plus ridicule succède à ce combat, qui paraissait devoir être à toute outrance; ils se mettent tous deux à danser de la manière la plus burlesque, en jetant autour d'eux des cocos, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient complètement épuisés et hors d'état de pouvoir continuer. Ce combat se répète, et se prolonge à différens intervalles, souvent pendant plusieurs semaines de suite, jusqu'à ce que le conjurateur demeure vainqueur. En tems de calamité on consulte les inspirés qui cherchent, dans de pareilles circonstances, à pénétrer les intentions d'Hannoulape par l'intermédiaire de leurs enfans morts en bas âge; il arrive que les oracles rendus sont ambigus, et souvent diamétralement opposés.

Ces insulaires célèbrent annuellement, en l'honneur d'Hannoulape, des réjouissances qui durent un mois entier, et qui exigent les plus grands préparatifs; pendant l'espace de deux mois le mari est banni du lit nuptial; tant que dure la fête, il n'est pas permis d'attacher de voiles aux canots; aucune barque ne peut s'éloigner du rivage durant les huit premiers jours, et il est défendu aux étrangers d'aborder à la côte.

Les quatre jours qui précèdent la grande solennité sont employés à recueillir autant de cocos verts que possible, et à en préparer les noix avec le fruit de l'arbre à pain dont on compose différens plats. Une grande pêche a lieu la veille de la fête; on transporte toutes les provisions au Led, maison ordinaire qui sert de temple à Hannoulape, et qui pour cette seule nuit de l'année reste fermée. Le lendemain, entre le lever du soleil et sa plus grande hauteur sur l'horizon, tous les habitans mâles, à l'exception des enfans, se rassemblent pour voir entrer dans le temple, par la porte du nord, le Tamol, paré de tout ce qu'il y a de plus beau en habits, colliers, bracelets, etc.; son regard est sombre et fixé vers la terre; il tient à la main un bâton avec lequel il a l'air de se frayer un chemin, paraît concentré en lui-même, et uniquement occupé d'un monologue auquel personne ne peut rien comprendre. Son frère, aussi richement paré, le devance, et fait son entrée dans le temple par la porte opposée, à la tête des habitans les plus distingués; ils s'asseyent, et dès que le Tamol paraît, l'assemblée se lève, et il se place sur trois belles nattes qui lui ont été préparées, et ce n'est que lorsqu'il s'est assis que les habitans se permettent de s'asseoir par terre; le chef une fois entré, le temple est fermé pour tout autre. Le frère du Tamol s'approche alors des provisions, et prend quelque chose de tous les plats, dont le nombre s'élève au moins à cinquante; il y joint le plus grand poisson et le plus grand coco, met le tout dans un panier fait de feuilles de cocotier, et le présente à son auguste frère, pour lequel il ouvre en outre 50 à 60 cocos; il distribue ensuite le reste des provisions à l'assemblée réunie, se place auprès de son frère, pour partager avec lui le repas qu'il vient de lui préparer, et reçoit en récompense les enveloppes fibreuses de tous les cocos qui ont été ouverts, offrande de grand prix par le rapport des cordages qu'on en retire. Au bout d'une demi-heure cette fête, qui a exigé de si grands apprêts, se trouve terminée; le temple se transforme en maison ordinaire commune à tous ceux qui veulent s'y rendre, s'y établir, s'y coucher, y faire du feu, etc. ayant soin

seulement de ne pas toucher aux cendres, crainte que l'île ne devienne enchantée. Cette maison, ou temple d'Hannoulape, est le séjour ordinaire des malades, mais personne ne se hasarderait à y demeurer seul, parce que l'esprit d'Hanno y réside.

[Carolinian canoe building and navigation]

Enchaînés pour ainsi dire à la mer, comme nous l'avons vu par la position et la conformation de leurs îles et par le commerce qu'ils entretiennent, il ne sera pas sans intérêt d'apprendre quelque chose sur la navigation de ces insulaires. Leurs pirogues sont faites en bois de l'arbre à pain. Des détails sur leur construction, sans l'aide de dessins, seraient inintelligibles, nous nous bornerons donc à dire qu'elles sont fort simples, et toutes pourvues d'un Outrigger. Ils en ont de toutes les grandeurs; les plus petites ne portent pas même deux ou trois hommes; les plus grandes, qui ont trente ou quarante pieds de longueur, peuvent contenir dix à quinze hommes. Ces dernières qui ne sont dirigées qu'au moyen de voiles, sans rames, s'emploient principalement en hiver, et quand ils voyagent en famille; mais en été ils vont souvent en mer sur des pirogues beaucoup plus petites.

En s'éloignant des côtes à des distances auxquelles les anciens navigateurs n'avaient jamais eu la témérité de songer; il est clair que les Caroliniens doivent employer les mêmes moyens qui ont servi aux premiers pour diriger leur route. Comme eux ils observent le cours des astres, et ont des noms pour toutes les étoiles remarquables; ils les réunissent en constellations, auxquelles ils attachent de certaines idées. Ils disent par exemple que les quatre étoiles principales d'Orion représentent deux hommes et deux femmes, etc. Ils divisent l'horizon en 28 points, dont chacun tire son nom d'une étoile remarquable, qui s'y lève ou s'y couche, de manière que tous les rhumbs également éloignés des points cardinaux ont les mêmes noms, mais tous ceux de la partie ouest de l'horizon sont précédés du mot "Tolone", qui signifie probablement se coucher.

Chaque jour d'un mois lunaire a son nom particulier, et dans quelques groupes d'îles on distingue même les différentes périodes de la journée. Ils cherchent toujours à se mettre en mer d'après certains pronostics qui leur indiquent l'époque ou le tems sera favorable et fixé au beau; ils profitent du clair de lune pour se mettre en route, se dirigeant durant le jour d'après le soleil, et la nuit d'après la lune et les étoiles; ils arrivent ordinairement à bon port au lieu de leur destination. Si par hasard ils ont un tems brumeux, ils tâchent de conserver la même route par rapport au vent qui, entre les tropiques, est quelquefois assez constant pour servir de boussole pour un court trajet, mais qui néanmoins peut changer. C'est alors principalement qu'il leur arrive de s'égarer; dans ce cas, ils louvoient contre le vent, en cherchant d'aborder à quelque île que ce soit, pour avoir un nouveau point de départ; après s'être orientés, ils reprennent leur route. Mais si par malheur ils manquent toutes les îles, il ne leur reste que de périr en mer, ou d'être jetés sur quelque côte inconnue, souvent à une distance énorme. C'est ainsi que Kadou, cet Ulysse de la Polynésie, après une longue navigation, aborda à Radack à 2,500 verstes plus à l'est de la patrie qu'il cherchait. Ces longs voyages faits contre le vent, s'expliquent aisément par la grande célérité de leurs pirogues quand elles naviguent au plus près du vent, sans avoir recours, comme dans le cas de Kadou, à une navigation de huit

mois, chose tout à fait incroyable. Une bonne pirogue pourrait facilement parcourir 2,500 verstes en un mois. Il est bien excusable et bien naturel qu'au milieu des inquiétudes et des transes mortelles que dûrent éprouver ces infortunés voyageurs, placés comme ils l'étaient entre la vie et la mort, ils aient pris sept ou huit semaines pour autant de mois.

Pour construire les canots dans lesquels ils font de si longs, de si périlleux voyages, ils s'y prennent de la manière suivante: sitôt que quelqu'un désire en faire construire un, il commence par chercher dans l'étendue de l'île où il trouve un arbre, qu'il sait se procurer de quelque propriétaire en échange de nattes, cordes, ou autres objets d'industrie. Il est d'avance sûr de l'assistance de ses compatriotes, qui ne tardent pas à l'aider à abattre le tronc aussi près de la base que possible; pour y parvenir, ils l'attaquent de tous côtés en le coupant circulairement jusqu'au coeur, précaution qu'ils regardent comme indispensable, pour que l'arbre en tombant ne se fende pas à sa base, ce qui le rendrait inutile pour le but proposé. N'ayant que des haches peu propres à un tel travail, ils ne peuvent, malgré leurs efforts, avancer que très lentement, et sont forcés de mettre des intervalles à leurs travaux pour se soulager de la fatigue qu'ils leur causent; ils travaillent un jour et se reposent les deux suivans. L'arbre une fois abattu, est traîné par le moyen de cordes, au rivage, près de la maison commune, où on le laisse exposé aux rayons du soleil, couvert seulement de quelques branches pendant l'espace de plusieurs mois, afin que le bois soit parfaitement sec avant d'en faire usage; c'est alors que les travaux commencent.

Il n'y a sur le grand groupe de Mourilleu que trois constructeurs de canots; celui que l'on choisit, commence par prononcer en public un discours qui est en général très long, ensuite il mesure au moyen du pétiole d'un cocotier les dimensions du tronc, fixe la longueur de la quille, et en indique les limites, etc. C'est lui qui dirige les ouvriers, et veille à ce que tous soient assidus à leur devoir. L'extérieur du tronc grossièrement achevé, on commence à le creuser, ce qui se fait assez promptement, parce qu'il y a quelquefois jusqu'à trente hommes et plus, chargés de cet emploi. Une barque à rames est en général l'ouvrage d'un jour. La proue et la poupe des pirogues, ou canots, exigent une attention toute particulière, doivent être faites séparément, et demandent le plus grand soin. On abat quelquefois inutilement plusieurs arbres, avant de réunir à trouver ce qui convient à cet effet. Pour les côtés du canot, dont on s'occupe ensuite, il faut une autre espèce de bois. D'après ces détails, on pourra se former une idée de la difficulté et de la durée de ce genre de travail, surtout si on examine les misérables outils dont ils se servent, et qui doivent suffire à tout ce qu'ils entreprennent. Aussi la joie est-elle à son comble lorsqu'on en est venu à ce point, et de grandes fêtes ont lieu à cette occasion; hommes, femmes, enfans, tout ce qui est en état de travailler, court à la pêche, et s'occupe à préparer les mets en usage parmi eux, composés de cocos, de fruits de l'arbre à pain, d'arrow-root, etc. Dès ce moment on s'arrange de façon à ne plus travailler que jusqu'au milieu du jour; alors on sert à manger, et ensuite on place de jeunes fruits du cocotier sous le canot, comme une offrande à Hanno. Cette cérémonie se répète tous les jours, jusqu'à ce que la barque soit entièrement achevée. Ce n'est qu'alors qu'il est permis de se ré-

galer du poisson qu'on a fait cuire entre des pierres chauffées, et qu'on a conservé en le déposant dans des trous bien fermés. La proue et la poupe sont ensuite ornées de guirlandes de fleurs, et on n'attend qu'une occasion favorable pour lancer ce nouveau canot qu'on vient de terminer, et qui hérite du nom de quelque autre hors d'usage, duquel on conserve toujours une partie quelconque, pour la faire entrer dans le nouveau. Le constructeur du canot est dédommagé généralement de ses peines par un riche présent de nattes, de fruits, etc.

Je regrette infiniment de n'avoir que des notices vagues sur la manière dont les navigateurs de ces îles font leurs préparatifs lorsqu'il s'agit d'entreprendre un grand voyage. William Floyd n'a pu m'en instruire, et ne m'a communiqué des détails que pour ceux de Roua à la haute île de Rouch ou Olla, qui est à peine à une distance de quatre-vingt milles maritimes. Pour ce voyage, qui est ordinairement l'affaire d'une journée, ils portent avec eux une douzaine de fruits de l'arbre à pain, qui sont grillés; on compose en outre un mets du fruit du Jaquier, qu'on sert dans des coquilles. Le poisson n'est pas oublié, quand on peut s'en procurer, non plus que les cocos.

Les principaux objets de leurs recherches dans les différens voyages qu'ils entreprennent, sont: le "mar", espèce de pâte fermentée et préparée avec le fruit à pain, qui sert presque uniquement de nourriture pendant l'hiver; tout ce qui fait partie de l'habillement, ainsi que différens ustensiles propres au ménage. Arrivés à Olla [Chuuk], ils se rendent chez quelque hôte hospitalier, par lequel ils sont sûrs d'être cordialement reçus; celui-ci dès qu'ils arrivent fait immédiatement son rapport au Tamol, qui leur envoie dire de venir déposer chez lui leurs voiles jusqu'à leur départ de l'île; cette cérémonie leur assure la protection des lois. L'échange de leurs productions respectives a lieu le soir même. Les objets de commerce des habitans des îles basses sont des canots, des voiles, des rames, des cordages, des lances, des massues, des paniers, des nattes faites des feuilles du Pandanus, des ustensiles, etc. qu'ils échangent pour des manteaux, des ceintures, et autres articles de l'ajustement, faits pour la plupart des fibres du bananier et de l'hibiscus, végétaux dont ces habitans sont presque entièrement privés; du "mar", du "tek", produit tiré d'une scitaminée qui donne une couleur orange des plus magnifiques; de la terre rouge; des pierres à chaux noires, dont ils font usage pour apprêter leur arrow-root.

Les marchés conclus, ils laissent leurs habillemens usés pour être teints en noir, ce qui se fait gratis. Les jours suivans se passent en divertissemens, pendant lesquels ils se contentent de mets composés du fruit à pain, de cocos, ainsi que des racines des aroïdées.

Plusieurs productions des hautes îles, telles que le "gam", espèce de racine qui ressemble à la pomme de terre, les oranges, les bananes, le fruit délicat du Crataeva, et la canne à sucre, ainsi que le poisson qui y est très abondant, sont défendues aux habitans des îles basses, ce qu'ils observent très religieusement, persuadés que le démon qui fait sa résidence dans l'arc-en-ciel, les submergerait à leur retour, s'ils se rendaient coupables d'une semblable désobéissance. A leur départ de l'île, on charge leurs canots de "koie", mets préparé avec des noix de Jaquier d'une qualité inférieure; ce "koie" est très

nourissant et d'une grande ressource pendant les disettes qui sont assez fréquentes en hiver dans les îles basses; on n'exige jamais rien pour ces mets. Le voyage de retour demande au moins cinq jours, parce qu'ils doivent naviguer contre le vent; c'est alors que le talent du pilote doit se déployer pour ne pas perdre, en louvoyant, la direction de l'île de Roua. Dès qu'ils reviennent d'un de ces voyages, on prépare au pilote un dîner à part qu'on appelle Oedderé, auquel il est strictement défendu qu'aucun autre prenne part. Avant que le pilote, qu'on nomme dans leur langue Apalla, commence son repas, il prononce quelques paroles, apparemment des actions de grâces à Hanno. Presque toute la population qui a concouru à préparer ce festin, est présente quand il goûte aux provisions qu'on lui offre, et qui sont toujours en grande abondance. Tout ce qu'il ne mange pas, lui est réservé, on le porte aussitôt chez lui; c'est la seule récompense qu'il obtient de ses voyages, mais aussi il ne faut pas oublier que la plupart de ces expéditions sont entreprises en commun, et non par des particuliers. Le rang de pilote est des plus distingués. On pourra facilement se figurer de quelle considération ces pilotes jouissent, lorsqu'on apprendra qu'il n'y a que deux à Roua; l'un était le vieux Tamol lui-même, et l'autre le fils de sa soeur.

Nous avons vu plus haut qu'il y avait une espèce de chaux ou de mastic dont on faisait usage pour la construction des pirogues, afin de lier étroitement ensemble les planches qui les composent. Je vais donner quelques détails sur la manière dont ces insulaires la préparent, et qui prouveront que les tribus des divers peuples répandus sur le globe ont recours aux mêmes moyens pour tirer avantage des différens produits que la nature leur a fournis. Ces insulaires, pour préparer cette chaux, commencent par chercher de grandes masses d'un corail madréporique qu'ils transportent à un endroit désigné près du rivage; ils y font un trou assez profond qui communique avec un canal étroit creusé à côté, et y font un feu de bois pour le bien chauffer; ensuite ils y mettent le corail qu'ils recouvrent d'un treillage des feuilles pennées du cocotier, par dessus lesquelles ils en placent d'autres, puis de vieilles nattes ou ce qui se trouve sous la main. Après ces opérations, ils comblent entièrement ce trou avec de la terre, du sable, etc. Au moyen du canal qui se trouve auprès du trou, ils y font entrer une aussi grande quantité d'eau que possible, et bouchent ensuite l'ouverture, afin que les vapeurs qui s'en exhalent y soient retenues. Ce corail reste ainsi déposé pendant quelques mois de suite, après quoi ils ouvrent ce trou très soigneusement, et trouvent le corail transformé en une masse blanche très caustique, de laquelle ils prennent une petite quantité à l'aide de grandes coquilles; ils portent chez eux la portion qu'ils viennent de retirer, la frottent sur une planche pour en faire sortir les petites pierres qui s'y trouvent, mêlent ensuite ce mastic avec du charbon tiré de la spathe ou de l'enveloppe fibreuse des vieux fruits du cocotier, et il se trouve alors prêt à être employé; il ne faut pas tarder à le mettre en usage, autrement il se durcirait, et on ne pourrait plus s'en servir.

On se sert des feuilles coriaces du Calophyllum pour transporter cette chaux dans les différens endroits où on veut l'employer. Après s'en être servi, on a soin de la couvrir avec des feuilles pour qu'elle ne se sèche pas trop au soleil.

[Fire making]

*Ces naturels, lorsqu'ils veulent faire du feu, prennent généralement un morceau de bois d'une dimension quelconque qu'ils tirent de l'*Hibiscus populneus*; ce bois est extrêmement léger, ils y font tout du long une espèce d'entaille et le posent à terre, tandis qu'un autre prépare une baguette du même bois, taillée en pointe, qu'il place et soutient perpendiculairement dans cette entaille en la tenant des deux mains, pendant qu'il la fait rouler d'un bout à l'autre, avec toute la force et la vitesse imaginables. Tout le succès dépend de l'habileté du rouleur et de la sécheresse du bois; quelquefois un seul roulement suffit pour produire du feu qu'on entretient avec la partie fibreuse du fruit du *Barringtonia speciosa*, qu'on a eu soin de faire bien sécher d'avance. D'autrefois on emploie cette manoeuvre des heures entières avant d'en obtenir le résultat désiré.*

[Absence of kava in the Central Carolines]

*Le Kava, boisson si généralement adoptée sur toutes les îles du grand océan, n'est pas introduite dans celles-ci Il est vrai que ces îles ne produisent pas ce qui la compose. W. Floyd m'a dit qu'on ne la connaissait pas non plus à Olla ou Rouch, ce qui est très extraordinaire, car à Ualan [*Kosrae*], la plante avec laquelle on prépare cette boisson (le *Piper methysticum*) est si commune et si recherchée que ce piper forme l'unique revenu des chefs de l'île.*

[Health situation]

Ces insulaires jouissent en général d'une très bonne santé; néanmoins ils ne sont pas exempts de maladies. Une espèce de petite vérole nommée Roup règne chez eux, elle est même quelquefois très dangereuse. Ils donnent aussi ce nom à tout autre maladie qui cause de grands ravages; elle attaque d'abord la paume de la main et la plante des pieds. Dans le principe les malades sont atteints d'un genre d'excoriation sèche, une quantité de chairs mortes se détachent et doivent être cautérisées au plus vite pour prévenir les suites qui en résulteraient si on négligeait de prendre cette précaution.¹ On parvient sûrement à guérir cette affreuse maladie, si l'on a recours à tems à ce remède violent.

*Une troisième maladie enfin, qui porte aussi le nom de Roup, est tout à fait incurable, c'est une espèce de lèpre (*Herpes exedens*) qui détruit promptement l'organisation et rend hideux le malheureux qui en est atteint.*

*L'Eléphantiasis y règne aussi, et nous avons vu plusieurs chefs en souffrir extrêmement. Le Sarcome médullaire (*Fungus haematodes*) perce à travers l'orbite de l'oeil des enfans de la même manière que chez nous. La cécité n'y est pas rare et se déclare à tout âge indistinctement.*

1 W. Floyd qui souffrait de cette maladie lorsqu'il vint sur le *Séniavine*, en fut complètement guéri par de petites doses de mercure sublimé.

*Ces insulaires donnent le nom de Mack à une espèce de goutte; quelquefois les jointures en sont tout enflées; d'autres fois, au contraire, on éprouve de grandes douleurs, mais sans aucune enflure; ces douleurs sont presque toujours périodiques. Lorsqu'il s'agit de traiter un malade qui en est atteint, on a recours à l'acupuncture, opération qui de fait de la manière suivante: on fixe au bout d'une petite baguette une des dents qui se trouvent à la base de la queue du genre de poisson nommé *Aspisurus*; cette dent attachée à la baguette de manière à former avec elle un angle droit est appliquée sur la partie malade, et enfoncée au moyen de petits coups qu'on donne sur cette baguette.*

L'Ichtyosis y est très commune, on l'appelle Episa, et celui qui en est atteint Meidome. Les commencemens de cette maladie ne sont d'aucune conséquence; l'individu qui en souffre ne se plaint d'aucune douleur ou incommodité, à l'exception d'une démangeaison presque continuelle. Dès que ce symptôme se déclare on interdit au malade la pêche et l'usage du bain, parce que l'effet de l'eau de mer redoublerait ses souffrances. A mesure que la maladie fait des progrès, l'exhalaison devient très désagréable. La peau du malade devient inégale, pelle continuellement, de manière à ressembler même à des écailles de poisson et à former des figures qui rappellent extrêmement celles des madrépores méandriques.

Les enfans sont très sujets aux aphtes, cette maladie en enlève un grand nombre quelques semaines après leur naissance.

Il y a des individus sur ces îles qui possèdent le secret de guérir différentes maladies; on les consulte toujours; ils font le plus grand mystère du traitement qu'ils font suivre. On les dédommage de leurs soins avec libéralité en leur donnant des différens produits de l'île. On ignore absolument ce qui entre dans la composition des remèdes. W. Floyd qui aurait bien désiré remplir les fonctions de médecin comme il prétendait avoir des connaissances dans cette partie, ne put jamais parvenir à apprendre la moindre chose sur les moyens dont ils se servaient pour guérir quantité de maladies, ils tiraient une grande vanité de leurs cures. Plusieurs de ces insulaires sont assez adroits pour quelques légères opérations de chirurgie, ils savent saigner, faire l'acupuncture, employer le moxa, cautériser, donner des lavemens, remettre les parties démisées, soignent même assez bien les fractures.

[Burial customs]

L'usage des enterremens n'existe pas chez eux. Lorsqu'une personne de la classe ordinaire vient de mourir, on attache le cadavre à une planche à laquelle on fixe des pierres pour la rendre pesante, après cela on le jette à la mer à quelque distance du récif.

Quand il s'agit des chefs ou autres grands personnages, on dépose leurs corps dans une petite maison qui se trouve derrière leur habitation ordinaire, et qui est généralement ornée de branches vertes et de fleurs.

[Climate]

Le climat de ces îles est ordinairement des plus agréables, des plus délicieux. Les chaleurs du tropique sont tempérées par la fraîcheur des vents et le voisinage de la mer.

Durant l'été on éprouve de grands calmes, mais alors la rosée et le serein rafraîchissent l'air. La quantité prodigieuse de pluie qui tombe dans cette saison la rend souvent désagréable; ces fortes pluies durent quelquefois vingt-quatre heures et souvent même plusieurs jours de suite. Les averses au reste n'y sont jamais rares dans aucune saison, il ne se passe pas cinq, six jours sans qu'il en tombe; quoiqu'elles soient si fréquentes, les habitans y sont très sensibles surtout les femmes et les enfans qui les craignent d'une manière étonnante. Ce n'est que lorsqu'il y a de jeunes fruits de l'arbre à pain, qu'aucune ondée ne pourrait les retenir; dès lors il n'y a plus d'obstacle puisqu'il s'agit de chercher ces fruits, une telle jouissance mérite bien qu'on se donne quelque peine.

Le tems qui chez eux correspond à nos mois de Janvier et de Février, est le plus désagréable de l'année: de grands coups de vent se font sentir, et très fréquemment. A cette époque les insulaires ne quittent jamais l'île. Vers ce tems le tonnerre (bat) et les éclairs (fifi) leur causent de vives inquiétudes. Ces phénomènes leur inspirent la plus grande terreur, et en même tems une haute vénération. Lorsqu'ils veulent se venger d'un ennemi, ils se rendent pendant l'orage chez les vieux élus, leur portent des offrandes qui consistent en fruits, en nattes, etc. et les prient de conjurer la foudre pour l'écraser. Je ferais pourtant tort à ce bon peuple, si je n'ajoutais pas qu'ils retournaient quelques heures plus tard avec de nouvelles offrandes, encore plus précieuses, pour les supplier d'apaiser l'orage, et d'épargner leur ennemi.

W. Floyd ne m'a rien appris au sujet des tremblemens de terre, cependant de grandes fentes qu'on découvre dans le récif sur lequel repose le groupe d'Ouléai, prouvent clairement que ces îles n'en sont pas exemptes.

Les pluies fréquentes, et plus encore un petit scarabée noir, causent un grand dégât aux toits des cabanes, de sorte que ces insulaires sont forcés de les renouveler régulièrement deux fois par an, ce qu'ils feraient même mieux de faire quatre fois. Ces toits sont faits des feuilles du cocotier. Chaque fois qu'on les renouvelle les femmes des ouvriers, du nombre desquels le propriétaire est toujours le premier, préparent un joli petit repas.

[Harmful animals]

Les rats sont un bien plus grand fléau encore pour ces îles; ces animaux, dont la quantité détruisent toutes leurs provisions. On raconte qu'à Olla [Chuuk], les rats avaient enlevé de différens magasins une quantité considérable de "mar" et l'avaient porté dans une grotte souterraine, ce qu'on vint à découvrir par quelques enfans, au grand contentement de tous les habitans. Pour guérir avec succès les piqûres du Scolopendre, dont le nombre est très grand dans ces îles, on prescrit une saignée à l'endroit même de la piqûre.

Les moustiques abondent dans ces îles pendant la saison pluvieuse. Pour s'en garantir pendant la nuit, les insulaires font de très grands sacs ouverts d'un côté seulement, et s'en couvrent entièrement.

[Plants]

Les productions du règne végétal sont d'une telle importance pour les habitans de ces îles, que je manquerais au but que je me suis proposé, si, avant de terminer ce mémoire, je ne donnais des détails sur la manière dont ils les emploient. Le nombre des espèces de plantes propres aux îles basses des Carolines est extrêmement limité; mais la nécessité a forcé les insulaires à en étudier les propriétés pour en tirer tout le parti possible; aussi n'existe-t-il presque aucune plante dans ces îles, qui n'entre pour quelque chose dans l'économie. On s'attend naturellement à ne pas voir toutes ces productions jouir de la même renommée, mais on s'étonnera de voir le profit que ces pauvres insulaires ont su tirer des produits de leur sol ingrat. De même que nos jardiniers distinguent plusieurs variétés parmi leurs arbres fruitiers, auxquels ils donnent des noms distinctifs, de même aussi nous voyons les habitans de ces îles, tenir scrupuleusement à ne pas confondre les différentes formes sous lesquelles se montre l'arbre auquel la destinée a, pour ainsi dire, lié leur sort.

[The breadfruit tree]

*Toutes les espèces de l'arbre à pain sont comprises sous le nom de Maï et leurs fruits sous celui de Maïfa.¹ Ces espèces forment d'abord deux grandes divisions. Celle qui est restée complètement dans l'état sauvage ou naturel se nomme Oness; ses fruits portent des semences en forme de petits noyaux ou espèces de châtaignes. L'autre division qu'on appelle de préférence Maïfa, comprend l'espèce ou le fruit entier est changé par suite d'une culture soignée, en une masse homogène qui forme cette nourriture que nous autres Européens, comparons avec raison à celle que nos céréales nous procurent. De cette dernière espèce on distingue: 1° le Naïgar dont le fruit est presque lisse et à peu près rond; 2° le Seoar dont le fruit est plus long et moins lisse; 3° le Méal espèce inférieure à feuilles aussi profondément incisées que l'Oness; 4° l'Ounibal dont la surface du fruit est très inégale et d'une couleur jaunâtre; 5° l'Ounibala qui ne diffère de l'Ounibal que parce que son fruit est plus grand. Ces deux dernières variétés sont les plus estimées par rapport à la supériorité de leurs fruits. L'Ounibal, l'Ounibala et le Seoar sont les espèces qu'on emploie pour l'usage immédiat, le jour même que les fruits ont été cueillis; tandis que le Naïgar et le Méal entrent dans la composition de leurs mets, parce qu'il se conservent plus longtems. Pour apprêter un de leurs mets, appelé Mar, on laisse d'abord un peu aigrir le fruit qui est d'un genre farineux, ensuite on le pelle et le pétrit pour en faire une sorte de pâte dans laquelle on exprime le jus de la chair des cocos; ce plat ainsi préparé est placé dans deux vases de bois de grandeur inégale, et couvert des feuilles du *Barringtonia speciosa*. On pose ces deux vases entre des pierres chauffées, on les y laisse environ quatre heures, après quoi on les retire pour les servir aux hommes dans la maison commune où les femmes n'ont point entrée durant les heures con-*

1 Les fruits de cet arbre précieux (*Artocarpa incisa*) sont assez grands, et surpassent en grosseur nos plus grandes pommes; leur couleur est verte; leur forme oblongue et leur surface hérissée de tubercules courts, taillés, pour ainsi dire, en pointe de diamant; leur chair est d'un blanc jaunâtre, et renferme un grand nombre de noyaux.

sacrées aux repas. Le Tamol qui en fait les honneurs, distribue le contenu du plus grand vase au public rassemblé, et prend le plus petit pour lui. Le Bouron, mets semblable à ce dernier, est préparé avec le fruit de l'Oness, duquel on a retiré les amandes; il n'entre ni lait, ni jus de cocos dans sa préparation; on ne le met pas non plus dans un vase pour lui donner une forme, cette pâte est tout simplement pétrie avec les mains en forme de balles, et ensuite rôties entre des pierres bien chauffées. L'Ouriman, autre mets de ce genre, se compose des fruits récemment cueillis de toutes les espèces, qu'après avoir pelés, on met dans un filet qu'on plonge pour une nuit dans la lagune, ou il est retenu par des pierres dont on le charge. Le lendemain on les retire de là, et les apprête de la même manière que le Mar excepté que le lait de cocos entre dans sa composition. Il est strictement défendu de régaler aucun individu de ce mets; c'est uniquement un plat de famille. Le Méal, mets qui se compose des fruits de l'Ounibal et de l'Ounibala, se prépare de la même manière que le Mar avec le jus exprimé de la chair du coco; on met ensuite cette espèce de pâte molle dans de grandes coquilles préparées à cet effet, pour tenir lieu de vases; on les recouvre d'herbe fraîche, après quoi on les porte auprès du feu. Ce mets est le plus cher et le plus friand de tous ceux des îles basses des Carolines.

On appelle Maoun la manière de griller simplement au feu les fruits de toutes les espèces de Jaquiers. Pour faire le Koie, on prend le fruit des différentes variétés indistinctement qu'on coupe en petits morceaux et couvre ou enveloppe d'une quantité de feuilles et d'herbe fraîche; on place ensuite le tout ainsi préparé entre des pierres chauffées pendant environ une heure; après l'avoir retiré, on le bat avec une pierre particulière, tirée de Rouch, et qui d'après W. Floyd, doit ressembler au marbre. Après cette opération ce mets est servi aux hommes.

On appelle Koboul les noyaux ou amandes du fruit du Jaquier; pour les apprêter on commence par en ôter la pelure, on les enfle ensuite sur une baguette, et de cette manière on les fait griller au feu. Ces amandes ainsi préparées ont le goût de châtaignes. Un autre mets composé des semences du fruit à pain se nomme Pogoul Koboul. On les fait bouillir dans un peu d'eau, dans des coques de cocos, ou dans des coquilles. Enfin on donne la dénomination de Cumkoboue à une autre manière d'apprêter ces amandes. Celle-ci est tout à fait simple: on les grille seulement sur des pierres chauffées. La préparation la plus ordinaire de ce fruit inappréciable, consiste à le couper en deux, et à le faire rôtir pendant deux heures à peu près entre des pierres bien chauffées qu'on recouvre de feuilles sèches, afin d'en conserver plus long-tems la chaleur. On sert ce mets tout chaud, sur des espèces de plateaux faits en treillage des feuilles du cocotier.

Le tronc du Jaquier est employé principalement pour les pirogues. Le bois de l'Oness, qui est très lourd, n'est en usage que pour les petites barques à rames; on préfère cependant toujours celui du Maï qui néanmoins coûte beaucoup plus cher; ce même bois est aussi très recherché pour les boîtes et les coffres, et dans le cas où ils se trouvent sans Guettarda, il doit servir pour les manches de leurs haches, particulièrement pour les plus longs.

Le suc laiteux qui coule de l'écorce du Jaquier, lorsqu'à une certaine époque de l'année on y fait des incisions, est employé au lieu de poix pour calfreuter les fentes des

pirogues. En le mêlant avec la noix mâchée du coco, il tient lieu de glu pour prendre les oiseaux, et empêche les rats de grimper au haut des cocotiers.

Le mude, ou écorce intérieure du même arbre, est employé, comme on sait, dans plusieurs îles de l'Océan pacifique, pour faire une certaine étoffe, que nous avons également trouvée en usage parmi les habitans de l'île haute de Pounipète, mais dans les îles basses on ne fait aucun cas de ce mude. L'écorce extérieure leur sert de bois de chauffage.

[The coconut tree]

Le cocotier (Nou) n'est pas moins essentiel aux habitans de ces îles que le Jaquier; chaque partie de cet arbre est employée, et on regarderait comme un crime d'en négliger une partie quelconque. Je me tairai cependant sur les avantages du fruit de cette production merveilleuse, personne n'en ignorant les qualités comme provision alimentaire.

L'enveloppe fibreuse des fruits ou plutôt des noix, le brou (Poïel dans la langue des insulaires), leur sert à faire d'excellens cordages, mais il faut observer que pour cet objet, ils n'emploient que celle des jeunes fruits qui sont encore verts; sitôt que cette substance fibreuse commence à jaunir, ce qui est un signe de la maturité du fruit, elle n'est plus propre aux cordages, car alors les fibres ont déjà perdu de leur force et de leur élasticité, et sont trop fragiles. Il ne faut pas s'imaginer pour cela que cette partie soit alors rejetée comme inutile; elle change seulement de nom et s'appelle Reh, et on l'emploie pour faire une couleur noire, dont les insulaires font grand cas pour leurs bateaux et différens autres objets; on la réduit en charbon dans des vases faits du corail dont leurs îlots se composent. Les feuilles adultes du cocotier (Peinos) servent à couvrir les toits des habitations; les jeunes feuilles à faire des espèces de paniers et des plateaux. Les premières feuilles, avant d'être complètement développées, sont employées comme ornemens autour des bras, des mollets, et au-dessus de la ceinture pour les femmes.

La partie dure du tronc, qui se trouve immédiatement sous l'écorce, sert à faire d'excellentes lances (Silles), ainsi que des massues très élégantes (Oak) à pointes quadrangulaires, qu'on vend aux habitans des îles élevées.

Du bois de la coque on fait des vases, des bracelets, des colliers et autres ornemens. La chair encore jeune du cocotier se mange avec plaisir, en la détachant de la coque avec les doigts. Celle des fruits adultes forme, comme on sait, un excellent plat, mais on l'emploie plus particulièrement pour en tirer de l'huile. Pour y réussir, on choisit de préférence les fruits qui tombent des arbres, on les place en plusieurs rangées au bord de la mer, pour être exposés à toute l'ardeur des rayons d'un soleil presque vertical; dans cette position ils commencent à germer, c'est alors qu'ils sont le plus exquis; mais la simplicité de ces insulaires et leur grande hospitalité les empêche de s'en régaler, et les engagent à les conserver pour les étrangers qui pourraient aborder dans leurs îles. Lors même qu'ils sont décidés à en faire de l'huile, ils mangent néanmoins la partie la plus intérieure de la chair qui est encore molle, et qu'on détache de la partie dure avec les ongles; on jette ce qui se trouve entre cette partie et celle qui est plus proche du bois de la coque, quoique cette partie soit la plus riche en huile, mais elle ne se conserve pas

*bien, et devient promptement rance; on ne peut non plus s'en servir pour les cheveux. Ce n'est donc que de la partie la plus dure de l'amande, qui est d'une substance presque cartilagineuse, que l'on fait usage pour tirer l'huile. On rape cette substance au moyen d'une coquille bivalve, et on la met dans un vase où elle reste pendant deux jours exposée à l'air. Au bout de ce tems, on en exprime avec les mains l'huile au soleil. Cette méthode est généralement adoptée quand on n'est pas pressé d'avoir l'huile; mais quand on veut en faire usage de suite, on met ce qu'on a rapé entre des feuilles de *Barringtonia speciosa*, et l'huile coule d'elle-même au fond du vase, d'où on la retire dès le lendemain. Mais l'huile qu'on obtient par ce procédé n'est nullement à comparer à celle qu'on se procure par le premier moyen indiqué; elle a toujours une odeur désagréable, et devient promptement rance. On conserve l'huile de la bonne qualité dans des coques de cocos creusées à cet effet, qu'on a soin de tenir aussi hermétiquement fermées que possible.*

On fait une espèce d'orgeat de la chair des noyaux qui ne sont plus jeunes, et qu'on appelle Hareng; cette émulsion est très recherchée par les habitans de ces îles; elle entre particulièrement dans la composition de leurs divers mets.

*Pendant ce que nos habitans tirent de plus précieux du cocotier, est sans contredit le suc qu'ils obtiennent des racèmes fructifères, et qui leur sert de boisson. C'est la matière nourrissante contenue dans ce suc, qui soutient ces pauvres insulaires dans la saison où il n'y a presque plus de fruits; sans cette ressource ils se trouveraient contraints pour apaiser leur faim, de sucer les enveloppes fibreuses du fruit du *Pandanus*, et de se contenter du peu de *Mar*, de *Koie* ou autres productions qu'ils tirent des îles élevées, et qui malheureusement sont loin de leur suffire. Cette boisson nourrissante ajoutée à certaines herbes, change celles-ci en aliment salubre, tandis que seules elles seraient nuisibles à la santé.*

*La providence, dont les desseins sont impénétrables, à cette même époque de l'année a presque privé ces îles de poisson. Combien de fois je me suis rappelé ce tems de notre voyage où nous nous trouvions près des îles *Lamourek*, *Farooulap*, *Oulimaraï* au mois de Mars 1828, où les insulaires venaient à notre bord avec tous les symptômes de la faim la plus dévorante, et dont presque tous les signes se réduisaient à demander à manger, et ce n'était qu'après avoir satisfait à ce premier besoin de la nature, que les facultés intellectuelles de ces malheureux commençaient à se développer, qu'ils prenaient intérêt à ce qui les environnait, et se livraient à l'étonnement et à l'admiration que leur inspirait la vue de tant de merveilles nouvelles pour eux.*

*Pour obtenir cette boisson déjà mentionnée, que *W. Floyd* nommait *Toddy*, quoique les *Caroliniens* l'appellassent *Avry*, on suit la méthode suivante: dès qu'on a trouvé l'arbre propre à donner ce *toddy*, quelqu'un y grimpe, y choisit une spathe¹ qui doit s'ouvrir dans une dizaine de jours. On la reconnaît par une ou plusieurs petites que se trouvent auprès. A la base de cette spathe on fait d'abord une petite fente, pour pou-*

1 Expansion ordinairement foliacée, mais dans les palmiers d'une substance presque ligneuse, qui d'abord enveloppe les fleurs et se fend, ou s'ouvre à l'époque de l'épanouissement.

voir la courber avec plus de facilité; ensuite avec toute la précaution possible on l'incline en bas, puis avec une ficelle qu'on attache à la base de cette spathe, on l'entoure fortement jusqu'aux deux tiers de la pointe, pour retarder le développement de la floraison. A cet endroit on détache soigneusement la peau extérieure de la spathe, jusqu'à son extrémité et on recouvre cet endroit d'une jeune feuille non développée de ce même arbre. Cette opération faite, on coupe obliquement avec un couteau bien tranchant la pointe de la spathe, et si l'arbre est réellement bon, il s'y montrera le jour même quelques gouttes. Il est très essentiel d'y suspendre de suite une coque de cocos, pour qu'aucune goutte ne puisse tomber à terre, crainte que les rats qui sont extrêmement friands de toddy ne soient attirés par l'odeur de cette boisson précieuse.¹ Dès le lendemain le suc coule avec abondance, au point d'être obligé de changer trois fois par jour la coque suspendue qui se trouve autant de fois remplie. Chaque fois qu'ils grimpent à cet effet sur l'arbre, ils renouvellent la coupure à la pointe de la spathe, car sans cette précaution l'ouverture en se séchant se refermerait promptement. Ils ont soin de couper aussi peu que possible de la spathe, puisque l'unique but, en le faisant, est d'entretenir l'écoulement. Quand cependant ils sont parvenus jusqu'à l'endroit où la ligature cesse, ils s'abstiennent de tirer plus de toddy de ce racème; ils détachent la ligature pour que la floraison ait son cours ordinaire, car ce même racème produira encore de très bons fruits. Dès que d'autres spathes se développent, ces insulaires répètent la même opération. Le toddy qu'on s'est ainsi procuré ne possède aucune qualité enivrante, on l'emploie même pour la boisson des enfans; on ne s'en sert que fraîche, et celle du matin n'est bonne que jusqu'à midi.

Quand il arrive que le mari est à la pêche, comme il n'en revient que deux ou trois heures après que le soleil est parvenu au zénith, sa femme trouve moyen de lui en conserver en mettant de tems en tems dans le vase où elle l'a versé des pierres chauffées; de cette manière il se conserve même pendant deux jours, mais non sans perdre de sa qualité. Le toddy de la veille qui est toujours un peu aigre est très recherché par les enfans, qui en font par la seule évaporation une espèce de syrop très doux.

Un bon palmier peut fournir du toddy à trois, et même à quatre générations successivement. Pendant les mois d'été, un bon père de famille ne recueille le toddy que d'un seul arbre pour la boisson de ses enfans, mais durant l'hiver il met autant d'arbres à contribution que sa fortune le lui permet.

On ne doit cependant pas s'imaginer que chaque cocotier soit propre à fournir le toddy; au contraire, ceux dont on le tire sont assez rares. On reconnaît si la qualité en est bonne, lorsqu'en faisant les premières entailles au tronc pour y grimper avec plus de facilité, le suc en découle. Jusqu'à présent les habitans des îles Carolines n'ont aucune idée de faire de cette boisson salubre, au moyen de la distillation ou de la fermenta-

1 Une tradition qui se trouve dans la bouche de tous les habitans de ces îles, nous apprend, que ce sont les rats qui leur ont enseigné l'art de se procurer le toddy. Ils remarquèrent que les rats grimpaient souvent au tronc du cocotier et arrachaient la pointe du racème, et qu'une quantité de rats se rassemblaient à la base du tronc, pour lécher le suc qui découlait de l'ouverture faite par le rat.

tion, une espèce d'eau-de-vie enivrante telle qu'aux îles Mariannes et Philippines. Il serait bien à désirer que les matelots anglais se tinsent long-tems éloignés de ces îles, de crainte qu'ils ne leur communiquassent cette connaissance dangereuse.

[The pandanus tree]

Les deux espèces de Baquois (Pandanus) qui se trouvent dans ces îles, sont connues sous le nom général de Far; mais on nomme celle qui est à larges feuilles Farira, et celle qui les a à troites Farnoual. Les deux espèces jouent un grand rôle dans leur économie, la dernière particulièrement (Pandanus odoratissimus) qui s'y trouve partout en grande abondance, tandis que le Farira est extrêmement rare sur toutes les îles basses, au point que les pieds qui s'en trouvent sur un groupe d'îles sont parfaitement bien connus de chaque habitant. Les feuilles larges de cette espèce sont employées à faire des chapeaux (Akon), dont la forme ne ressemble pas mal à un entonnoir. Les amandes qui se trouvent dans les grands fruits qui ont la forme d'ananas sont très estimées, et ont effectivement un goût excellent, mais on ne doit choisir que les fruits qui tombent des arbres. Comme le noyau est extrêmement dur et qu'il est entouré d'une masse fibreuse très tenace, les dents en souffrent beaucoup, parce qu'elle glisse et s'en détache difficilement. Ce fruit est interdit à ceux qui font des préparatifs de voyage. Celui qui enfreindrait cette loi, serait cause qu'une grande averse s'en suivrait aussitôt (Oud). Le trompette et sa famille en doivent faire le sacrifice complet, car l'usage leur en est à jamais interdit, parce que c'est au moyen des fanfares, ou pour mieux dire, au son du Buccin que les pluies doivent être conjurées.

On emploie les feuilles de l'autre espèce de Baquois, le Farnoual, pour faire de belles nattes et des voiles qu'on exporte aux îles élevées, pour les échanger contre d'autres articles faits des fibres du Bananier et du mude de l'Hibiscus populneus (Ketmie à feuilles de peuplier). Ces nattes sont d'une grande valeur, de sorte qu'on donne pour en obtenir une de belle qualité, mais pas trop grande, un grand morceau de Tek, couleur d'un orange vif, très en vogue parmi ces Indiens; tandis que cinquante toises de cordes épaisses du cocotier (Loul ou Noul) ne sont échangées que pour une très petite quantité de cette couleur précieuse. Les fruits de cette espèce de Baquois ne sont recherchés que par les enfans sur les îles que W. Floyd a habitées; ils en sucent la matière sucrée qui se trouve dans les fibres des jeunes ovaires. Dans les grandes disettes pourtant, ils deviennent presque l'unique nourriture de ces indigènes, qui se trouvent forcés d'y recourir. Lorsque l'arbre ne produit plus de fruits, son bois est extrêmement dur et fort: on s'en sert pour faire des perches et des lances pour la pêche. Les racines aériennes qui acquièrent aussi une très grande solidité, sont employées pour faire les arcs qui soutiennent les bannetons; on exprime le suc de l'extrémité de ces mêmes racines quand elles sont encore jeunes, pour servir de médicament en le mêlant aux comestibles. Le bois de cet arbre est considéré comme celui qui contient le plus de calorique, de tous les végétaux de ces îles. Les feuilles sèches servent aussi à couvrir les toits. Ce n'est pas encore tout le fruit qu'on retire de cet arbre essentiel: les fleurs mâles qui répandent dans l'atmosphère un parfum d'ananas sont l'ornement le plus recherché des femmes, qui ne

s'en parent que le soir afin de paraître avec éclat dans la société des hommes pour lesquels ces fleurs ont un attrait irrésistible. Ce trésor de la coquetterie carolinienne est communiqué aux plus jeunes filles, pour leur enseigner de bonne heure l'art de faire des conquêtes. La pauvre famille du trompette est encore privée pour toujours de cette parure d'un charme inexprimable.

Le Guettarda (Maouser) est un arbre très recherché par l'élégance de sa cime touffue, et particulièrement pour les fleurs odoriférantes dont il est orné, et qui servent à faire des couronnes, des colliers et des boucles d'oreille; ils sont en général auprès des habitations. Du bois de cet arbre on fait plusieurs ustensiles de cuisine, surtout ceux dans lesquels on prépare l'arrow-root. On estime aussi beaucoup les rames faites de ce bois. L'écorce est employée comme remède.

Le Franchipanier (Plumeria), le Saour des Caroliniens, est de même considéré comme plante d'agrément, et croît près des habitations à cause des belles fleurs dont le parfum surpasse encore la beauté; elles servent aussi comme objets de parure. Le bois en est très recherché pour faire des métiers, mais plus encore pour des navettes (Aboungaba), ainsi que pour des manches de couteaux et de haches.

Le Calophylle (Rogger), espèce de Sapotillier (Achras dissecta, Lin., le Savélin des Caroliniens), et L'Erythryne des Indes (Inga) sont trois arbres qui jouissent de la plus grande vénération. Ils sont assez rares, et il ne s'en trouve sur chaque île que peu d'individus. Ces arbres sont toujours "pennant"; on ne peut y toucher qu'après la décision d'un conseil général. Le bois ne doit jamais en être employé comme combustible, pas même les copeaux ou les retailles. Le bois de ces trois arbres est très dur, on l'emploie pour les rames et les outriggers des pirogues. Les ustensiles faits des plus petits morceaux de reste, sont du plus grand prix, ce qui ne peut avoir lieu pour celui de l'Erythryne, parce que le bois qui est extrêmement amer, donnerait un goût désagréable à ce qu'on y apprêterait. Posséder des rames de l'Erythryne pour un canot, suffirait pour faire connaître sur toutes les îles l'individu qui jouirait de ce privilège. Ces trois espèces de bois sont employées en outre pour faire une sorte d'échelle aux troncs des cocotiers qui fournissent le toddy, pour y grimper plus facilement. Les petites branches qui ne sont pas assez longues pour faire des rames ou des manches de haches, sont employées à cet usage; on les attache bien solidement avec des cordes après avoir fait auparavant quelques entailles au tronc même.

Les fleurs du Calophylle et de l'Erythryne servent à la parure; mais comme on n'oserait les cueillir de l'arbre même, on doit se contenter de celles qui tombent à terre. On porte les fruits du Sapotillier en guise de boucles d'oreilles; les feuilles du Calophylle servent de cuillers; et de la résine très odoriférante (Apparogger), qui découle du tronc, on fait cette couleur ineffaçable qu'ils emploient pour les dessins qu'ils adoptent pour leur tatouage. Pour la composer, on prend un morceau de cette résine qu'on attache dans l'enveloppe membraneuse des feuilles du cocotier avant leur épanouissement; ensuite on allume cette résine au-dessus de laquelle on soutient des pierres larges et lisses que l'île de Rouch fournit, et desquelles on recueille ensuite avec soin la suie qui par la

combustion de cette masse s'y est attachée en abondance. On met dans un vase ce qu'on en a pu ramasser, et lorsqu'on veut l'employer on mouille ce noir avec un peu d'eau.

Le Figuier d'Inde (Ficus indica) Aouen, est très inférieur aux arbres que je viens de nommer; le bois en est beaucoup moins dur; les racines fournissent pourtant encore de bons manches de haches, qui sont toujours d'une seule pièce; tandis que ceux qui sont faits du bois précieux des arbres que nous avons mentionnés, sont toujours composés de deux morceaux; dans celui des deux qui est le plus large quoique court, on fixe la hache, faite d'une coquille tranchante; à ce premier morceau on en ajoute au autre beaucoup plus long tiré du Scaevola.

Les petits fruits de ce figuier, d'un rouge écarlate, sont mangés tantôt crus, tantôt cuits, enveloppés dans des feuilles fraîches, et placés entre des pierres chauffées; après les avoir réduits en une espèce de marmelade, on y mêle du lait de cocos et du toddy. Le mude est en usage pour amorcer les poissons, on l'attache pour cela aux hameçons. En râpant l'extérieur de l'écorce, et en y mêlant le lait du Jaquier quand on y fait des entailles, on fait une espèce de mortier, qui se trouve toujours prêt dans toutes les pirogues en cas de voie d'eau.

Le superbe Barringtonia (Koul), arbre d'un très bel aspect, est d'un usage très limité: on n'en emploie guère les feuilles que pour envelopper les fruits pelés du Jaquier, quand on les prépare pour le Mar, les fleurs, que pour ornemens, comme boucles d'oreilles; et les enveloppes fibreuses du fruit que pour de l'amadou. La superstition est telle au sujet de cet arbre précieux, qu'il est strictement défendu de l'employer à aucun autre usage, les insulaires ayant la ferme croyance que si on le faisait cette infraction à la loi serait suivie de la mort de quelque individu. L'usage que tant d'autres habitans de l'Océan pacifique font de son fruit pour engourdir les poissons paraît tout à fait inconnu ici.

Le Scaevola, Scaevola Koenigii (Noëtt) est plutôt un arbrisseau qu'un arbre; il embellit extrêmement les rivages de ces îles par le vert brillant de son feuillage. Les fleurs, quoique assez petites et blanches, sont très recherchées pour des couronnes. Les jeunes branches contiennent dans leur intérieur une moëlle semblable sous plus d'un rapport, à celle que nous tirons de nos sureaux et de nos tournesols; elle est usitée pour servir de moxa qu'on emploie de préférence pour ces marques sur les épaules et sur la gorge, que j'ai comparées plus haut à celles de la vaccine. Dans les troncs et les branches plus avancées le bois s'endurcit pourtant, et devient d'une grande solidité, il sert à tous les usages auxquels le bois des arbres les plus précieux est employé lorsque sa dimension le permet, particulièrement pour ces haches dont les manches se composent de deux pièces, comme je l'ai déjà mentionné.

L'écorce entre dans la composition du noir qu'ils emploient pour peindre les pirogues; on prend en outre le charbon tiré du brou des fruits très avancés du cocotier, qu'on mêle avec le suc qui coule des incisions faites au Jaquier, on y ajoute l'écorce du Scaevola; ensuite on verse dessus un peu d'eau pour rendre ce noir liquide, il est alors propre à la teinture. Le bois léger et tout à fait blanc de l'Hernandier (Hernandia ovigera), Agran, n'est employé que comme combustible et n'est pas estimé, même comme tel.

On ne fait pas grand cas du Morinda citrifolia (Nen) si ce n'est pour se procurer l'agrément de le voir croître auprès des habitations qu'il embellit de son feuillage touffu. Son fruit n'est nullement aussi recherché que dans d'autres îles de ce même Océan; cependant on en fait, lorsqu'il est bien mûr, une espèce de marmelade avec du toddy, remède efficace pour les coliques. Cette même marmelade délayée dans de l'eau sert quelquefois de boisson.

Le fruit du Crataeva religiosa (Aboour) est au contraire très goûté. On en râpe complètement l'écorce, qui contient une substance âcre, qu'on expose aux rayons du soleil pour la sécher; au bout de deux ou trois jours, on la met dans des corbeilles tapissées d'herbes et de feuilles pour les amollir, ensuite on les écrase et on les mêle avec du lait de cocos. Il paraît que dans ces îles la superstition ne s'étend pas à cet arbre.

De l'intérieur de l'écorce de Procris (Aroma), on fait un fil très fort qu'on emploie pour faire des lignes pour la pêche. Cette substance se conserve parfaitement dans de l'eau de mer, tandis qu'elle se dissout à l'instant, si on la met dans de l'eau douce; c'est pourquoi ces insulaires la tiennent dans de l'eau salée en cas de pluie.

Le Volkameria (Aber) est un très joli arbrisseau dont les branches atteignent à une hauteur considérable; légèrement courbées, elles forment des berceaux naturels des plus élégants. Cette propriété, et la grande élasticité des branches, font qu'on emploie de préférence cet arbrisseau pour les bannetons, et espèces de cerceaux dont les insulaires se servent pour donner une forme convenable à leurs chapeaux. Les fleurs en sont très estimées pour former des couronnes, et quand elles n'auraient servi qu'une seule soirée, le blanc éblouissant que les distingue serait changé le lendemain en un noir d'ébène.

Les branches d'une très jolie Myrtacée, nommée Engué, sont employée le plus généralement pour les bannetons. Le bois du tronc de cette même plante sert à faire des maillets, avec lesquels on bat le brou des jeunes cocos, pour en tirer les fibres qui donnent, comme on sait, d'excellens cordages. On met pour cela ces enveloppes filamenteuses en macération pendant un ou deux mois dans de l'eau douce, après quoi on les lave dans de l'eau de mer.

Le Bananier est si rare sur les îles basses, qu'il est impossible de mettre ses fibres à profit pour faire des tissus semblables à ceux que les habitans des îles élevées leur fournissent. On se contente d'en manger les fruits, et les feuilles servent de plateaux dans les grandes occasions. Le coeur du Bananier entre dans la médecine: on le dit tellement efficace, qu'on y a recours lorsque tous les autres remèdes ont été employés sans succès.

Le Cerbera (Nouss), qui sûrement est un des plus beaux arbres de ces îles, leur est de peu d'utilité. Son bois comme combustible n'est nullement estimé. Mais le suc laiteux qui coule des jeunes branches quand on les coupe, sert à guérir les aphtes, et à entretenir les plaies qui doivent se changer graduellement en marques sur les épaules et sur la gorge.

Le Ketmie à feuilles de peuplier (Hibiscus populneus), Sapo, est malheureusement pour ces naturels, très rare dans ces îles, ce qui les oblige à tirer des îles élevées leurs différens vêtemens, qui sont préparés avec le mûde de cet arbre. Ses branches droites servent, à cause de leur légèreté, à faire des perches pour dériver du rivage, ainsi que pour

atteindre les fruits de l'arbre à pain de l'extrémité des plus hautes branches. Ce bois est en outre employé pour allumer le feu.

On serait disposé à donner à l'ixore écarlate (*Ixora coccinea*), Arriem, le nom de **la plus belle** par sa supériorité sur les autres productions du règne végétal de ces îles, à cause de la beauté toute particulière de ses fleurs qui viennent par bouquets; aussi les habitants ne lui refusent pas le tribut d'admiration qui lui est dû. La plus belle parure des jeunes filles consiste dans une ceinture composée des fleurs de cette plante, auxquelles on ajoute des feuilles non développées du cocotier lorsqu'elles sont encore d'un blanc tendre et délicat. Quand la saison le permet, on lave les nouveaux nés dans de l'eau douce, ayant soin d'y mettre quantité de ces fleurs avec les feuilles d'une espèce de *Marranta* (Tillen). La tenacité des branches permet aussi de s'en servir pour fabriquer les bannetons.

Le *Tounefortia argentea* (Malesset) dont le feuillage touffu est quelquefois rempli de différentes espèces très friandes d'écrevisses bernards, leur sert d'une espèce de panacée contre les maladies de poitrine. Les feuilles assez épaisses et laineuses sont appliquées aussi chaudes que possible sur la poitrine, ou on les presse fortement pour produire une petite ébullition.

Dans le *Tacca pinnatifida* (Moggemock), ces insulaires possèdent encore un aliment des plus nourrisants; la fécule qu'ils tirent de la racine de cette plante n'est autre chose qu'une sorte d'arrow-root de la meilleure qualité.¹ Les naturels emploient le procédé suivant pour obtenir cette fécule. On commence d'abord par broyer les racines sur des coraux madréporiques dont la surface ressemble à une râpe, et le tout est ensuite ramassé et posé sur de larges feuilles d'une aroïdée. Le soir on étend sur une pirogue une natte dans laquelle on met la masse râpée, et l'on verse dessus de l'eau de mer qui s'écoule ensuite à travers la natte, comme par un filtre, emportant de petites portions de cette fécule, on continue de la sorte jusqu'à ce que la pirogue soit entièrement remplie d'eau. Pendant la nuit, cette eau repose, et la fécule descend au fond; le lendemain on ôte soigneusement l'eau, et on recueille cette farine au moyen d'écaillés d'huitres à perles; on la place ensuite dans des vases appropriés à cet usage; pour bien laver cette farine on emploie de l'eau douce, dans laquelle on la laisse pendant 24 heures, alors on change l'eau, et la farine y reste de nouveau le même espace de tems. L'eau doit être encore une fois renouvelée. Ce n'est qu'alors qu'on fait agir le feu sur cette masse, en plaçant les vases remplis de cette farine avec une quantité suffisante d'eau sur des pierres bien chauffées, ayant soin de la retourner continuellement avec une baguette. On la mange alors ou chaude ou froide; de cette dernière manière cette masse devient très compacte et dure. Ce mets apprêté et mangé chaud avec le jus huilé exprimé des cocos râpés, a, selon W. Floyd, un goût excellent, il s'appelle alors Hareny Moggemock. L'arrow-root se prépare aussi avec le bouron (Tomar) entre des pierres chauffées, enfin avec des cocos

¹ Dans le groupe d'Ouluthy, il se trouve une île nommée Moggemock par les naturels, probablement à cause de cette plante; c'est de là que cette dénomination a été donnée à tout le groupe.

verts. Le lait de ce fruit, sa chair et l'arrow-root sont mêlés ensemble et ensuite enveloppés de feuilles, et cuits entre des pierres. Ce dernier mets est appelé Tourourou.

La hampe ou tige de la plante qui fournit l'arrow-root, étant creuse, remplace faute de mieux nos seringues. Les lavements se composent d'eau tiède et d'huile de cocos dont on remplit la hampe; la manière de l'administrer est d'y souffler avec force jusqu'à ce que le malade ait reçu ce lavement en entier.

La belle couleur orange à laquelle on est parvenu de donner plusieurs nuances tirant sur le jaune, vient des racines d'une espèce de *Costus* qui ne se trouve que sur les îles hautes, et dont nous nous sommes procurés des échantillons à Ualan. Le procédé suivi pour se procurer cette couleur est absolument le même qu'on emploie pour obtenir la fécule de l'arrow-root. On donne à la masse une certaine forme qui varie dans les différentes îles hautes. Les échantillons de cette couleur que nous avons apportés de Rouch ou Olla ressemblent, pour la forme, à de petits pains de sucre lorsqu'ils sortent tout ficelés des mains du fabriquant. Ceux d'Eap, au contraire, ont la forme de grandes balles rondes.

Le sol des îles basses ne permet pas d'introduire la culture des différentes Aroïdées, telle qu'elle est établie dans le sol fertile des îles hautes. Cependant plusieurs de ces îles contiennent de petits marais d'une eau saumâtre, ou l'on pourrait établir des plantations de ces végétaux utiles. C'est principalement l'*Arum macrorrhizon* qui y est cultivé et qu'on nomme Ka. Chaque pied doit atteindre le terme de deux ou trois ans avant qu'on en fasse usage. Pour l'employer on râpe avec une écaille d'huître autant de l'écorce de la racine ainsi que de la partie qui se trouve immédiatement dessous, jusqu'à ce qu'on parvienne à une chair dure qui est le cœur. Par ce procédé, on éloigne toutes les parties âcres, et ce qui reste produit une nourriture saine pour le commencement de la saison stérile. On mange la racine ainsi préparée, après avoir été cuite entre des pierres chauffées.

La seconde espèce d'*Arum* est le *sagittifolium*; elle n'est presque jamais cultivée quoiqu'elle ne soit pas rare sur ces îles. On ne mange la racine que d'une variété, qui a la hampe fournie de petites épines; la préparation s'en fait à peu près d'une manière semblable à la précédente, mais on la laisse une nuit entière entre les pierres qui sont couvertes en outre d'un tas de feuilles, de terre, etc. pour en conserver l'eau fraîche; en outre, tout propriétaire les place à la base de ses cocotiers, pour indiquer par là qu'il est défendu d'y toucher; quiconque le tenterait serait infailliblement attaqué de la lèpre en punition de sa témérité.

Les plus petits bannetons, dont nous avons fait mention à l'occasion de la pêche, sont faits d'une graminée de la famille des *Panicées*; ils ne sont cependant pas durables, on ne peut jamais les employer plus de quelques jours. On mange avec le toddy, les différentes espèces de liserons qui embellissent ces îles, pendant les tems de disette, ainsi que le *Cassya*, le *Triumfetta procumbens* et autres herbes du même genre.

Document 1827C2

Mertens' Paper—Translation

The narrative of William Floyd regarding the Caroline Islands

Among the islands that, here and there, can be seen to dot the immensity of the Pacific Ocean, and that could be compared to the tents of the nomadic tribes inhabiting the great deserts of Asia, there are a large number of them located in the southern part of the northern torrid zone, that are stretched parallel to the equator over a space of 30 degrees in longitude and are known by the name of Caroline Islands. The conventional limits of this archipelago begin south of the Mariana Islands down to 2° or 3° degree north of the equator, from the Palau Islands to Ualan [Kosrae] Island, i.e. from 134° to 164° of longitude east of Greenwich. However, although European geographers have imposed this name to all the islands of this archipelago, it was first applied to only one such island—now completely unknown¹—one cannot help thinking that the boundaries have been chosen arbitrarily, because of the variety of the various populations that are found within this area; indeed, although they all belong to what has been called the Malay race, they nevertheless belong to distinct branches of it, not only because of their different body features but also by their customs, the form of their government and their languages.

In fact, what these islands have in common is the coral that surrounds them, fully or partially. Although the Spanish have been crossing the full extent of the Pacific Ocean twice a year for more than 100 years, when they go from Acapulco to the Mariana and the Philippine Islands, they did not suspect the existence of these islands, because they always sailed in the same direction, at a few degrees north of this archipelago.² It was not until the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, that the first notices about this interesting part of Oceania were published by some Jesuit missionaries who had gathered the information from some islanders who had been blown out of that area and thrown upon the coasts of the Mariana and Philippine Islands, at various times, by some storms. They reported that in the space between 6° and 10° of lat. N., and at

1 Ed. note: The name of Carolina was first applied to one island, most probably Yap, sighted by Captain Lazcano in 1686 (see HM3:638).

2 Ed. note: They knew about it, and avoided it deliberately.

about 30° east of Cape Espiritu Santo, there existed a large number of islands, divided into five provinces, each ruled by a different king, and speaking a different language; that such islands were inhabited by a kind population, civilized, navigator and having some knowledge of religion. At the beginning, a few voyages of exploration were undertaken into this area, for the conversion of these islanders. Then, a settlement was founded in one of the islands¹ to serve as a base for the missionaries sent to convert their souls. However, as soon as Father Cantova, the most zealous and true missionary, had suffered martyrdom, such heathens were forgotten and, for almost one century, the maps of these missionaries, and specially those of Fr. Cantova, were the only references available to chart-makers for that part of the South Sea. Wishing to place so many islands, which they did not know well, into such a small space, the result was such a crowded mess upon their charts that most navigators simply avoided sailing through the area. Those who dared to cross it were surprised to find not one bit of land where whole archipelagos had been placed; they, in turn, were very happy to immortalize themselves by giving their own names to whole groups, without removing the former ones, so that their actions simply increased the existing confusion. Native names became entangled with European names, some of the latter being stranger than the former, and cartographers despaired of ever being able to clear this chaos. They finally resolved the problem by declaring that most of the islands discovered by Fr. Cantova and others simply did not exist. Such was not the case, however; indeed, the notices published by Dr. Chamisso had already established the contrary view, but in spite of the high interest in his ethnologic writings, the geographers ascribed only a secondary importance to his geographic notices. The Freycinet expedition, that of Duperrey, and ours have finally dissipated completely the doubts about this region. Only a few geographers refused to admit the existence of all the islands mentioned by Cantova, and that of many others besides, which just proved the truth of Cantova's charts. If the narratives of the Reverend Father had created some confusion, it was because his questioning of the inhabitants had produced clearer answers about the number and relative positions of their islands, than the extension and relative distances between them. Let me add that another cause of this confusion came from the fact that the smallest islet of an archipelago has its own name and enjoys a certain reputation among the islanders. That is why many islets, hardly visible above sea level, was given a considerable area upon the chart, and that groups being only four or five leagues in circumference were given a space of many degrees.

The Woleai group, the home islands of Kadu, the interesting travelling companion of Captain Kotzebue, is a remarkable example of this type. The old charts had shown it as extending over several degrees of longitude but Captain Freycinet, who had received notices of them through Don Luis de Torres, thought it better to reduce them down to 23 leagues, and was convinced that he had assigned them their true limits; however, he was greatly mistaken. Indeed, a detailed survey of this group carried out by the

1 Ed. note: That of Ulithi.

Seniavin, resulted in only 2 leagues as the greatest dimension of this group; the same thing resulted in most of the other groups of this archipelago. Excluding the Islands of Eap [Yap] and Pally [Palau], the Caroline archipelago consists of 46 groups that contain 400 islands. Our corvette has surveyed 16 groups, and 10 to 12 of them were new discoveries. We found out that most of them were but low-lying islands, often laid out in the shape of a horseshoe around an inner lagoon. Besides, there are a few islands that are solitary islands, and others that have volcanic lands in their core and, for this reason, form high islands. These high islands are:

Firstly, the Island of Ualan [Kosrae] where we have spent three very pleasant weeks with the most peaceful people imaginable;

Secondly, the Island of Punipet [Pohnpei], part of the Seniavin group, the most interesting of the discoveries made by the expedition of which we had the honor of being a member. Although it rises higher than any other island of the Caroline archipelago (its elevation is almost 3,000 English feet above sea level), it was discovered last, through some quirk of fate, that is most extraordinary in the annals of maritime history. Cantova had mentioned an island called Falupet, whose inhabitants worshipped the shark; there is no doubt that this was Punipet.

The third high island that we spotted was the Island of Rug [Chuuk], seen in 1807 by Captain Dublon and discovered again by Captain Duperrey who refers to it by the name of Hogoleu, supposing that it corresponds exactly to that named Hogolloe [sic] or Tarres [rather Torres] by Cantova;¹ we do not doubt this supposition. Captain Lütke, basing himself on researches that go beyond the scope of this paper, believed that he could affirm the correspondence of this island with that called Quirosa, discovered during Mendaña's second voyage.² Judging by its external appearance and by what I have learned from the first group and from William Floyd, their structure would also be formed of basalt, like Ualan; such volcanic rocks can be seen bare in the center of the island, whereas they are hidden from view along the coasts by calcareous coral rocks and by corals of more recent production...

...
[He goes on to make general description of the physical appearance of a typical high island and some poetic interpretation of the vegetation, etc. The plants mentioned are the coconut palm, the nipa palm, the pandanus tree, taro and bananas, etc. On the other hand, the vegetation of the low islands has few varieties.]

...
Among the inhabitants of these two different types of islands in the Carolines, there exist customs that are relatively different also. Those of the high islands, with the exception of Ualan, are forever engaged in warfare among themselves, but those of the low islands enjoy the most perfect peace; they keep themselves busy with agriculture, trade, as well as with some industrial labors. One could say that they have a natural dis-

1 William Floyd, whom we will soon talk about, had visited this island, but he simply called it Olla.

2 Ed. note: Mendaña, in fact, discovered Pohnpei, not Chuuk (see Doc. 1596E).

pleasure toward warfare, although it is not unknown to them; in fact, they even provided weapons to their more warlike neighbors. The more beautiful lances and the more artistic war clubs are produced in the low islands; they are made of the hardest parts of the coconut trees and cost a lot, because the craftsmanship is high, and the articles in question are in high demand. The inhabitants are beautiful, well proportioned, rather lean than fat, of average height but tall rather than short, a fact that one would not imagine from reading the narratives of many modern visitors.

[Measurements taken of the body of a typical Caroline islander, probably one from Kosrae:]

In order to give a more accurate idea of the height of these islanders, I reproduce below the dimensions of an individual whose height was just slightly superior to the average.

Full height	5'10"	
Circumference of the head	1'11"	
Length of the head, from top to chin	0'11"	
Circumference of the neck	1'4"	
Width of the shoulders	1'8"	
Width of the chest	1'4-1/2"	
From upper part of the sternum to the navel	1'3"	
Circumference of the body at the hips	3'3"	
Length of ..?..	2'10"	
Length of the arm, from the acromion to the tips of the fingers		1'7"
Length of the legs, from the major trochanter to the heel		3'4-1/2"
Maximum girth of the thigh	2'0"	
Length from the major trochanter to the knee	1'10"	
From the knee to the heel	1'10-1/2"	
Length of the foot	1'0"	
Its maximum width	0'6"	
Girth of the calf	1'5"	
Length of the hand	0'8"	

They are very active and their facial features are so pleasant that they prejudice the onlooker in their favor; in fact, cheerfulness is painted on all their features. Their hair is thick and a beautiful brownish black (very rarely reddish); their hair is generally tied up in a big knot. Their forehead is very high but inclined to the rear. Their nose stands out but is wide and flat. Their mouth is rather wide but the lips thick. Their teeth are as white as ivory, their eyes well defined with superb eyelashes, the temples slight and

the cheekbones not very high, the chins standing out with a beard that is often very thick, but generally slight.¹ Generally these peoples have been described as belonging to the Malay race, but a simple glance will suffice to differentiate them from the true Malay peoples inhabiting the islands of the Indies and the Philippines. Besides, there are differences between the islanders to the west from those inhabiting the islands to the east. The inhabitants of the Seniavin group [i.e. Pohnpei] seems to us to differ from all the others, not only in their features but also in their clothing and their customs.

[Visit to the Mortlocks]

Our first meeting with inhabitants of low-lying islands took place at the Lukunor group. As soon as we came into sight of their islands, we saw some canoes come out from behind the reefs that protect the islands from the waves. As soon as they saw themselves upon the high sea, they raised their sail and came to meet us. Upon coming alongside of the **Seniavin**, that had been hove to, they took down their sail and began to talk to us, while using sign language, to make us understand that they wished to come on board of our vessel. No sooner had a rope been thrown at them, to tie their canoes to, that all of those who were on board, except for two men who remained to watch over the canoe, came on board and stepped on deck without the slightest fear or mistrust. Most of them were naked except for a belt worn around the waist; a few, however, wore a sort of mantle similar to the Poncho worn by the inhabitants of Chile, made of two strips of cloth, the width of a scarf, sewn together for their full length, except for a space in the center through which to pass the head. This mantle somewhat resembles a chasuble, by its design, except that it is shorter, because it does not even reach the knees. Many of them wore a large pyramidal hat, made of pandanus leaves, that sheltered them completely from the strong sun rays, and some necklaces made of shells or of the woody part of some coconut, besides some flowers in their hair and ears. Such were the ornaments that completed their apparel. They showed the greatest pleasure at being among us, and made no effort to hide their happiness. They were interested in everything they saw, specially things that had to do with the vessel and navigation. We saw some of their chiefs giving them orders to take all of the dimensions of the ship, such as her length, width, depth, the height of the masts. They carefully examined the direction of the sails, and collected all kinds of information about our ship as they could.

Trading soon began between us; the islanders had brought coconuts, fish, shells, various parts of their clothing, fishing tackle, boxes, arrow-root, chickens, etc. that they offered in exchange for articles of European manufacture. Iron objects were preferred over all others, specially the knives and the chisels, that seemed to them to be extremely valuable; however, the needles were also very appreciated, but nothing exceeded the axe as the most desired object. Various trifles such as pieces of hardware, some small

1 It is unthinkable that Mr. Lesson could ascribe a Japanese origin to people with such facial characteristics which are as different from those of the Japanese as they are different from ours. Ed. comment: This remark confirms the fact that the typical individual measured above was a Kosraean.

glass pearls, mirrors, ribbons, handkerchiefs, etc. were also attractive to them and resulted in much joy. We always noticed that they gave preference to objects that had a real usefulness to them, over those that were purely objects of luxury. They traded like some real merchants; nothing was given for free, but they never refused to hand in the article that had been selected for exchange, after they had received the article agreed to. They showed no mistrust, and even gave their own article first, persuaded as they were that we would not cheat them. We did not expect any gifts from them, although they never refused ours, specially those meant for their wives and children. They showed no fear of going down in-between decks, or visiting our cabins, where they could observe us at our normal occupations. They showed interest at seeing us paint and examine the products of their islands, and they even tried to explain their use to us. The first time they saw a mirror, they were struck with wonder and could not be convinced at first that they were seeing their own reflection; such a wonderful contraption seemed to them to be impossible, ever unexplainable. It was only after a thousand movements, and bizarre gestures, and above all, after having looked at the back of the mirror, that they became convinced that they were seeing their own image. When they were seated at the table with us, they behaved with the greatest of decency; they made instant use of the knives, forks and spoons, and assured us that they were pleased with the soup and all the other dishes that we presented them; in fact, there was no doubt that they liked the taste, because they kept on pronouncing the word *mammal*, which in their language means good.¹ Sugar, biscuit and rice were their favorite foods; they also liked coffee, but alcoholic drinks, even wine, were repugnant to them. Some white crystal bowls, as transparent as the water they contained, attracted their attention. We were able to observe them look at everything around them in the most attentive manner. It is impossible to find that much good humor as they showed, upon examining so many objects whose use and value they completely ignored. Upon seeing something, their first reaction was to reach for it, take it in their hands to have a closer look. One can easily imagine what they did with a sextant, the watches, etc., but it was sufficient to speak up against their touching something, for them to obey immediately, and we were sure that they would not touch it ever again; it was in fact enough to forbid one to touch something, for the word to get around to the others, not to touch such an object again.

A sort of intimacy became established between us. The natives did not oppose any of our desires, they would remain patiently seated while we were making their portraits, would dance if we appeared to see them dance, and they endeavored to please us. They would speak a lot, and would speak to us continuously to tell us what was going on in the neighboring islands, about their wives and children, about the products of their islands which they promised to let us have, if only we would agree to go ashore.

Mention was made earlier about their liking biscuit and sugar, specially sugar; oftentimes we took pleasure at seeing them save a little sugar, which they would carefully place in their belts or in their hands, in order to quickly take such delicacies to their

1 Ed. note: Now written 'mwamwaay'.

wives and children. In spite of their intense interest in many of the objects that they could see, we never had any of them stolen from us; they were simply satisfied with every thing that we gave them, and they were not at all frustrated when an article which they wanted was denied them. They were given the freedom to roam all over the ship, all over the deck, between decks and in our cabins, without any restriction, and they would stay as long as they liked; they never abused our trust.

They presented their chiefs to us on their first visit. They obeyed them completely, although it was impossible for us to notice any distinction of rank among them. They appeared to be all of the same class, and there was no special honor shown to those who were in fact the princes, or lords, of these islands.

They kept on insisting on our visiting them, on our staying for a while, and they showed us the direction of the entrance into their group of islands that they inhabited; they finally succeeded in exacting from us the promise of a visit. When we let go an anchor in their lagoon, we were instantly assailed by their canoes that surrounded us from all parts; all the men of the islands came to inspect our vessel from up close. Everyone wished to climb on board, but the chiefs were the only ones to get this privilege, along with their attendants and a few others whom they selected. The frankest of happiness reigned among them; we never noticed one man who was envious of what another got from us. Although we had quite a long contact with these islanders, we never noticed a single dispute among them. They were always cheerful, always happy, and seemed to have preserved the innocence and the naivety of their childhood. They never brought any woman on board our vessel, and we thought that they were looking for some women on board; in fact, they appeared to be very perplexed when they did not find any. The whiteness of our skin was very surprising to them. Upon seeing our chest and our arms uncovered, they gave a marked preference to our complexion, to such an extent that they expressed a sort of disdain for their own. In order to give us a proof of their admiration, they enjoyed coming into contact with our chest and arms, and they brought their noses up close to them to smell them. They were struck with happiness upon seeing them and touching them. They welcomed us on their islands with the greatest of cordiality. They led us to a big house where some chiefs could be found, and they laid down some mats for us to sit on. They presented us with some coconuts and the rarest and the best things they had, in order to please us. The house in which we were was nothing but a large roof, sustained by pillars and covered with coconut leaves. The front of this house was completely open, as well as the back; the sides were partly enclosed, but only in part. In the center, there was a sort of fireplace, and inside could be seen a few partitions, behind which were stored a few articles for fishing, etc. The chiefs would always accept what we gave them with pleasure, and they would in turn give us some mats, ropes and coconuts.

When we began our search for objects of natural history, all the youths of the island offered their services, but, upon learning that we did not wish to be accompanied by a crowd of children, they left us immediately, and only a few served us as guides. Nobody expressed the wish to find out where we were going. The only wish of this good people

seemed to be that no impediment would prevent us from doing what we wished to do in our researches, because they were always ready to solve any problem that arose.

At the beginning, they experienced a great fright when we fired our rifles, but they soon grew accustomed to the noise. They would spot birds for us, but unfortunately they made so much noise and shouts that their help under such circumstances were not only useless but counterproductive for us. Our guides, while they accompanied us throughout the island in a very friendly manner, noticed that we were interested in learning the names of the various plants and other objects that we met, and they told us their names, even when we did not ask for them. They would then begin to question us, to find out if we had retained such names; this game would make them laugh heartily, specially when we made mistakes and they had to correct us. The happy give-and-take would attract the attention of other islanders to whom they endeavored to explain the cause of their merriment. Sometimes we were followed by a crowd of small boys who would similarly try to test our knowledge; it would then suffice to warn the older ones that such pursuits were beginning to bother us, and they were soon chased off. What seemed to astonish them the most is that we had learned how to count up to ten in their language; at every house that we passed, we had to pause and, to please our guides, had to show our newly-found knowledge by repeating those numbers in front of the assembled crowd; some great shouts of surprise and admiration were the result, and our reward. The objects that attracted our attention most particularly were explained to us very carefully, but unfortunately we did not always understand the details that were given us with such efforts; for instance, we were told about the usefulness or possible harm of some plants. Similarly, the good or bad properties of the animals were told to us very willingly; however, they in turn derived much pleasure by letting those we met examine our collection. They would endeavor to please us, either by climbing trees where we had spotted some flowers, or by throwing themselves into the waves to get some sea urchins, or whatever else they thought might interest us. They would lead us everywhere, but took care to have us pass in front of the houses of their chiefs; they in turn would make us most welcome and give us some coconuts. When they received small gifts from us, their eyes would become bright with joy; they then put them away immediately.

We were surprised, in spite of the complete trust they had in us, not to meet with any woman; we soon found out that the women had been hidden from our sight on purpose. In fact, we were led away from the houses where they were hiding. If by chance it seemed as if we were trying to get closer to them, our guides would seem to be ready to use force to convince us to give up the attempt, by pronouncing the word *farak!* *farak*, until this word began to bother us extremely, one that is still resounding in our ears.¹ Still, the tricks they used to try and make us divert from such places and to follow another route were so candid that we could not get angry at them, although they kept on repeating their interdiction; in the end, we just laughed at it.

1 Ed. note: The word 'faragh' means 'Walk, go on'.

Every chief had several houses at his disposal. The first house was his normal residence. The second one was built in the same manner as the great house into which we had been received at our arrival; the only difference is that there were a larger number of partitions, from which we could often hear the cries of some child, but we were never permitted to take a look inside them. This is also where they seemed to store their wealth which consisted in ropes, mats, clothes, fishing tackle, stones that they used to sharpen their shell axes, as well as knives and other articles made in Europe. This second house was destined to serve as a shelter for the canoes, when the weather dictated. The third house, much smaller, was for the women. The fourth house, even smaller, had a sloping roof that came down almost to the ground and consequently had low walls; it was generally placed behind the main house; we often saw green leaves decorating its door, so that we assumed that it sheltered a burying ground for the chief's family.

We saw very few cultivated plots on Lukunor Island. Those that we saw consisted only in taro-like plants in swampy areas. There was little potable water to be had; in fact, we found only a few small ponds where the water was often very sour and sulphurous. The base of a large number of coconut trees had been hollowed to serve, we thought, as small reservoirs to gather rain water. Most of these tree trunks contained some water that was infinitely better than the water in the ponds. What can be considered water tanks on these islands are the coconut trees themselves, not only on account of the drink contained in the precious fruit of this tree, but also on account of the drink that the natives know how to get from the tree itself, even in the season when most of the fruits are lacking. This season is very rough for the poor natives, because they have very few vegetable products available, that can survive during that period of time.

On all the other low islands of the Carolines that we have visited after Lukunor, we have met everywhere the same people with the same hospitality, happiness and relaxed manners that are part of their character. However, we did not meet with any of the lascivious customs that some would assume to be general among all the many islands of the huge Pacific Ocean. The distant voyages that these natives have undertaken to visit neighboring islands, as well as their explorations as far as European colonies, have not in any way caused changes to their own customs, and they have not led to any desire of appropriating illegally for themselves the propriety of others. One could believe that the trading spirit that animated them has taught them at an early stage that they should respect the property of others, that they have acquired for themselves with great difficulty, even when they understand the great value of such articles. The inhabitants of Woleai, as well as those of the isolated Island of Fais, were less severe with us, with regards to their women. They were allowed to remain in our company, and little time was necessary in order for intimate relations to take place between us. However, in spite of this sort of intimacy and the limitless trust that was afforded us, there is not one man on board the **Seniavin** who can boast of having had sexual favors from any woman of the low-lying islands of the Carolines. These women are not known for their beauty; in

fact, they are rather ugly. Their main characteristics are: a short height, a fat body and hanging breasts (as soon as the youth is over). They are as naked as the men, except for a wide belt around their waist, consisting in a striped piece of cloth. At Fais, we noticed that the young girls would wear, in addition, a skirt that covered them from the waist down to the knees; this skirt was made of fibers from the hibiscus plant.

In all the low islands of the East Carolines we have noticed that their way of tattooing themselves was absolutely the same, and consisted in a few regular lines along the thighs, the legs and the chest. We were told that the women had other, very intricate, tattoos on the parts of their bodies covered by the above-mentioned belts; only their husbands can thus enjoy such tattoos. Among many of the women, we have noticed another decoration that is most bizarre: it consists of many lines upon the arms and shoulders that are made up of small button-like scars that they make when they are still children, by making incisions and rubbing them with the sap that flows from the branches of the Cerbera when they are cut, or else when a sort of moxa has been burnt on the part where they wish to draw those lines; such welts are indelible, as they remain for life. They say that this type of decoration is extremely pleasing to the men. During the time that such welts are emitting pus, they resemble rather well the result of vaccinations, so that when we first saw them, we thought that these islanders had discovered for themselves the benefits of this type of medical knowledge, so useful to humankind. The women adorn themselves with necklaces made of various articles of local and European manufacture, and with bracelets and anklets made of shells or mother-of-pearl. They are very coquettish, and this type of charm is present even among older women. They would keep on asking us for glass beads with which to make necklaces, showing us at the same time the length of their arms, to make us understand how many they wished to have. However, as soon as their request was satisfied, they immediately asked for more, so that it became very difficult to satisfy them, above all because they usually appeared in large numbers. At Woleai, the women would come alongside, but never aboard the men's canoes. They had fun shouting our names, which they sometimes pronounced in a most comical manner. Although they were always asking for more gifts that we had already given them, they always seemed to receive them with a sort of disdain which caused us some great fun to watch. Many of them wore beautiful belts, about two fingers in width, made of the wood of the coconut intertwined with some white shells arranged in such a way as to resemble the mosaic that is preferred by the fair women frequenting our salons. As I was extremely interested in purchasing a sample, I offered them a considerable price in return, but every time I agreed to their demand, they multiplied its price so much that I was unable to acquire one. Moreover, it seems as if women attach much value to such ornaments. I sometimes saw men wearing one, but they too refused to part with them; they alleged as an excuse that such belts belonged to their wives.

The Lukunor and Woleai groups have very much in common, as far as the countryside and the vegetation are concerned.

[Description of Fais Island]

Fais Island differs considerably from the other low islands of the Carolines, however; it is completely isolated, is not surrounded by any reef barrier and has no lagoon. It is made up of a single mass of coral rocks whose elevation in places can reach about 24 meters above sea level. The highest points are not, as one might suppose, the center of the island, but along the coast. The land comes down quite noticeably as one gets further from the shore. This makes it easy to believe that once the island had a kind of lagoon, or inner port, that has since disappeared when its waters evaporated. This part is now the most fertile; there, the natives grow all kinds of root crops that are impossible to find on other islands. In effect, they paid a lot of attention to these plantations. When they first tasted potatoes at our table, they immediately asked us for some, and they planted them that very day. Breadfruit trees are rare, but the banana plants are found in great abundance.

People differ very little among themselves on all those island groups. It was only when we came to Mogmog [Ulithi] that we noticed some changes in their facial characteristics. The inhabitants of all the islands to the west of Lukunor have tattoos that are completely different; whereas the men of Lukunor have longitudinal tattoos only on the upper arms and legs, those of the islands located south and southwest of the Marianas have tattoos all over their bodies, and the sorts of designs that they have make them look as if they were covered with body armor. We were very surprised to learn that such tattoos have names derived from various islands from where they were copied; in fact, some of the figures that they had on their chests had been made at Woleai, those on the arms came from Faroulap, and from Fais, those on the legs were from Yap, etc. It seems that they take advantage of their voyages to acquire new tattoos from their neighbors, and they attach as much importance to them as our dandies do to various apparels that they copy from other countries. In tattooing themselves, these islanders follow the same kind of practices as our dandies who follow the latest fashions. In order to prove my point, I will report what one of our friends from Faroulep said to us about this; while he had visited Guaham, this man had learned sufficient Spanish to hold a conversation with us. We asked him why men subjected themselves to so much suffering in order to acquire new tattoos, and why was this practice so common. His answer was: *"It is like clothes, to please women."* One cannot find faults in these men with regard to the ways they take care of their women; they go a long way to please them in all their whims, and very readily. When the gifts we made to the men were appealing to the women, they did not hesitate to hand them over. The latter would in turn adorn their children with the gifts they had received.

At the Island of Fais, I had the idea of buying a few of the strips of woven cloth, with superb designs that were far superior to those of our shawls; the men were always willing to sell them, but the women would interpose themselves on such occasions and their tone of voice left no doubt that they did not agree. The result of this discussion was a formal refusal. However, I noted that such temporary disagreement did not perturb their union, as a few moments later happiness returned, and one would never have sus-

pected that they could have had an argument. I have already said that these islanders have not at all lost their innocence and the simplicity of their customs after they had contact with other peoples. However, I noticed that the chiefs of the Woleai group already took pleasure at being referred to as Pilots, or Captains; also, when they presented themselves to us, they called themselves as such, in order to give themselves more importance and to get more gifts. In addition, they unwrapped before us a piece of cloth containing some letters they had received at various times from the Captains of passing English whalers, addressed to Don Luis Torres in Guaham, and to be delivered by them.¹ Many of these islanders took pleasure in wearing European shirts. At the Island of Mogmog, they had started to use tobacco, and this article was requested from us repeatedly.

[William Floyd's story]

When the **Seniavin** arrived for the second time at the Caroline Islands in November 1828, the Murilo group was discovered. We were surprised to find, in one of the first canoes that came alongside, a man whom we recognized to be a European, on account of the striking contrast between his complexion and that of his companions, who were all dark brown. He made all possible gestures to us to convince us to come to. Captain Lütke soon agreed to grant a wish that was expressed with such ardor. When we were within talking distance of him, we found out that he was an Englishman; he was begging the captain to receive him on board. Our captain, whose humanity was never in doubt, let him come on board, much to our satisfaction.

William Floyd was a young Englishman from the vicinity of Gloucester who had belonged to the crew of the whaler **Prudent**, Captain Galloway [sic], who had abandoned him on these islands, about 18 months earlier.² He had been made welcome in the most extraordinary manner by these islanders who took care to make him forget his bad luck by their hospitality; they endeavored to make him forget his country of origin, but, when he saw for the first time, since his arrival among them, some European sails, the love for his country was re-awakened in him, and he let them know that he wished to rejoin his countrymen. These brave islanders tried their best to convince him not to abandon those who loved him so dearly, and were always ready to fulfil his least desires. As soon as they saw that his resolve was unshakable, they accompanied him as far as his vessel, pressed their many gifts upon him and finally bid him adieu, while they followed him with their eyes as long as they could distinguish him, constantly repeating his name.

William Floyd stayed with us as far as Manila, where we arranged for him to transfer to an American vessel. During the four weeks that he spent with us, we had every

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- 1 Such letters, that will surely be shown to many other visitors, entertained us very much by their naive style. In one of them, the captain said that he had on board the first and second Governors of the island.
 - 2 Ed. note: The English whaler **Prudent** of London, Captain Gulliver, had in fact reached Guam on 24 October 1826, according to port records (see Doc. 1826A).

reason to be pleased with him. He had completely abandoned the foolishness of his youth. His long stay among this hospitable people, whose language he had learned rather well, enabled him to narrate to us many interesting details about them. I took advantage of this lucky circumstance to gather new information about them. I do not doubt that my readers will appreciate knowing more about such an extremely kind people whose simplicity and purity of customs differentiate them from all the other peoples inhabiting the vast Pacific Ocean. Only one chief rules over the Fananu and Muri-lo groups; the islands within those groups pay an annual tribute to this paramount chief, named Tamol in their language. This tribute consists in breadfruit, coconuts, mats, etc. One may be surprised to learn that only one island in the Fananu group is exempt from this tribute, that the inhabitants of this island, although sharing the same reef, refused to have contact with the inhabitants of any other island, though a very short distance separates them from one another, that they pay no attention to the chief, whom they refused to recognize as such. Although the Tamol goes fishing himself, the others never forget to set asides for him the best part of their own fishing expeditions. His subjects provide him with large amounts of food. His least commands are considered as laws, though they are not always adhered to very strictly. The chief is, like the others, subject to the law. Floyd gave me many examples to prove the veracity of his observations. For instance, when the chief wishes to take a second wife, he is subject to the tax that every other man has to pay under such a circumstance. He has no right whatsoever upon the wives of any of his subjects, and he cannot have any woman unless she has expressly given her agreement.

The old men of the islands are generally chosen to act as judges; to receive a reprimand from them is equivalent to being punished very severely. When the business in question is rather complicated, an appeal is made to the Tamol. He in turn derives many advantages from such an arrangement, because his subjects must make many presents to him, after his sentence has been rendered. To be fair, one must add that the Tamol tries to have quarrels settled before such measures become necessary, and he sets asides any personal gain in order to have peace reign among them. The opposite parties never leave his presence without first having come to a settlement of their dispute.

Succession to the position of chief is not hereditary; in fact, the son can never succeed to his father. When the chief dies, the brother of the deceased is first in line, but if the chief had no brother, the position falls to one of his best friends. The man so chosen has no right to refuse the position; in any case, the wisest man and the most just man is always chosen over the richest, or the most powerful.

[Marriage and child-rearing]

In general, they have but one wife; however, we have known a few individuals who had several. When a man desires a woman, he begins by making her some presents which are immediately accepted if the proposal meets with her approval. As soon as the young girl turns such presents over to her father, the future husband acquires the right to spend the night with her, although the wedding may take place only the next

day. One should not imagine that weddings cause great concern among these people; to the contrary, everything happens without any feast. The only ceremony consists in the agreement given by the young girl to live with the man who has chosen her for a mate, and in her bidding goodbye to her parents. When the couple grow weary of each other, separation takes place with the same lack of ceremony. For a first marriage, the man does not have to pay a tribute, but when for any new marriage he must pay it, and in addition make presents of mats and fruits to the islanders. When a separation takes place, the children belong to the father and the mother has no right to them. The husband, who is always full of attention toward his wife, redoubles his care and attention during her pregnancy; as soon as her pregnancy becomes obvious, she stops working and remains at home most of the time wrapped in mats; during this period her husband becomes her servant and men are no longer allowed to eat with her. Young boys who do not yet wear a belt are however exempted; these boys have the duty of bringing her the coconuts that she needs. She needs a large quantity of coconuts, because she is not allowed to drink anything but coconut water then. However, she is forbidden to make use of the fruits of certain coconut and pandanus trees. When the time of delivery approaches, she is surrounded by women who have the duty of taking care of her. As soon as the pains begin, such women begin to shout and sing, so that the husband will not hear the cries of his wife during childbirth. These women are very skilled in attending to deliveries, as they know many techniques and ways to assist the process. Among these people, spontaneous abortions or the birth of monsters are never heard of; they seem to ignore such eventualities. Two days after giving birth, the mother bathes herself with fresh water, and it is only after five or six months that she begins to work again. Mothers here do not stop giving their breast to their children as early as our mothers do; they do so much later. Some mothers in fact feed their child in this way until he is 10 years old. We have met with such practices among the people of the Behring Strait.

The precautions taken during pregnancy are also taken during the regular period of the women; they cannot then paint their faces yellow or orange. These two colors are their favorite colors and they make use of them, believing that they are increasing their beauty by it. They cannot then make use of oil on their hair. They must at that time bathe in fresh water, and some pools are reserved for that purpose. On most of the islands, it is not only forbidden to the men to drink from those pools, but even from going near them. When a husband hurts or insults his wife, her friends instantly intervene to force him out of his home.

[Sex customs]

The high regard that a man has for a woman is taken to extreme when a husband surprises his wife committing adultery; the only thing he can do is forbid her to enter their home for a few days. As for the man, he does not get away with adultery so easily; the woman's husband throws himself upon him and shouts so loudly that the whole population of the island is thus attracted. He then attacks him with a small knife fitted with shark teeth, one that produces tearing wounds that marks his body for a long time

and remind him of his crime. The husband's furor at such a time knows no bounds, while he can only think of seeking revenge. The life of the adulterous man is even in danger if he should happen to be weaker than the husband; his life is saved only by the interference of the witnessing crowd. In fact, the crowd tries to calm the husband and sometimes they can even succeed in reconciling them. A few mats will generally suffice to placate the husband in such circumstances; after this, the man whose life was in danger a moment before obtains his pardon, and the incident is forgotten. These sorts of commotions will thereafter not influence in any way the friendly relations that existed before such incidents. The strange custom that prevails at Woleai, whereas a man can let his friend sleep with his wife when a guest in their home, is totally unknown in the islands where W. Floyd resided; in fact, he never heard of such a thing.

Although husbands do not like to have their wives receive the visits of other men, both sexes, when unmarried, can spend whole nights together, talking and dancing in the moonlight. Floyd has told me that sex generally do not occur during such night-long parties. In spite of this total lack of proper behavior, the reputation of a young girl is in no way tarnished by such liberties. Faithfulness is required only of a woman whose functions and duties are those of a mother with a family.

In spite of the high regards that these islanders have toward their women, they have nevertheless established certain laws regarding them; for instance, they are forbidden to ever open their mouth during council meetings that are held in the same houses where visitors are received. Such houses are located on the seashore; although the whole population gathers there for their meetings, such houses do not belong either to the government or to the king; in fact, they belong to individuals who wish to prove their patriotism by making them available for public use. Besides such houses, there are others where all the unmarried men live; they too belong to some individuals who voluntarily make them available for public use. The men get up early in the morning. Their first task is to go to the beach to wash their body and rinse their mouth. They are forbidden to use fresh water for this purpose and are convinced that, if any one of them did so, his luck at fishing would simply disappear. Similar restrictions apply to the women, except for the practices mentioned earlier that require the use of fresh water. However, the women must bathe on the side opposite to that of the men, or at times when the men are no longer there. According to William Floyd, only the children do not respect such established conventions and customs, since they do not fear being bad fishermen and are attracted by curiosity to go across the woods to the place where women are bathing. Rules of decency also prevent the women from appearing on the shore when the men return from fishing trips, because, at such times, the men strip themselves of any clothes in order to be more at ease. After the morning bath, if the men are not busy with some work, they gather at the common house, to entertain themselves. There is never a shortage of pastimes for them but, in spite of it all, they soon tire of their usual pleasantries, and they soon take a rest. Nothing is more frustrating to these islanders than being disturbed during this morning sleep, which is their greatest pleasure. They have no set times for meals; everyone eats when he is hungry, or when a special occasion to eat pres-

ents itself. Such occasions are rare during the season when food is scarce. Women are always in charge of cooking, and such activity takes place in houses built for this purpose. Cooking and the manufacture of mats, which are made of pandanus leaves, are their main duties. Besides, they weave cloths with the fibers of the banana plant or those of the *hibiscus populeus*; such cloth is used to make clothes for both sexes. Such cloths, that are truly artistic and good-looking, are woven on some kind of looms. The different articles used with their looms, specially the shuttle, look very much like those we use for the same purpose.

[The Carolinian language]

William Floyd has often told me that the language of the inhabitants of the Carolines is easy to learn, at least the language used by the men to communicate among themselves. He was able to make himself understood by these islanders rather quickly, and to understand what they were saying. However, he said that nothing was more difficult than to always keep in mind the multitude of expressions that must never be said in front of the women; there exists, in fact, a different polite language that is used while they are present. There is no need for any other evidence to prove the great respect that such savage men have for the opposite sex, besides the care they take toward their social duties. A man would be very impolite if he should not follow this first rule of etiquette; such a man would be banished from polite society, and would never be admitted alone in their presence. W. Floyd, however, has told me that he enjoyed using the same expressions he used with the men, when he was alone with women; they were very amused with his way of talking and would giggle and whisper among themselves when he chanced to use a word that was not officially sanctioned for use in their company. Although he allowed himself this liberty when alone with the women, he nevertheless was obliged to change his way of speaking to them when islanders would suddenly appear; he too observed the greatest of ceremonial language when other men were present. They had even threatened to exile him to another desert island, if he continued to speak disrespectfully to women, by using forbidden language to them. However, one should not imagine that offensive language was based on dirty talk, or double meanings. Not at all; the words for the most ordinary things, the most common words, take on different meanings when one talks to women; it is almost a different language altogether. One would be even more surprised to learn that, in spite of such restrictions on the use of words to express the most common things, there is complete liberty on the choice of topics; conversations with women are often very open, even licentious. At the beginning, Floyd had a hard time to accustom himself to this particular custom.

The people were always very interested to hear him talk about European customs. As soon as he would begin his narratives, a circle of men and women would form around him to listen to him very attentively. However, the men would interrupt him often to shout *pennant! pennant!*, a word that means “forbidden.” This word is also used to mean anything that is contrary to law; for instance, there are trees that are “pennant”, because it is forbidden to touch them. The same may apply to some plot of land, etc.

This word has exactly the same meaning as the word taboo, used in other parts of Oceania. The women, however, would not cringe in the presence of the islanders, when the word "pennant" was pronounced; they simply pretended not to understand. Laughing is very much part of communicating when the islanders are among themselves. W. Floyd even alleged that entire phrases could be told by a single laugh. These islanders were very fond of talking. Whole evenings were spent in narrating stories that had to do with the adventures of those who had travelled far away. They also talked with pleasure about new or previously-unknown islands which they had visited or seen, their inhabitants and products, the manners in which they were received by their natives, what they had learned while visiting Spanish colonies, specially about the ships they had seen and the places where they had been seen. Conversations about such topics took place until very late at night. It is through such conversations that the situation of the respective islands of the Caroline archipelago is transmitted. It is really astonishing with what accuracy they can determine their relative directions, the names of the islands, the names of the chiefs to whom they belong, the number of pools with drinking water on each one of them, as well as the number of inhabitants, canoes, etc. It is unfortunate that W. Floyd did not pay attention to such details, and that the **Seniavin** did not stay a while at the islands where he has lived, because we would surely have obtained with his help some precious information about the Caroline Islands. The inhabitants of the islands which we passed by, while Floyd was with us, spoke a language of which he understood but few words; the language that he had used among his friends must have been a mixture of English and Carolinian. He had learned as much of their language that they had about his, so that they had become accustomed to him and were able to communicate with him. However, the inhabitants of the islands that we sighted later, while Floyd was with us, either spoke a different dialect or a completely different language.

[Fishing]

One of the most important branches of the economy of these islands is fishing; they are to be pitied during the season when this resource becomes scarce. Nature has, however, provided their neighborhood with a huge quantity of fishes, whose variety of colors and shapes is so great that the imagination simply cannot produce anything that is more beautiful or wonderful; their flesh is very delicate and nourishing. Their numbers are plentiful, except for the months that would correspond to October and November at home; in this season the supply of fish is very rare and this food source becomes almost non-existent. This season is very difficult for these islanders for yet another reason: it is the time when the supply of fruits is also scarce, so much so that those who have no access to preserved fruits suffer the worst famine possible during almost three months of the year. Although I obtained information from Floyd about the method used to catch various types of fish, he was unable to satisfy my curiosity on this score, because he had taken part in an important fishing expedition only once. At the beginning of his stay among the islanders, he had shared his clothes with them and had none left when they invited him to join them in fishing. He accepted this invitation very

readily, forgetting that he would no longer be in the shade of the breadfruit trees, where the temperature was usually pleasant, but once aboard a canoe, he became exposed to the burning rays of the sun and suffered the effect of a sun stroke, so badly that his life was even in danger for a time. The good islanders, who had been far from knowing that such an expedition would give such a bad result, redoubled their efforts to take care of him and refused to take him along on further expeditions. When these islanders go on fishing expeditions, they leave at daybreak and return only at about 2 or 3 p.m. Upon their return, they gather in the large common house, where they eat some of the fish they have caught. They take care to keep for themselves the large fish and to send to their wives and children the smaller kind, because it is forbidden to women and children to come to the *Im* during that time of day, even to boys between 6 and 12 years old. According to established customs, it is forbidden to any individual preparing for a fishing expedition to have sex with his wife for 8 to 9 days previous to such an expedition; he must then spend his nights at the house where the bachelors live. This law is without exception; the man who might have received sexual favors from any woman during this period would have to abide by it, and refrain from taking part in the fishing expedition. Any violation of this law would result in his catching the most terrible diseases, specially the swelling of the legs. As far as the women are concerned, they keep their sexual relations secret only when they take place with strangers; they would make it known that the man in question had broken this law, and would ridicule him by following him and calling him *Fanabur*, a word whose meaning could not be explained by Floyd.¹ This law even prohibits men from touching their fishing tackle for the 24-hour period following the performance of their nuptial duties. Nevertheless, this law does not apply to women; they can go fishing whenever they like, except when they are pregnant or giving breast to their children.

The islanders have different methods of catching fish. The most successful method used during the fishing season is that of fish traps set to work with the tides, and of which there are different kinds. The more common kind is flat or round; their opening is in the shape of a funnel and is much larger at its mouth than inside. They always place this trap with its mouth facing the incoming tide and they place stones inside to ensure that the trap will sink to the bottom; they leave it there for two days and are not allowed to return to the spot before that time has elapsed, to examine the contents. Every islander owns two such traps, so that they can enjoy fresh fish every day. The small traps, called *unababa*, use small crayfish as bait, specially some small Bernards, and also some *Buro*, which is breadfruit that has been affected by fermentation. The large-size fish traps never have any bait, and they are placed outside the reef, normally in spots where there is little depth, but sometimes at much larger depths. Such traps are thrown overboard, after some stones have been placed in them, for them to sink to the bottom. The spot where they are dropped in the sea is taken note of. Once the good fishing season is over, the traps can be left in place for longer periods, even for many weeks at a time.

1 Ed. note: "Bwurh" means "reckless, or fooling."

In order to find out more easily the spots where the traps have been dropped into the sea, the fishermen begin by chewing some coconut which they spit into the sea in the approximate area. The oil that spreads from the chewed coconut makes the water calmer and more transparent. They soon become successful at finding the traps. They carry in their canoes a fish-net made of the fibers of the coconut. They place a certain quantity of coral rocks in it. a very hard stick is pushed right through it; this stick has two hooks at both ends. One end of a cord is tied to one of these hooks and the other end to the canoe. Now then, as soon as the fish-trap location has been found, this net, loaded with coral rock, is lowered carefully until it almost touches the trap, then it is dropped suddenly so that the other hook pierces the trap and becomes entangled in it, but taking care that the weight of the coral does not crush the trap. The line holding the net is then pulled up and the fish trap recovered.

The traps used in tidal waters are carefully made, and even beautifully made. For this purpose, they choose the supple branches of a certain brush (*Volkameria*). Such traps look much like those used in England and Germany for the same purpose. In the Caroline Islands there exist some large fish traps measuring four meters in length; they are generally the propriety of a whole island group. The wealth of a group is thus measured by the number of the large fish traps which they possess. The Murilo group has only 40 of them, but other groups have as many as 200. The traps that are already old and worn-out are selected as the traps that will be dropped into deep water, because they can no longer resist the action of the waves that would act upon them, were they placed at lower depths. Besides these two types of traps, there are other, smaller, ones that are always baited and placed haphazardly in the lagoon, but only for a few hours at a time. Such traps are used to catch small fish, and are used by the women and children, because everything caught in them must belong to them; their small size and lightness cause no problems to the women and children handling them.

Night-time fishing is called *Eddoll*¹ and takes place in the following manner. They begin by collecting very dry coconut leaves; still, they expose such branches to the sun for the whole day. Then they make piles of them, three at a time, and each pile is tied together. A few hours after sunset, the fishermen come and gather these piles, to be used as torches. The torches are lit when all the men of the island have entered the lagoon. They hold this torch in their left hand and a fish-net with a handle in their right hand. The net is used as soon as they see a fish. Every fisherman is followed by another whose sole duty consists in collecting each fish from the net, killing it by biting its head, and placing it inside a tidal fish trap. The same method is used to catch cray-fish, crabs and lobsters.

The spear-fishing method with a pointed stick is called *Hattan*. The Carolinians are very skilled at this fishing method, but it is only used to catch the green types of fish, such as the *Scarus*, which they eat raw, along with the fermented breadfruit, called *Mar*.

1 Ed. note: 'Aro' in a modern Carolinian dictionary.

Another fishing method consists in splitting some coconut leaves lengthwise through their common stalk, then wrapping each half around some rope, so that the leaflets stick out on all sides. Two men then hold this rope tight. Many such couples then advance in the water holding the ropes in a half-circle. They are followed by many people whose job is to chase the fish toward fish-traps that have been previously placed to receive them. As this type of fishing takes place only in areas where the water depth is at most two feet, the coconut leaves sticking out are enough to prevent the fish from retreating. This method is the best one to catch *Annacan*, a type of toothed fish with a long nose.¹ They end up by closing and tightening the circle, thus forcing the fish to go into the traps. Women take no part in any of the different fishing methods that I have just described. There is one, however, in which they take an active part; it is called *Ba-shebok*. The women advance in the lagoon at night, without any light, holding rather large nets whose opening has the shape of a parallelogram; they form a half-circle by walking close to one another. At this time, the men and the boys, holding spears, stay along the shore, until the women are ready. Then they rush forward toward the women, shouting and stirring up the water. The fish, thus forced to flee by this maneuver, are easily caught in the nets held by the women. All the above-mentioned fishing methods do not require much time and provide the natives with an abundant supply of fish; unfortunately, they can be used only during the months when there is plenty of fish. Fish-hooks are not then used; they are kept for use only when the standard fishing methods, which are much faster, cannot be used.

These islanders have three different kinds of fish-hooks for fishing. One of these has generally the shape of an arc and is very small, since it is rarely more than one inch in length; it is either made from a piece of shell or from the bony parts of the skin of the box-fish (*Ostracion*). A line is tied to the highest part of this hook. The bait is first fixed to this line, then pushed down upon the hook, so that it becomes vertical, after being first horizontal. As soon as the fish has taken the bait, the fisherman pulls on the line; by this movement, the temporary position of the hook is freed, and the fish is taken with the hook across its mouth. This method is generally used to catch fish belonging to the species called *Gerres* (*Tinga*). The second type of fish-hook is almost the same as ours; it is made from mother-of-pearl or another type of shell. However, they much prefer to use European fish-hooks when available. The Carolinians are very fond of our fish-hooks. To make us understand that they wanted some from us, they would place their finger in their mouth and pull it asides, to imitate a fish caught by a fish-hook. It is when fishing by moonlight that this hook is used by them, specially for the species called *Serianus*, *Bodianus*, *Labrus* and *Balista*. Their third type of fish-hooks is somewhat similar to the second type, except that they are so much bigger. They are used to catch large fish, such as the *Bonitos* and like kind. The way they use it is to tie it to lines dragged behind their canoe, baited with small fry or young leaves of the coconut tree.

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the barracuda, although a modern dictionary says that barracuda is 'saraw'.

These islanders eat their fish either raw or grilled, or else cooked in the following manner. To begin their preparations they dig a hole in the ground and start a fire therein. As soon as the fire is burning bright, they place some coral stones upon it. Then, once the stones have become very hot and the fire has gone out, a layer of leaves is laid out, the fish placed upon it and covered with a second layer of leaves. Some hot coral stones are then placed on top of that, and the hole is covered completely. The fish remains there for a certain period of time. W. Floyd has assured me that fish cooked this way is preserved for about one week or more. When the islanders wish to grill their fish, they skewer them with a piece of hard wood. The types of fish that they eat raw, as soon as taken out of the water, are: the various species of green Cares, various species of toothed fish with a long nose, and a few others belonging to the Scomber species. The Picarels, the Gerres, the Mullers and many other kinds are cooked between hot stones, while those that are more or less flat, such as the Chaetodons, the *Aspisurus*, the Soles, etc., as well as the superb Labroideas, except for the Scares, are always grilled. These islanders do not like the Chaetodons and eat them only during times of famine. There are some kinds of fish that men and even boys can never eat, if they wish to avoid having leg pains; women, however, eat those kinds of fish during their pregnancy and during their menstrual periods with pleasure and avidity. Fish that serve as food can also be used for other purposes; for instance, they use the spines off the base of the tail of the *Aspisurus* for bleeding, as well as for an operation that resembles the acupuncture of the Japanese. Shark teeth are used for the same purposes. They use the skin of the shark just as our own carpenters do with it [for sanding wood].

Besides fish, the sea provides these islanders with a quantity of other animals belonging to the family of the Mollusks, Crustaceans, and Echinoderms, which they fall back on when fish is scarce. William Floyd agrees with the Carolinians that the octopus and the squids make excellent eating some 48 hours after having been cooked and stripped of the fetid layer that covers them. Women, who are the only ones responsible for catching those species, use them also to improve their beauty in the following manner: they place an octopus upon themselves such that its sucking cups cover their shoulders and breasts. The result is the formation of red spots which they consider a great enhancement to their beauty. Very large octopus are sometimes found and the inhabitants fear touching those; their meat is not eaten, but used as bait for fish that are very fond of it. The ink from them is used to dye wreaths and necklaces made with flowers. The neighborhood of these islands abounds with cray-fish of the Bernard species; they live ashore during the daytime, on top of the *Tournefortia*, a tree with thick foliage that grows by the seashore; these animals seek that tree to sleep on. There are other kinds of crustaceans for which fish traps are used; however, to catch crabs and lobsters, the night fishing method by torchlight is used. As far as shell-fish, which these islanders made great use of, William Floyd was unable to give me satisfactory details, as he was not able to specify the different kinds clearly enough. Some are always poisonous, while others are poisonous only at certain periods of the year, and still others can be eaten at any time without any problem.

[Birds used as food]

Although fish and the different kinds of mollusks and crustaceans constitute part of the food of these islanders, they do not neglect birds as a food source; part of them are however forbidden. Men and boys cannot eat the *Turdus columbinus*, because if they did, they would necessarily fall from the coconut trees when they climb them; that is why such birds are reserved for the women.

A species of black sea swallow, which is perhaps the *Sterna tenuirostris*, is absolutely forbidden on many islands; this bird cannot be brought there, either dead or alive, because the breadfruit trees would all die there. However, on other islands, such as those of the Fananu group where, in spite of their proximity to Murilo and Rua, there is no law regarding this bird. The *Sterna stolidus* is, however, eaten everywhere and is eaten grilled. This *Sterna* is a real gift from heaven for many of these islands, because this bird lays its eggs during the season when there is neither fish nor fruit. At Rua, as many as a thousand eggs can be collected at one time, and during that season, the eggs can be removed up to three times.

A species of gannets (*Pelicanus piscator*) is very sought after, because of the quantity of flesh that covers it. Chickens, which the islanders know to have come from islands to the west, are also very appreciated on account of their eggs; such eggs are very hard to find, as the hens, being wild, know how to hide their eggs very successfully from the rats that infest these islands and from the people also. These islanders are fond of cock-fighting—a sport that may have come from the Spaniards. The long feathers from the tail of the roosters are considered a great ornament for the hair of the men.

[Dancing and feasting in general]

One of the main characteristics of the peoples of Oceania is their usual gaiety that inspires them to indulge in fun activities; music and dance are their favorite pastimes which they enjoy tremendously. The inhabitants of the Caroline Islands, those of the Society [i.e. Tahiti] group, the Sandwich [i.e. Hawaiian] Islands, etc. take part in the same pleasurable activities. The Carolinians, however, are less formal and their meetings much simpler. The feasts celebrated in their islands do not have the complexity of those described by Captain Cook. The arts are still in their infancy; for instance, no musical instrument is used. The naive and natural behavior of the people give charm to their feasts; their concerts spread an inconceivable happiness among of the people of the islands where the practice has been introduced. Dancing and singing is not restricted to a certain class of people, as on the islands that were visited by the famous navigator mentioned earlier. On most of the Caroline Islands, all youths belonging to an island or a group of islands take an active part in such public concerts. These islanders create new songs every year or every two years; they endeavor to study them well and practice to sing them well. Such songs are invented by some genius in their island group, or even from another group altogether. In this respect, there is a continuous exchange of songs as a result of navigation. If, for instance, a group of youths decide to show off their skill in another island group, they do not hesitate to sail overthere, being

certain in advance that they will be most welcome. Such visitors always bring a source of satisfaction and pleasure. There are cases in which the dates for such visits have been fixed a long time in advance. During the year that we discovered the Murilo group, part of the inhabitants of Satawal, Sonek [i.e. Pulusuk] and Tamatam had promised to visit the Fananu group in June of the present year (Fananu is where the chief of this group [i.e. Nomwin] resides), although the distance to be covered is about 200 nautical miles. Their only purpose was to take part in a feast of the type that we are about to describe. Some preparations were already being made, as the people were practicing singing and dancing. It had already been decided that 70 canoes would be employed in this voyage and that each canoe would carry five female singers. There is nothing in common between the songs of the women and those of the men; in fact, much care is taken that the meaning of the men's songs will not be understood by the women, and vice versa. The pronunciation of the words is so contrived that only those initiated can understand what they mean, because such meanings are often licentious, or full of forbidden words. The practices take place separately for the same reason, those of the men in the common house, and those of the women either in their homes or in the thickest part of the woods.

When such a group of artists arrive at an island, it is always made welcome. The men are lodged in the common house, while the female singers are accommodated in the women's club-house. On the first evening, the men practice for the next day following their arrival, when the feast begins. On the contrary, the women spend the first night talking, or sleeping. At daybreak of the next day, every man belonging to the island, except those who are not otherwise employed, go fishing. Those who will compete adorn themselves; this preparation, which we are about to describe, takes a long time, until mid-day, in fact. Firstly, they pour coconut oil on their head, and rub it on their hair and body. They then bathe with fresh water, something that is a great luxury, because such water is very difficult to find and very expensive. Such baths, taken with oily skins, give their hair and body a shiny look which they estimate as a European would a fine complexion. Custom and decency, and specially superstition, force the two sexes to use different places for their baths. According to the beliefs of these people, a man who would take a bath at a place which women had used first for the same purpose would never be able to catch a fish. After their bath, the women prepare themselves by putting on ear-rings that are made of a very light wood, painted elegantly and adorned with the flowers of the pandanus. They consider this ornament like a good-luck charm to which men cannot resist. They then put on bracelets made of shell or mother-of-pearl. They place wreaths of perfumed flowers on their hair; such wreaths are artistically made and placed carefully. Their neck is loaded with necklaces that are among the finest and most expensive in their eyes, though they may be made up of leaves, shells, painted wood, etc. Their clothes consist of a cloth with wide black and yellow stripes, made of banana fibers, that are tied around the body above the hips. Above this cloth, they also wear a belt around the waist, whose extremities fall down to their knees; it is made of coconut leaves. The young women are, as usual, naked down to the waist, but

women of a certain age wear a sort of mantle on this occasion. The men vie with the women when it comes to adornments. They decorate their neck, arms and legs with young coconut leaves, put on a beautiful orange belt around their waist, place a wreath made of banana fibers on their head; these wreaths are dyed a bright yellow, something that contrasts markedly with the darkness of their hair which is carefully arranged and fixed in place by a big comb, to which is tied a bunch of fluffy feathers, from which emerges a long feather from a rooster or from a Phaeton—a real beauty, which they cherish as their best ornament. When the season permits, their necklace is made with the leaves of a Scitamenea (Mazanta), a plant that is much appreciated and can be found on few of these islands.

Once the preparations are over, two or three men make their way ceremoniously to the common house, and, upon entering it, they begin to sing. This acts as a call for the other singers to come to the same place. They all line up on one side of the building. It is only then that the female singers make their appearance, and, upon arrival, place themselves on the opposite side to which they have been assigned. The whole population of the island instantly flocks there, men, women, old men, children, everyone comes out to attend the feast. The men begin to sing, but soon the voice of the women is mixed with theirs. At the beginning of the concert, they are all sitting, but soon they rise to accompany their songs with dancing. The public is thus entertained for three to four continuous hours. Then the women retire as a group, while the men continue the feast; they do not leave the common house until they have been fed with the best that the island can offer. The islanders, on such occasions, collect all the best food articles that they can, which they supply in abundance for the feast. The Tamol, or chief, first partakes of these foods. When his visitors begin talking about retiring, he urges them to stay longer and attend a feast that the inhabitants of the island will give in their honor, a few days later, and which takes place in the same fashion.

Besides such great feasts, which demand great preparations, the islanders often meet to sing and dance among themselves, specially during the three summer months, when there is a great abundance of fish. They generally come together after sunset, and the feast goes on until late in the night.

The dance of these people has a character all its own. As soon as this exercise must begin during the great feasts that we have just described, all young people get up and join one of the many parallel lines, as many as the number of guests and the place will allow. Everyone dances at the same time, and the figures are quite varied and are well synchronized. The beat is respected with a surprising exactitude. In any case, their type of dancing consists in brisk movements of the body, the arms and legs; besides, it is very noisy, because they slap their hands against one another or against a part of their body. In addition, from time to time, they shout many unintelligible words which they refer to as singing. They do not always dance while standing, as we do at home; among them, dancing can also take place while they are sitting.

[Religion]

A great spirit named Hanno or Hannulap rules over each group of islets in the Carolines; it is he who provides everything that they require. It seems, according to some information, that he is himself subordinated to another being who is infinitely superior to him. Few individuals enjoy the privilege of seeing this spirit, of hearing him and letting others know of his orders; this faculty they owe to their children who died young; in any case, this privilege does not give them any particular honor or benefit. Such special persons are sometimes the object of attacks by a malevolent spirit who lives among the coral rocks upon which these islands are based; this spirit is jealous of them because of the power they have to contemplate the serene face of Hanno, a privilege which he cannot aspire to. When this spirit takes possession of a special person, another such person is immediately consulted, but not until after the body of the possessed has been taken to the common house for unmarried men. The unfortunate man emits horrendous shouts and makes horrible contorsions while rolling upon the ground. As soon as the sorcerer arrives, he takes some time to examine the sick man with the most serious attention, before declaring that the bad spirit has taken hold of him, and that he must prepare at once to fight such a powerful enemy. After this, he orders some coconuts to be gathered and leaves the man alone. After a few hours, he comes back painted, oiled, ornamented and armed with two spears; he shouts, twists his arms and makes all possible noise as he gets near the house of the sick man. Upon entering said house, he immediately attacks the possessed, who gets up at once to face his aggressor and fend his blows. After a vigorous fight, they throw away their spears; both sorcerer and possessed then grab their Gurugur, or heavy sticks which they use in dancing. That is when the most ridiculous spectacle succeeds the fight that itself seemed to have been most exaggerated. They begin a most burlesque of dances, while throwing coconuts around them, until they have become so tired that they cannot continue. This fight is later repeated, many times over a period of a few weeks, until the sorcerer has clearly won. During times of calamity, the people consult such special persons, who in turn try to penetrate the intentions of Hannulap by means of their children who have died young. It happens that such oracles are ambiguous, and often diametrically opposite.

Every year, these islanders celebrate in honor of Hannulap festivities that last one whole month. Great preparations are necessary. The husband is banished from the nuptial bed for two months. During the festivities, no-one is allowed to raise a sail on his canoe, no canoe can go offshore during the first eight days, and strangers are banned from stopping on the coast.

The four days that precede the great solemnity are used to collect as many green coconuts as possible, and to prepare various dishes combining the nuts with breadfruits. A great fishing expedition takes place on the eve of the feast. All the provisions are taken to the Led, an ordinary house serving as the temple of Hannulap; this house is always open during the year, except for that one night. The next day, between sunrise and noon, all the male inhabitants, except for children, gather to witness the Tamol, adorned with everything that is nicest in the way of clothes, necklaces, bracelets, etc.

go into the temple by the north-facing door. His eyes are cast downwards and his look serious. He holds a stick with which he seems to clear his way. He appears to be concentrated upon himself and he speaks a monologue whose words no-one can understand. His brother, equally adorned, precedes him and goes in by the opposite door, at the head of a group of the most distinguished citizens. They then sit down, but upon the appearance of the Tamol those assembled get up. After he has taken a seat upon three beautiful mats that had been previously laid out, the rest of the inhabitants then sit upon the ground. Once the chief has come in, the temple is closed and no-one else may come in. The Tamol's brother then approaches the provisions and takes something from every dish; the number of such dishes can be at least fifty. He adds to it the largest fish and the largest coconut, places everything inside a basket made of coconut leaves, and presents it to his august brother, for whom he also opens from 50 to 60 coconuts. He then distributes the rest of the provisions among the people assembled, takes his place next to his brother in order to share with his brother the meal that he has just prepared, and receives as a reward the coir from all the coconuts that have been opened; this is a valuable present on account of the amount of ropes that can be had from it. At the end of half an hour, this feast that had taken so much time to prepare, is ended. The temple then becomes an ordinary house once again and everyone is free to go in, settle in, sleep there, cook in it, etc. as long as the ashes are not disturbed, because otherwise the island would become enchanted. This house, or temple of Hannulap, is the ordinary residence of the sick people, but no-one would be brave enough to stay there alone, because the spirit of Hanno resides there.

[Carolinian canoe building and navigation]

As we have seen, based on the knowledge of the situation and description of their islands, and by the trade that they practice between themselves, the Carolinians are, so to speak, prisoners of the sea. That is why it would be interesting to mention something of their navigation skills. Their canoes are made of wood from the breadfruit tree. It would be useless to describe them without the help of some drawings. We will therefore limit ourselves to saying that their construction is very simple, but that all of them have one outrigger. Their size varies greatly, as there are some small ones that can hardly carry two or three men; the largest, that are 40 feet in length, can carry from 10 to 15 men. The latter can be managed only with a sail, as they have no paddles. Such canoes are used mainly in the winter, or when a whole family is on the move; during the summer, the islanders go to sea most often aboard the smaller canoes.

When they sail beyond sight of land over distances that their ancestors had never even dreamed of, it is clear that they have to employ the knowledge acquired by those who first followed their route. Like them, they must pay attention to the course of the stars in the heavens; they have names for all of the principal stars, which they consider as forming part of some constellations that have some ideas attached to them. For instance, they say that the four main stars of Orion represent two men and two women, etc. They have divided the horizon into 28 points, each of which being associated with

the name of some principal star that rises from it or sets there, such that all the headings that are equally distant from the cardinal points bear the same name, but all those that are on the western half of the horizon are preceded by the name "Tolone", which probably means "setting".¹

Each day of the lunar month has its own name; in some island groups, they even have names for different parts of a day. They always look for certain favorable signs before they go to sea, for instance, periods when the weather will generally be fine. They take advantage of a bright moon to set out. To direct their course, they make use of the sun during the day and follow the moon and the stars by night. They generally make a proper landfall at the place they intended. If perchance they have encountered some foggy weather, they try and preserve their heading with respect to the wind; within the tropics, the wind is generally constant enough to serve as a compass during a short voyage, but it sometimes can vary too much. That is when they can get disoriented and get lost. In such a case, they sail into the wind and try to find any island to stop at, in order to find a new point of departure. Thus, after they have found their bearings, they set out again on their journey. However, if their luck fails and they cannot find any island, they must resign themselves to perish at sea, or be thrown upon some unknown coast, that may lie at some great distance. That is how Kadu, this Ulysses of the South Seas, came to Radak after a long navigation, at some 2,500 versts from his own country.² Such long voyages, made against the wind, can be easily explained by the great speed of their canoes when they sail close to the wind; it is not necessary to have recourse to a long period of time, such as the eight months taken by Kadu—something that seems completely incredible of itself. A good canoe could easily cover a distance of 2,500 versts in one month. It is quite possible that they could have mistaken seven or eight weeks for as many months, given that they were under severe stress, half way between life and death as they were.

When someone decides to build a sea-going canoe with which to make such long and dangerous voyages, he proceeds as follows. He first looks for a suitable tree all over the island, which he knows how to acquire from its owner, in exchange for some mats, ropes, or other manufactured objects. He knows in advance that he will be able to rely on the help of his compatriots to cut the tree down as close to its base as possible; to do so, they attack the tree on all sides, cutting in a circular fashion as far as the heart of it, because they consider this a necessity, to prevent the tree from splitting at its base when it falls—something that would make it unusable for the purpose intended. Since they have only adzes that are unsuitable for this kind of work, their progress is very slow. They are forced to take breaks to rest; in fact, they work one day and rest for the next two days. Once the tree has been cut, it is dragged by means of ropes to the sea-shore near the common house, where it is left exposed to the sun, to dry thoroughly

- 1 Ed. note: Correct, as a modern dictionary gives 'tololó' as meaning: to disappear below the horizon.
- 2 Ed. note: A verst is a Russian measure of distance equivalent to 0.6629 mile. Therefore, the distance quoted here is almost 2,700 kilometers.

over the period of a few months, so that the wood will be completely dry, when the work begins.

There are only three canoe builders on the large Murilo group. The man they have chosen begins by making a speech, generally very long, then he measures the dimensions of the trunk by means of a stick made from a coconut leaf, sets the length of the keel, etc. This man supervises the other workers and makes sure that they do their assigned tasks properly. Once the outside of the trunk has been roughly carved, the hollowing of the inside begins. This work proceeds rather quickly, because there can be as many as 30 men taking part. The hull of a rowing canoe can take about one day. The prow and the poop of the canoes require special attention; they are done separately and require the greatest of care. Sometimes many trees are cut down uselessly, in order to find the most appropriate ones. The sides of the canoe are then built; a different kind of wood is required here. According to the details just mentioned, one has an idea of the difficulty involved and the length of time required for this kind of work, specially when one considers the rough tools that they use, and are the only ones that they have available. That is why they are filled with joy once this stage of the project is complete and a great feast is then organized to celebrate it. Men, women and children—all those able to work—rush to go fishing, or to prepare the usual party food, such as coconuts, breadfruits, arrowroot, etc. From that moment on, life is organized such that no-one has to work beyond noon, when food is served. After that, some young coconuts are placed under the canoe, by way of an offering to Hanno. This ceremony is repeated every day, until the boat is completely finished. It is only then that everyone can taste the fish that had been cooked between hot stones and stored into well-covered holes. The prow and the poop are then ornamented with garlands of flowers, until a favorable moment occurs in order to launch this new canoe that has just been completed and which inherits the name of some old canoe that has been discarded. Some part of the old canoe in question had been saved and incorporated into the new one. The canoe builder is generally rewarded for his work with some rich present, such as mats, fruits, etc.

I deeply regret not to have acquired more information about the manner with which the navigators of these islands prepare themselves for a long voyage. William Floyd was not able to inform me about this, and gave me information only about a trip from Rua to Ruk, or Olla, a distance of only 80 nautical miles or so.¹ For this voyage, which hardly takes one day, they take along a dozen breadfruits that have been previously roasted. In addition, they also take along a meal made of the pandanus fruits, that is served in some shells. Naturally, they also take some fish, when available, and some coconuts.

The main purpose of such voyages is to find some “mar,” which is a preparation made of fermented breadfruit and serves as food during the winter months, and also everything that can be used as clothing and some household goods. Upon arrival at Olla, they seek the hospitality of some friend, where they are sure of being welcome.

1 Ed. note: Olla proper corresponds to Moen Island.

The latter immediately informs his Tamol, who in turn sends them word that they should store their sails at his home until their departure from the island. This procedure assures them of the protection of the law. Trading in their mutual products takes place on the first evening. The trade items offered by the inhabitants of the low islands consist of canoes, sails, oars, ropes, spears, war clubs, baskets, mats made of pandanus leaves, tools, etc. that are traded for panchos, belts, and other clothing articles made with the fibers of the banana and hibiscus plants; both of these plants are rare on the low islands. Other trade items that are acquired are some "mar," some "tek" which is a product made from a scitimineae and is of a bright orange color, some red earth, some black chalk stones which are used in the preparation of their arrowroot.

Once the trade activities are over, they leave their old clothes behind, to be dyed black, at no expense to them. The following days are spent in recreation, during which they partake of dishes made with breadfruit, coconuts, as well as roots from the plants of the taro family.

Many products of the high islands, such as the "gam," a sort of root that resembles the potato,¹ oranges, bananas, the delicate fruits of the *Crataeva*, and sugarcane, as well as the fish that is very abundant, are forbidden to the inhabitants of the low islands. The latter observe this restriction religiously, persuaded as they are that the devil that inhabits the rainbow would sink their canoe during their return trip, if they should dare to disobey this restriction. Upon their departure from the island, their canoes are loaded with "kwa"—a dish prepared from the nuts of a breadfruit of an inferior quality, but is quite nourishing and of much use during the times of famine, so current during the winter months in the low islands; nothing is expected in exchange for such gifts. The return voyage lasts at least five days, because it is made against the wind; that is when the skill of the pilot is put to the test, because he must not lose sight of the direction of Rua Island, while tacking. As soon as the voyage is over, a special meal is prepared for the pilot and served separately. This meal is called *Wedere* and it is forbidden for anyone else to partake of it. Before the pilot, named *Apalla* in their language, begins his meal, he pronounces a few words, supposedly to thank Hanno. Most of the people who were involved in the preparation of this meal are then present. The food is always very abundant, and anything that is left over is reserved for him and is immediately taken to his house. Such is the only reward that he gets out of his voyages, but one must not forget that these expeditions are carried out for the common welfare and are not undertaken by individuals. The rank of pilot is one of the most distinguished that there is. One can easily get an idea of the high esteem that these pilots enjoy, upon learning that there are only two of them on Rua Island. One of them was the old Tamol himself; the other was the son of his sister.

We have earlier mentioned the existence of a sort of lime, or mastic, that is used in the building of the canoes, one that is used to caulk the boards together. I will give a few details on the manner of its preparation, one that will illustrate the fact that vari-

1 Ed. note: That is, the sweet potato, from the Spanish word "camote."

ous peoples all over the globe know how to derive useful materials from what nature provides. In order to prepare this lime, the islanders in question first look for large chunks of coral that they transport to a designated place on the shore. They dig up a rather deep hole that is linked to a trench dug on one side of it by a narrow canal. They make a wood fire inside of this hole, then they deposit the coral on top of it and cover the whole with a network of coconut branches, plus some more branches on top of that, and finally some old mats or anything else that is handy. After such an operation, the hole is sealed with dirt, sand, etc. By means of the canal dug next to the hole, they let in as much water as possible, then plug the canal so that the steam that results will not escape the hole. This coral remains buried for some months, after which they proceed to open the hole very carefully. What they find is a coral that has been transformed into a white mass, very caustic. They take a small quantity of this lime using some large shells, take it to their house where they rub it on a stone in order to extract the small stones that were encased in it. They then mix it with some black charcoal that came from the fibers of some old coconuts. The mixture is then ready for use and must be used right away, as otherwise it would become hard and unfit for use.

The tough leaves of the *Calophyllum* are used to transport this lime to the places where it can be used. Afterwards, what is left over is covered with some leaves so that the sun will not dry it up too fast.

[Fire making]

When these islanders wish to make fire, they generally make use of a piece of wood of a certain size from the *Hibiscus populneus*. This wood is extremely light. One man digs a slot lengthwise before he puts it on the ground, while another man shapes another piece of the same wood into a stick with a pointed end. The stick is then held perpendicularly into the slot with both hands and rolled from end to end as fast as possible. Success depends upon the skill of this man and the dryness of the wood. Sometimes only one pass is sufficient and the fire is encouraged with fibers from the fruit of the *Barringtonia speciosa* which had been previously dried up very well. Sometimes, however, hours are spent doing this before fire can be obtained.

[Absence of kava in the Central Carolines]

Kava, a drink that is so well distributed on all the islands of the Great Ocean, has not been introduced in the islands in question. William Floyd told me that kava is not known either at Olla, or Ruk. something that is very extraordinary, because at Ualan [Kosrae] the plant that produces it (the *Piper methysticum*) is so common and so used there that the chiefs derive their income solely from it.

[Health situation]

These islanders generally enjoy a very good health; however, they are not entirely exempt from diseases. A sort of smallpox called Rup is prominent among them and may even be very dangerous. The same word is used to refer to any disease that is

epidemic in nature. This disease first attacks the palms of the hands and the bottoms of the feet. At the beginning the sick suffer from a sort of dry skin that falls off in patches. The skin must then be cauterized immediately, as otherwise infection would result.¹ This awful disease can surely be cured if such a violent remedy were used in a timely manner.

Finally, a third disease, which also bears the name of Rup, is however completely incurable. It is a sort of leprosy (*Herpes excedens*) which promptly destroys the entire [nervous] system and gives a hideous appearance to the sufferer.

Elephantiasis is also prevalent among them. We have seen some chiefs that were affected excessively by it. The medular Sarcoma (*Fungus haematodes*) pierces the eyeball of the children in the same manner as at home. Blindness is not rare and can affect all ages without discrimination.

These islanders give the name of Mak to a type of gout; sometimes their joints are much swollen, but sometimes only great pains are felt, with no swelling. Such pains are most always chronic. The treatment for this disease is acupuncture, which takes place as follows. One of the spines from the base of the tail of a fish named *Aspisurus* is fixed to the end of a small stick; this spine is attached perpendicularly to the stick. The spine is then applied to the sick part and some small blows given to the stick.

Ichtyosis is very common and is called Episa. The person affected is called Meidome. At the beginning the sufferer is not inconvenienced by this disease and does not complain of any pain, apart from a slight itch that is almost continuous. As soon as this symptom develops, the sufferer is forbidden to go fishing or to take a bath in sea water, because the effect of the water would double his pain. The skin of the sick person then becomes very uneven, peels continuously, so that it begins to look much like fish scales, or rather like the figures that very much resemble those that cover meandric corals.

The children are very much subject to asthma, a disease that kills many of them soon after their birth.

On these islands there live some individuals who pretend to cure various diseases; they are always consulted and they keep their treatments secret. They are paid liberally for their services, by means of the local products. The nature of the remedies is completely unknown. W. Floyd, who would have liked to fulfil the role of physician, because he pretended to have some knowledge of medicine, never succeeded in learning anything about the various cures that they made, and were very proud of. A few of the islanders are skilled in some light surgical operations, such as bleeding, acupuncture, applying moxa, cauterizing, giving enemas, and the resetting of bones which they do rather well.

1 W. Floyd, who was suffering from this disease when he boarded the *Seniavin*, was completely cured by some small doses of sublimated mercury.

[Burial customs]

Burial of the dead is not practiced among them. When a person from the ordinary class dies, his body is tied to a board, then some stones are also attached to it, and the whole is thrown into the sea at some distance from the reef.

In the case of the chiefs, or some other person from the high class, the body is placed inside a small house behind their ordinary residence; this house is generally adorned with green branches and some flowers.

[Climate]

The climate of these islands is generally very pleasant and very comfortable. The heat of the tropic is made temperate by the freshness of the winds and the neighborhood of the sea. During the summer, there are some long periods of calm weather, but the dew and drizzle come to cool the air. In fact, it is the large quantity of rain that falls during this season that renders it often unpleasant. Such rains often lasts 24 hours, or even many days at a time. Sudden rain showers are never rare in any season; it is rare to see five or six days pass without such showers. Though they are frequent, the rain showers are not welcome by the people. In fact, the women and the children are very much afraid of them. It is only when the young fruits of the breadfruit become available that they abandon their fright; no shower could then force them to seek shelter, as they consider that the pleasure associated with them makes their discomfort worthwhile.

The period that corresponds to the months of January and February at home is the most unpleasant of the year; some great wind gusts then occur, and very frequently too. The islanders never leave their island at this time of the year. At about this time, the thunder (*bat*) and lightning (*fifi*) make them very nervous. These phenomema inspire a great fright in them and a great veneration as well. When they wish to seek revenge against an enemy, they visit their old Eluz during a rainstorm, bringing them offerings, such as fruits, mats, etc. while praying them to crush him with thunder and lightning. However, I would do an injustice to these good people if I did not mention the fact that, a few hours later, they would return with new, and more precious, offerings to beg the Eluz to appease the storm, and save their enemy.

W. Floyd had not told me anything about earthquakes, but some giant cracks that were seen in the reef that forms the base of the Woleai group provides the proof that these islands are not spared by earthquakes.

The frequent showers, but more specially a small black scarab, cause some great damage to the roofs of the huts. The islanders are thus forced to replace the roofs twice a year, although they would need to do so even four times a year. Such roofs are made with coconut palm leaves. Every time that a roof is replaced, the wives of the workers—among whom the owner of the house is always the first—prepare a pretty little meal.

[Harmful animals]

The rats represent a much greater catastrophe for these islands; their enormous number destroy all their provisions. They say that, at Olla, the rats had taken from various storage points a large quantity of "mar" and had taken it to underground caves. This was discovered by some children, at the great pleasure of their parents. To successfully cure the bites of the Scolopendra, whose numbers are great in these islands, the remedy is to perform bleeding on the site of the bite.

There are numerous mosquitos in these islands during the rainy season. In order to protect themselves during the night, the islanders make very large bags open at one end only and cover themselves completely with them.

[Plants]

The local products from the vegetable kingdom are so important for the inhabitants of these islands that I would miss the objective that I fixed myself, if I did not elaborate on this subject before ending this paper. I will therefore give additional details on how they make use of them. The number of species of plants on the low islands of the Carolines is very limited, but necessity has forced the inhabitants to study their properties in order to use them fully. That is why there is hardly a plant that does not provide something to their economy. Naturally, not all products enjoy the same reputation, but one will be amazed to find out what use these islanders have discovered for the products of their poor soil. In the same manner that our gardeners distinguish many varieties of various fruit trees, to which they give specific names, the inhabitants of these islands insist on differentiating the different forms taken by a tree to which their destiny, so to speak, has been linked.

[The breadfruit tree]

All species of breadfruit trees are included under the name of Mai and their fruits under the name of Maifa.¹ Such species can first be divided into two categories. That which has remained completely wild or natural is called Oness; its fruits bear seeds shaped like some small chestnuts. The other category, which is preferably called Maifa, includes the species whose entire fruit has been changed through careful breeding into an homogeneous mass that serves as a food which we Europeans associate, quite rightly, to that given to us by our cereals. Within this last category, one distinguishes, firstly, the Naigar, whose fruit is almost smooth and almost round in shape; secondly, the Sewar, whose fruit is more elongated and not so smooth; thirdly, the Meal, an inferior species whose leaves are just as deeply incised as those of the Oness; the Unibal, whose surface is rather uneven and rather yellowish; the Unabala, which differs from the Unibal only by the fact that its fruit is larger. The two latter species are preferred on ac-

1 The fruit of this precious tree (*Artocarpa incisa*) are rather big and surpass in size our biggest apples; their color is green, their shape longish and their surface is spotted with diamond-like bulges; their flesh is yellowing white and contains a large number of seeds. Ed. comment: 'Maay ffay' is now the way to spell the name of the whole uncut fruit.

count of the superiority of their fruits. The Unibal, the Unibala and the Sewar are the species whose fruits are gathered for immediate use, on that same day, whereas the Nairgar and the Meal form part of their meal only because they can be preserved longer. To fix one of their meals, called Mar, they first let the rather floury fruit become a little sour, then it is peeled and crushed into a sort of paste to which is added the juice of the coconut meat. The result is placed into two wooden vessels of different sizes which are covered with the leaves of the *Barringtonia speciosa*. These two vessels are placed between some hot stones, where they remain for about four hours, after which they are removed and taken to the men's club house where no woman can enter during meal times. The Tamol first tastes the dish and distributes the contents of the larger vessel to the men assembled; he keeps the smaller vessel for himself. The Buro, a similar dish, is prepared from the fruit of the Oness, whose seeds have been removed; coconut milk or juice is not used in its preparation. It is not placed inside a vessel either, to give it some shape. Its mass is simply crushed and rolled into balls with the hands, then the balls are placed on hot stones. The Uriman, another dish of this type, consists of fruits of different species that have been recently gathered; the fruits are peeled, placed inside a net which is then placed into the lagoon overnight, where it is kept down by the weight of some stones placed on top of the net. The next day it is taken out and prepared the same way as the Mar, except that coconut milk is used in its preparation. It is strictly forbidden to give this dish to an individual, because it is a dish for the whole family. The Meal, a dish made with the fruits of the Unibal and the Unibala, is prepared the same as the Mar, except that the juice of the coconut meat is used; the resulting soft paste is then placed in some large shells that have been prepared to this effect and serve as vessels. They are covered with fresh grass and then taken near the fire. This dish represents the best and most delicious meal on all the low islands of the Carolines.

The name of Maun is applied to the manner of cooking by roasting any kind of fruits from the breadfruit tree. To make Kwa, the fruits of any species can be used indifferently. They are cut into small pieces which are then wrapped with some fresh leaves or grass; the whole thing is then placed on stones that have been heated for one hour. However, after taking this out, it is beaten with a special stone, originally from Ruk, and that resembles marble, according to W. Floyd. After its preparation, this dish is served to the men.

The pits or almonds from the fruit of the breadfruit are called Kobul. To prepare them, one first removes their peel, then skewers them on a small stick, before grilling them on the fire. Thus prepared, such almonds taste like chestnuts. Another meal consists of the seeds of the breadfruit and is called Pogul Kobul. The seeds are boiled in a little water, either in coconut shells or in sea shells. Finally, what is called Kumkobul(?) is another way to prepare these seeds; this is very simple as the seeds are grilled on hot stones. The ordinary preparation of this valuable fruit consists in cutting it in half, and letting it roast for about two hours among stones that have been well heated, while it is covered with dry leaves, in order to preserve the heat as long as possible. This dish is served hot, upon some sort of plates made of woven coconut leaves.

The trunk of the breadfruit tree is used mainly for the canoes. The wood of the Oness, which is very heavy, is used only for small rowing canoes. The wood of the Mar is always preferable, but costs much more, because it is also wanted for the making of boxes and chests. At places where there is no Guetterda tree, the Mar must be used to make handles for their adzes, specially for the longer ones.

The milky sap that flows from the bark of the breadfruit, when at a certain time of the year some incisions are made into it, is used in lieu of tar to caulk their canoes. When it is mixed with the chewed meat of the coconut, it forms a glue that is used to catch birds and prevents the rats from climbing to the top of the coconut trees.

The interior layer of the bark of the same tree is used, as we know, in many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, to make a certain cloth. For instance, we found this cloth in use among the inhabitants of the high island of Puynipet, but on the low islands we saw no use being made of this inner bark. They used the outer bark as firewood.

[The coconut tree]

The coconut tree (*Nu*) is just as essential to the inhabitants of these islands as the breadfruit tree.¹ It would be considered a crime to neglect any part of it. However, I will not mention the advantages of the fruit of this wonderful tree, because no-one ignores the use of it as a food.

The fibrous covering of the fruit, or rather nut, i.e. the coir (*Pwel* in the native language) is used by them to make excellent ropes, but one must mention that they use only that of the young or green coconuts for this purpose. In fact, as soon as the fibers have become yellowish, it is a sign that the fruit is mature and its fibers are no longer suitable for ropes as they have lost their strength, flexibility and resilience. One should not imagine, however, that this part is then discarded as useless; it only changes name, is called Reh, and is used to make black dye, or paint, which the natives esteem and used to paint the bottom part of their canoes and other objects. It is reduced to charcoal in vessels made of coral available locally. The mature branches of the coconut tree (*Peinos*) serve to cover the roofs of their houses;² the young branches are used to make baskets and woven plates. The first leaflets, before they are fully developed, are used as ornaments around the arms, the calves of the legs, and above the waist-line by the women.

The hard part of the trunk, which is found immediately under the bark, is used to make excellent spears (*Silles*) as well as elegant war clubs (*Wak*) with diamond-shaped points which are then sold to the inhabitants of the high islands.

The wood of the coconut shell is used to make vessels, bracelets, necklaces and other ornaments. The meat of the young coconut is eaten with pleasure, it being detached with the fingers. That of the old coconuts gives, as we know, an excellent dish, but it is

1 Ed. note: Coconut is pronounced 'lúú' in the Lamotrek area of the Central Carolines. Other words regarding it are also different.

2 Ed. note: 'Peilú' in the dialect of the Lamotrek area.

used rather more often to provide oil. In order to be successful at making coconut oil, the nuts that have fallen from the tree are always preferred. The nuts are placed in rows along the shore and are thus exposed to the almost vertical rays of the sun. In that position they begin to germinate, and although they are then most exquisite in taste, the simplicity and great generosity of these islanders make them decide to preserve them for visitors to their islands. Even when they are determined to turn them into oil, they nevertheless eat the inside part which is still soft and is separated from the hard part with the fingernails. The hard part closest to the shell is thrown away, though it is rich in oil, because it would make an oil that would become rancid too soon and could not even be used to oil the hair. Therefore, the oil is made only with the hardest part of the nut, that is almost cartilaginous in nature. This substance is grated with a bivalve shell and placed into a vessel where it stays exposed to the air for two days. After that, the oil is expressed with the hands in the sun. This method is generally used when the people are not in a hurry to use the oil, but when they want to use the oil right away, the grated coconut meat is placed on top of the leaves of the *Barringtonia speciosa* and the oil filters down to the bottom of the vessel by itself; it can be used the next day. However, the quality of the oil thus obtained is not at all comparable to that obtained by the former procedure, because it retains a disagreeable odor and becomes rancid in a short time. The good quality oil is preserved inside whole coconut shells that have been emptied for this purpose and are kept sealed as tightly as possible.

A sort of gruel, called Hareng, is made with the meat of older nuts.¹ The inhabitants of these islands are fond of this emulsion, because it enters into the composition of many of their dishes.

Nevertheless, what the natives esteem above all else is the drink that they get from the juice of the flowers. The food value of this juice is what sustains these poor islanders during the season when fruits are rarely available. Without it, they would be forced, to appease their hunger, to suck the fibrous covering of the Pandanus fruit and be happy with the little Mar, Kwa, or other products that they get from the high islands, which unfortunately are far from sufficient. This nourishing drink, when added to certain herbs, turns them into healthy food, whereas alone they would be harmful.

Providence, whose designs are impenetrable, has left these islands, at that same period of the year, with almost no fish. How many times have I remembered that episode, in March 1828, when we passed by the islands of Lamotrek, Faraulap, and Ulimarai. The islanders would come alongside showing all the symptoms of the most devastating hunger, one of which was almost always begging us for food. It was only after they had satisfied this first need of nature that their intellectual faculties would return, that they began to become interested in their surroundings and show wonder and excitement at seeing such marvellous, and new, things for them.

1 Ed. note: Pronounced 'arúng' in the Lamotrek area. It is coconut cream.

In order to obtain the above-mentioned drink, which W. Floyd called Toddy and which the islanders call Avry,¹ the following method is used. As soon as the proper tree is found, someone climbs it and chooses one spathe² that would open in about 10 days. A slit is made at the base of this spathe, in order to bend it more easily, then it is very carefully bent down and tied to its base tightly with a string, as far as two-thirds down from the point, in order to delay the flowering time. At this spot, the spathe is peeled off to its point and this place is covered with a young undevelopped leaf of the same tree. Once this operation is over, the point of the spathe is cut obliquely with a well-sharpened knife. If the tree is really any good, a few drops will appear on that same day. It is very important to tie a coconut shell to it right away, to prevent any drop from falling upon the ground, as otherwise the rats—always very fond of this liquor—from smelling the odor of this precious liquid.³ From the next day forward, the sap flows so much that the coconut shell collecting it must be emptied up to three times a day. Every time they climb up the tree to get the sap, they cut a piece off the spathe, as otherwise the opening would soon close. They try to cut as little off it as possible, because the purpose is to maintain the flow. However, when they reach the spot where the raceme has been tied, they refrain from drawing any more sap from it. They then untie it, so that the flowering process will follow its normal course; in fact, that same raceme will produce very good fruits. As soon as other spathes sprout, the same operation is repeated. The toddy that is thus obtained does not possess any inebriating property; it is even given to children. It is, of course, used when fresh; that collected in the morning is good only up to midday.

When the husband has gone fishing, and will not return until two or three hours after the sun has reached its zenith, his wife endeavors to preserve some toddy for him by putting from time to time into the vessel where it is kept a few hot stones. In this manner, it can be preserved for up to two days, but its quality suffers somewhat. The toddy produced the previous day is esteemed by the children because, though it is slightly sour, its evaporation produces a sort of very sweet syrup.

A good palm tree can provide three, or even four, successive generations with toddy. During the summer months, a good family man taps only one tree, enough to give drink to his children, but during the winter months, he taps as many trees as his fortune allows.

One must not, however, imagine that every coconut tree is apt to produce toddy; to the contrary, the suitable trees are rather rare. A good-quality tree can be recognized when notches are first made into it, the better to climb it; it is a suitable tree if the sap then flows from the notches. Up to now, the inhabitants of the Central Carolines have

1 Ed. note: Pronounced 'arhi', or 'aschi', further east.

2 It is an expansion, ordinarily leafy, but is almost woody in palm trees, one that first encloses the flowers and that splits open at the time of flowering.

3 A tradition that is repeated by all the islanders refers to the rats as being responsible for having taught them about Toddy. They tell of the rats climbing the tree trunks and biting off the tip of the raceme, after which a number of rats would gather at the base of the tree in question to lick the drops of liquid that subsequently fell from the tree.

no idea of turning this healthy drink into a brandy, by distillation or fermentation, as is practiced in the Mariana and Philippine Islands. It would be highly desirable for the English sailors to stay away from these islands for a long time, for fear that they might teach this practice to the islanders.

[The pandanus tree]

The two types of pandanus that are found in these islands are known under the name of Far,¹ but the type with big leaves is called Farira and that with narrow leaves Farnwal. Both types play a great role in their economy, the latter particularly; it corresponds to the *Pandanus odoratissimus* and is found everywhere in great abundance. The Farira is extremely rare on all the low islands, to such an extent that every tree is well known by all the inhabitants. The wide leaves of this type are used to make hats (*Akon*)² whose shape much resembles a funnel. The almonds that are found in the large fruits, whose shape is that of a pineapple, are much esteemed. Their taste is excellent, but one must be careful to choose only the fruits that fall from the tree by themselves. As the pit is extremely rounded by a fibrous, and very soft, substance, the teeth are put to the test, because it slips and can be drawn off only with difficulty. This fruit is forbidden to anyone setting out on a journey. The person breaking this law would be the cause of a great rainstorm (*Ud*)³ that would soon follow. The horn blower and his family are forever forbidden to eat this fruit, because it is by means of noise making, or rather horn blowing, that the rains are conjured.

The leaves of the other type of pandanus, the Farnwal, are used to make the finer mats and the sails that are exported to the high islands, in exchange for other products made of banana fibers and from the inner bark of the *Hibiscus populneus* (*Ketmia* with poplar-like leaves). Such mats are of such great quality and value that an average-size mat can fetch a great measure of Tek, the bright orange color that is quite fashionable among these Indians. On the other hand, 100 meters of thick coir ropes (*Lul*, or *Nul*) can only fetch a small quantity of this precious color. The fruits of this type of pandanus are only sought after by the children, on the islands where W. Floyd resided; they suck the sweet substance that is found in the fibers of the young ovules. At times of great famine, however, that becomes almost the only food that is available to the natives who are then forced to make use of it. When the tree can no longer produce any fruit, its wood is then very hard and strong; it is used to make poles and fishing spears. The aerial roots, which also become hard, are used to make the arches of the fish traps. When still young, the sap from the tips of these aerial roots is used as a medicine, and is mixed with food. When used as firewood, the wood from this tree is considered the vegetable matter that has the highest calorific value of all those in the islands. The dry leaves are used as roofing material. Those are not the only useful products from this

1 Ed. note: Spelled 'faarh' in a modern dictionary.

2 Ed. note: Spelled 'akkaw' in a modern dictionary.

3 Ed. note: Now spelled 'úút'.

important tree: the male flowers that exude a pineapple smell in the air are very much sought after by the women who use them to adorn themselves in the evening when they wish to attract the attention of the men; it is said that the men can hardly resist such a fragrance. This secret of Carolinian femininity is taught early to young girls, the better for them to make easy conquests. Once again, the poor family of the horn blower is forever denied the pleasure of wearing such flowers.

The Guettarda (*Mauser*)¹ is a tree that is much sought after on account of its tufted crest, and specially for the sweet-smelling flowers that it bears. Such flowers are used to make wreaths, necklaces and earrings. They generally grow near the houses. Many kitchen utensils are made with the wood of this tree, for instance, the vessels used in making arrowroot. Paddles made of this wood are also appreciated. Its bark has medicinal value.

The Frangipani (*Plumeria*), called Saur² in the Carolines, is another plant that is ornamental and grows near the houses. The perfume of its flowers surpasses their beauty. Naturally, the flowers are used as beauty items. Its wood is preferred in the making of the looms, but more so for the shuttles (*Abungaba*), as well as handles for knives and adzes.

The Calophyllum (*Rogger*),³ a species of Sapotillier (*Achras dissecta*, *Lin.*), the Savelin of the Carolinians, and the Erythriana of the Indies (*Inga*)⁴ are three trees that are greatly revered by the islanders. They are rather rare and only a few individuals can be found on any one island. Such trees are always "pennant;" they can be touched only after a decision of a general council. Their wood can never be used as firewood, not even wood chips from them. The wood from these three trees is very hard and is used to make oars and outriggers for the canoes. Any utensil made of the smallest piece of that wood has a great value; however, this cannot apply to the Erythriana, because its wood is very bitter and would transmit this bitterness to any food prepared in a vessel made of it. Oars made of Erythriana wood are so valuable that any individual possessing them would become famous on all the islands. The wood from these three trees are also used to make ladders to climb the coconut trees producing toddy, in order to climb them more easily. The small branches that are not long enough to make oars or adze handles are used for this purpose. They are tied securely to the tree trunk with cords, after some notches have previously been made to the trunk itself.

The flowers of the Calophyllum and the Erythriana are used as adornment, but, since no-one would dare to gather them from the trees themselves, one must be content to use the flowers that fall off on their own. The flowers of the Sapotillier are used as earrings. The leaves of the Calophyllum are used as spoons. With the pungent resin (*Apparogger*) that oozes from the trunk is made an indelible color that is used for various drawings of their tattoos. To prepare this color, a piece of this resin is wrapped in the

1 Ed. note: Spelled 'mweesor' in a modern dictionary. It is the *Guettarda speciosa*.

2 Ed. note: Now spelled 'séyúr' in a modern dictionary.

3 Ed. note: Now spelled 'regirh'.

4 Ed. note: Called 'apar' in the islands to the west.

membrane taken from coconut leaves, before they sprout, then one lights a fire to burn this bundle, but not before certain large and smooth stones brought over from Ruk have been tied above the fire. The soot that collects on said stones are later scraped off carefully and stored in some vessel. Before making use of it, the soot is moistened with a little water.

The Indian fig tree (*Ficus indica*), or (*Awen*), is very inferior to the above-mentioned trees. Its wood is much softer, although its roots provide rather good handles for the adzes. Such handles are made of only one piece of wood, whereas those made with precious wood are always made of two pieces. The biggest, and shorter, piece is that holding the cutting piece itself, made of a cutting shell; the longer piece is wood taken from the *Scaevola*.

The small fruits of this fig tree, scarlet red, are eaten fresh or cooked as follows: they are wrapped in fresh leaves and placed between hot stones, then reduced to a jam to which coconut milk or toddy is mixed in. The inner bark is used as bait for fishing and is tied to fishhooks. An emergency supply of caulking mortar is made, and carried aboard all the canoes, by scraping its outer bark and mixing it with breadfruit milk which is obtained by making notches in the trunk.

The superb *Barringtonia* (*Kul*),¹ a tree that looks majestic, has very limited use. Its leaves are only used to wrap the peeled breadfruit when it is being prepared for Mar. The flowers are only used for ornaments, such as earrings. The fibrous shells of the fruits serve only to make starch. Superstition regarding this tree is such that no other use can be made of it; in fact, the firm belief of the islands is that any transgression of this law would surely result in the death of some individual. Elsewhere in the Pacific Ocean the fruit of this tree is used to stun fish, but this use is completely unknown here.

The *Scaevola* (*Scaevola Koenigii*), or *Noet*, is more of a bush than a tree. It enlivens the shores of these islands by the bright green of its leaves. Its flowers, though small and white, are very much sought after to make wreaths. The young branches contain a soft substance inside them that resembles in many ways that found inside our elders and our sunflowers; it is used above anything else in the moxa used to make the permanent marks on the shoulders and the throat, those that I have earlier compared to marks left by vaccines. The wood of older trunks and branches, however, have become hard and is used the same as all other precious woods, when its size permits, specially for those adzes whose handles are made of two pieces, as I have already said. The bark is used to make the black color applied to their canoes. Besides, the charcoal derived from the coir of very old coconuts is mixed with the sap that flows from the incisions made into the breadfruit tree, the bark of the *Scaevola* is added, then a little water is poured on top of that to make the liquid black; the result can be used as a dye.

1 Ed. note: Now spelled 'ghuul'.

The light, and completely white, wood of the Hernandier (*Hernandia ovigena*), or (*Agran*), is used only as firewood, and not even appreciated for that purpose.¹

Not much attention is paid to the *Morinda citrifolia*, or *Nen*,² if only for the pleasure to see it grow near the houses, on account of the tufted nature of its crest. Its fruit is not as sought after as in other islands of the Great Ocean; however, when it is well ripened, a sort of jam is made by mixing it with toddy; this constitutes a remedy against colics. The same jam, when mixed with water, is sometimes used as a drink.

The fruit of the *Crataeva religiosa*, or *Abour*,³ is, on the other hand, very appreciated. Its bark, which contains a bitter substance, is completely grated and dried in the sun for two or three days; it is then placed inside some baskets lined with grass and leaves in order to soften it, then it is crushed and mixed with coconut milk. It appears that no superstition applies to this tree in these islands.

From the inside of the bark of the *Procris*, or *Aroma*,⁴ is made a very strong thread which is used to make fishing lines. This substance can be perfectly preserved in salt water, whereas it dissolves instantly in fresh water. That is why these islanders keep it in salt water in case of rain.

The *Volkameria*, or *Aber*, is a very pretty bush whose branches can reach a considerable height; when slightly curved, they make natural cribs that are most elegant. This property, plus the fact that the branches have a great elasticity, results in the natives preferring this bush for the fish traps, and to make hoops to give shape to their hats. Its flowers make good wreaths, but they can be used for only one evening, because its bright white color would the next day be turned into deep black.

The branches of a very pretty *Myrtacea*, called *Engwe*,⁵ are those that are generally used to make fish traps. The wood of the same plant is used to make the mallets that are themselves used to crush the coir of the young coconuts, in order to draw out the fibers that, as we know, make excellent ropes. For this purpose, the coir is placed in fresh water for one or two months, after which it is washed with salt water.

The banana tree is so rare in the low islands that it is impossible to draw any benefit from it to make cloth, as they do in the high islands. Consequently, its fruits are used as food, while the leaves serve as plates on special occasions. The heart of the banana tree is used for medicinal purposes; in fact, it is said to be so efficacious that it is used when all other remedies have failed.

The *Cerbera*, or *Nous*, which is surely one of the most beautiful trees of these islands, is not very useful to them. Its wood is not very good even as firewood. However, the milky sap that flows from its branches when they are cut serves as a remedy against asthma, and to cure the wounds that will eventually heal as marks on the shoulders and the throat.

1 Ed. note: 'Agurang' is identified with the *Morinda olifera* in a modern dictionary.

2 Ed. note: Now spelled 'neen'. It is the Indian mulberry tree.

3 Ed. note: Called 'afuurh' in the islands further west.

4 Ed. note: The 'arooma' is associated now with the *Acacia farneciana*.

5 Ed. note: Now spelled 'eengwi', it is now associated with the *Pemphis acidula*.

The *Ketmia* with poplar-like leaves (*Hibiscus populneus*), or *Sapo*, is, unfortunately for these natives, very rare in their islands, which forces them to get their clothing materials from the high islands; indeed, the inner bark of this tree is preferable to make cloth. Its straight, and light, branches are often used as poles to push off from the shore, or to reach the tallest branches of the breadfruit trees. Besides, this wood is used for fire making.

One would be disposed to give to the scarlet *Ixora* (*Ixora coccinea*), or *Arriem*, the name of **the most beautiful plant**, because of its superiority over all the other products of the vegetable kingdom in these islands. Above all, its flowers are magnificent and grow in bunches; that is why the inhabitants have a special admiration for this plant. The best adornment of the young girls consists in a belt made with the flowers of this plant, to which are added the undevelopped leaves of the coconut tree, when they are still delicately white. When the season allows, the newborn are washed in fresh water, to which has been added a quantity of these flowers as well as those of a type of *Maranta* (*Tillen*). Its tough branches are also used in making fish traps.

The *Tournefortia argentea*, or *Malesset*, whose tufted foliage is sometimes full of different species of very tasty Bernard crabs, is used by them as a sort of panacea against chest ailments. Its rather thick and woolly leaves are applied as hot as possible on the chest, where they are pressed strongly to produce some heat.

The *Tacca pinnatifida*, or *Mogemok*,¹ provides the islanders with yet another nourishing food supply; the flour that is gotten from the root of this plant is nothing but a sort of arrowroot of the best quality.² The natives employ the following procedure to get this flour. The roots are first scraped on coral stones with rough surfaces. The whole thing is then picked up and placed upon big leaves from an arum plant. In the evening, a mat is spread over a canoe and the scrapings placed on top of it. Some salt water is poured on it and it filters down, taking along some small particles of this flour. The process is continued until the canoe is full of water. During the night, this water is at rest and the flour settles at the bottom. The next day, the water is carefully removed and the flour collected with pearl oyster shells. It is then transferred to vessels reserved for the purpose. To wash this flour, some soft water is used; in fact, it is left in fresh water for 24 hours, then the water is changed, and the flour left there for another 24 hours. The water is again changed and the time has come to apply fire. The vessels containing the diluted flour are placed on hot stones and the flour stirred continuously with a stick. It is then eaten, either warm or cold. When it cools, the mass becomes very compact and hard. W. Floyd says that, when it is eaten warm with the oily juice of grated coconut meat, it has an excellent taste; the name of this preparation is called *Hareny Mogemok*. The arrowroot is also prepared with the *Buro*, or *Tomar*, between hot stones, and also with green coconuts. The milk from this fruit, its meat and the arrow-

1 Ed. note: Also spelled 'mogemog', or 'mogomog', it is arrowroot.

2 In the Ulithi group, there is an island called *Mogemok* by the natives, probably on account of this plant; the whole group sometimes is called *Mogemok* for this reason.

root are mixed together and then wrapped with leaves, and cooked between stones. The latter preparation is called Tururu.

The stalk of the arrowroot plant is hollow; it is used like our syringes. It is used to give enemata that consist of tepid water and coconut oil. The way an enema is administered is to fill the stalk and then blow strongly on the end until the patient has received the whole enema.

The beautiful orange color, to which they have succeeded in giving many yellowish varieties, comes from the roots of a sort of *Costus* that is found only on the high islands. We have obtained numerous specimens of this plant at Ualan. The procedure followed to get this color is exactly the same as that used to make arrowroot flour. The resulting mass is given different shapes, according to the custom of various high islands. The specimens of this color that we have brought from Ruk, or Olla, have the shape of small sugar loaves, when they come tied up in packets, directly from their producer. Those of Yap, on the other hand, are shaped like big round balls.

The soil of the low islands does not allow the introduction of the different varieties of arum plants, such as their culture is practiced in the fertile soil of the high islands. Nevertheless, many of these islands have patches of swamps with brackish water, where plantations of these useful plants could be produced. It is mainly the *Arum macrorrhizon* that is cultivated there, and it called Ka. Each plant must grow undisturbed for two or three years before it can be used. To prepare the root, the peel and part of the softer part underneath it is scraped off with an oyster shell, until the hard part, or heart, is found. By this procedure, all the bitter parts are removed. What is left provides a healthy food for the beginning of the dry season. What remains of the root is cooked between hot stones.

The second type of *Arum* is the *sagittifolium*, but it is almost never cultivated, although it is not rare on these islands. The only variety that is eaten has a thorny stalk. The method of its preparation is similar to the preceding one, except that it is left one whole night between stones, covered with leaves, dirt, etc. to preserve the fresh water. Besides, this plant is grown at the base of any coconut tree by the owner of the latter, to indicate in this way that the tree is taboo; whoever would touch it would surely become afflicted by leprosy as a punishment for his boldness.

The smallest of the fish traps, that we have mentioned earlier, are made with a sort of grass belonging to the family of the *Panicaceae*; however, they last but a few days. During times of famine, the various types of lilies that cover these islands are eaten with toddy, and so are the *Cassytha*, the *Triumfetta procumbens* and other herbs of the same type.

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