

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

VOLUME 22

LÜTKE EXPEDITION

AND

FIRST D'URVILLE EXPEDITION

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

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VOLUME 22

THE LÜTKE EXPEDITION

AND

THE FIRST D'URVILLE EXPEDITION,

1827-1830

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by

Rodrigue Lévesque.

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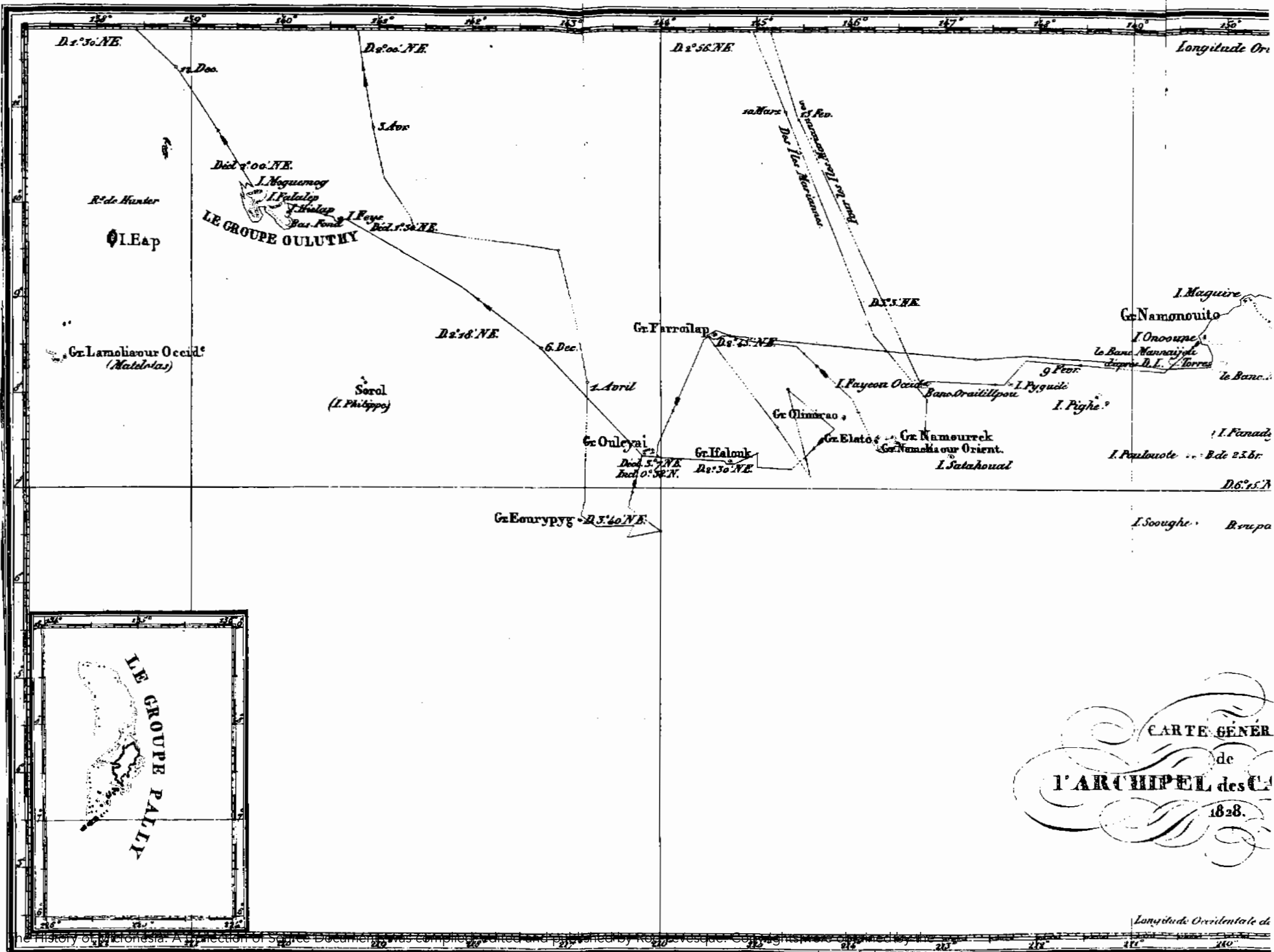
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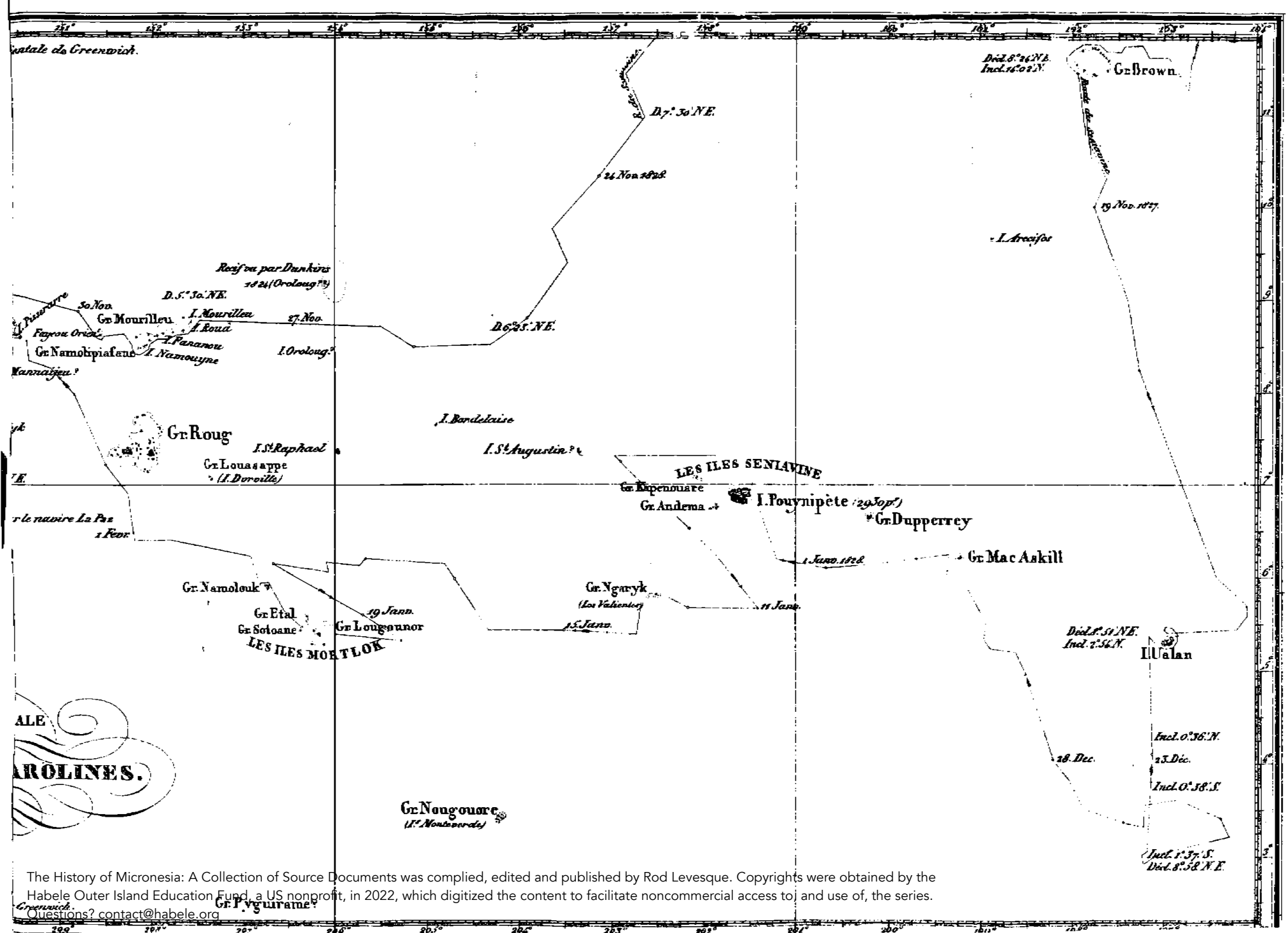
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Document 1827A

The Chilean brig General Sucre visited Guam

Source: PNA.

Letter from Governor Medinilla to Governor General Ricafort, dated Agaña 18 October 1827

Most Illustrious Sir:

In the morning of the 13th instant, the lookout of this town reported to me having seen a two-masted ship coming from the northern point of the island and headed for the port of San Luis de Apra. Having sent someone to reconnoiter her, she turned out to be the brig named **General Sucre**, coming from Valparaiso, aboard which were the wife and son of a Royal official, Mr. Manuel Barañao. This gave me the opportunity to go aboard her immediately to offer my few services and to see if she [Mrs. Barañao] could come over to this town. She accepted willingly and has remained here until the time of sailing. This letter is to advise Your Excellency.

May our Lord save the important life and health of Y.E. for many happy years.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Excellency Mariano Ricafort, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Kingdom.

Documents 1827B

HMS Blossom, Captain Beechey, inspected Asunción Island

B1. Account by Captain F. W. Beechey

Source: Captain Frederick William Beechey. Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait (London, 1831).

Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific

CHAP. XVI. Mar. 1827.

...

[The ship was then going from Hawaii to China]

With fine weather and a fair wind we pursued our course, without experiencing any inconvenience except that occasioned by a long swell from the northward which made the ship roll heavily almost all the passage. On the 25th we saw the island of Assumption, and the next day passed close to it in order to determine its position. The island is about a league in circumference, and rises from the sea in the perfect form of a cone to the height of 2096 feet. Time must have made an agreeable alteration in the appearance of this island since it was visited by La Pérouse. Instead of a cone covered with lava and volcanic glass, and presenting the forbidding aspect he describes, we traced vegetation nearly to the summit, and observed woods of palm-trees skirting its base; particularly in the south-west side. We were more fortunate than La Pérouse in obtaining a view of the crater formed at the apex of the cone; it appeared to be very small and perfect, and to emit no smoke. La Pérouse in sailing to leeward of this island experiences a strong sulphurous odour. There was none, however, when we visited the spot; but it is very probable that the volcano may have been in action when he passed, which might also account for the desolation of which he speaks.

There appears to be no danger near this island, but on the contrary, judging from the deep blue colour of the sea, there was deep water close to the rocks. The south-west side of the island is the least abrupt, but even in that direction La Pérouse informs us ships are obliged to come very close to the shore before they can find anchorage, and then only with a very long scope of cable. This bank is formed of lava and scorif, and being on the leeward side of the island has probably been raised by frequent eruptions of the volcano. There were no projections in any part of the island that we could per-

ceive, sufficient to afford protection to a boat attempting to land, and the sea in consequence broke heavily against it in every direction.

The day being clear we looked to the southward for the island of Agrigan, which on Arrowsmith's chart is placed within twelve miles of the Maugs, but no land could be discerned in that direction, and from the state of the weather, I should think there could not have been any within twelve leagues distance of us at the least. This would make the channel between Assumption and Agrigan about forty miles wide; the Jesuits extend it to sixty; but this cannot be the case, as it would place Agrigan near the latitude of $18^{\circ}45'$ N. in which parallel Ibargoitia, according to Espinosa, has placed the island of Pagan. It seems necessary therefore to contract the channel between Assumption and Agrigan as marked in the Jesuits' plan, and to reduce the size of Agrigan in order to reconcile the position of the islands. Arrowsmith has incorrectly placed the Maugs on the south side of Assumption; by our astronomical bearings they are situated N. $27^{\circ}7'30''$ W. (true) from the south-east end of that island, and are in latitude $19^{\circ}57'02''$ N. They consist of three high rocks, lying in a south-easterly direction.¹

From what I saw of the island of Assumption it appears to be a very proper headland for ships coming from the eastward and bound to Canton to steer for. It is high, and may be safely approached in the night if the weather is clear; and there is a wide channel to the southward of it. It is far preferable to adopt this channel than too pass to the northward of the Mariana group, which is sometimes done; as I am credibly informed that there is much broken ground in that direction. We have as yet no good chart of this group of islands. The geographical position of Assumption and of the Maugs will be found in the table at the end of this work.

Under the lee of the island we observed a great many birds, principally of the pelican tribe, of which there was a species supposed by our naturalists to be new. It is described as being smaller than the frigate-bird, and of a dark-brown colour, with the exception of the belly and breast, which were white, and the bill, which was either white or of a light lead colour.

From the Ladrones, I directed the course for the Bashee Islands...

...

[In June 1827, the ship crossed the Bonin Islands where they met two survivors from the shipwreck whaler **William**, the rest having been picked up by the whaler **Timor**. Captain Thomas Younger had been killed ashore by a falling tree, a few days before the wreck of his ship. A board nailed to a tree proclaimed the visit in September 1825 of the ship **Supply**.]

...

1 Captain Freycinet's discoveries were not then published.

B2. Account by Lieutenant George Pearl

Sources: BM Add. ms. 35141; recently published as Lieutenant George Pearl, R.N. To the Pacific and Arctic With Beechey (Cambridge, 1973).

Journal of Lt. George Pearl aboard HMS Blossom, Capt. Beechey

...
On the 16th [March 1827].—Found ourselves by the Latitude at Noon several miles to the southward of Wake's Island, and we did not see it.—A great number of tropic birds & terns about the ship.

...
22nd.—Passed a large shoal of whales.
Sunday the 25th.—Saw Assumption Island, one of the northernmost of the Ladrões. We hove to during the night to windward, but the breeze dying away, did not get down to it time enough to obtain the Sun's Meridian altitude on shore, therefore the Captain determined not to land and we passed five miles to the southward of it.—

Assumption is a conical rock perhaps 3000 feet in diameter and I should judge with La Pérouse its height to be about 1200 [feet].¹ On a low point at the SW side, we observed a few cocoanut and clumps of what appeared to be pandanus trees. La Pérouse who landed on this island describes it as composed of masses of lava and other volcanic matter and yielding cocoanuts and bananas.—

We observed the three rocks named the Maugs, bearing N 2° by W, 4 leagues from Assumption with the ship's head W 1/2 N, the variation of the compass was 3°30' E taken with and 2°50' E taken without Barlow's plates...

On the 7th of April, we made the Bashee Islands...

¹ Ed. note: Actually it is 891 meters, or 2,823 feet,

Document 1827D

The Lütke Expedition—Book by Captain Lütke

Source: Fyodor Petrovich, comte de Lütke. Voyage autour du monde (Paris, 1835-36).

Note: All dates are from the Russian calendar.

VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

Carried out by order of His Imperial Majesty Nicholas I

Aboard the corvette **Seniavin**

During the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829.

BY FREDERICK LÜTKE

Navy Captain, Aide-de-camp to H.I.M.,
Commander of the Expedition.

Historical Part

With an atlas, based on original drawings

By Alexander Postels and Baron Kittlitz.

Translated from the Russian
under the supervision of the author

By State Councillor J. Boyé.

[Translated from the French

By Rodrigue Lévesque]

PARIS

Printed by Firmin Didot Brothers

1835



Captain Frederick P. Lütke, commander of the *Seniavin*. He visited Micronesia twice, in 1827 and 1828. (From Bériot, 1962; with thanks to Ritter).

INTRODUCTION

In the course of the last fifteen years, almost every year, Russian vessels have made voyages around the world. However, except for the expeditions of Captains Bellingshausen and Vasiliev whose purpose was geographical discoveries, all the others were meant to transport shipments to Okhotsk and Kamchatka, and to cruise among the colonies of the Russian-American Company. Even though the commanders were not forbidden to pursue scientific research, they nevertheless could do so only occasionally and only when the main purpose of their voyage was not forgotten. Therefore, it is not surprising that geography did not gain much from all these expeditions. We will talk briefly here about these voyages.

The **Kamchatka**, a 28-gun corvette, Captain Golovnin (1817-1819), was the first vessel of the Imperial Navy—not counting the **Rurik** sponsored by Count Rumiantsov [or Romanzov]—that made a voyage around the world after the war. After rounding Cape Horn and having visited Kamchatka and the Northwest coast of America, the **Kamchatka** returned to Europe via the China Sea...

The corvettes **Vostok** (Orient), Captain [F.] Bellingshausen, and **Mirny** (Pacific), under the command of Lieutenant [M.] Lazarev (1819-1821), went up into the Antarctic Sea as far as a latitude not attained by anyone else since Cook... During the winter months in this hemisphere they discovered more than twenty groups in the Tuamotu Archipelago, and Ono Island, as well as two other small islands. This interesting voyage was published only last year.

The corvettes **Otkrytie** (Discovery), Captain Vasiliev, and **Blagonamerenny** (Well-intentioned), Captain Shishmarev (1819-1822), had for mission the search for a passage between the Great Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean. They were so frustrated by circumstances that they only discovered Nunivok Island in the Behring Sea, and determined the geographical positions of some points. This voyage has not been published.

The **Apollo**, a 28-gun corvette, Captain Tulubiev, and after his death, Captain Khruschev (1821-1824). The observations by Captain Khruschev, inserted in Part 10 of the Records of the Admiralty Department, contain useful information about the straits on the NW coast of America explored by the **Apollo**.

The frigate **Kreisser** (Cruiser), Captain N. Lazarev, and the corvette **Ladoga**, Captain A. Lazarev. These cruisers left together in 1822. The **Ladoga** returned in 1824 with the **Apollo**; the **Kreisser** stayed one year in the colonies and returned only in 1825. The voyage of the **Ladoga** has been published in Russian.

The **Predpriatie** (Enterprise), Captain Kotzebue (1823-1826). This expedition had at first a scientific objective but circumstances changed at the moment of departure. Captain Kotzebue was not therefore able to devote himself to great geographical research but had to limit himself to explore places along his route. Thus he re-discovered Roggeveen's Carlshov Islands and the Pescadores [Rongerik]. He also discovered Enterprise [Fangahina] Island in the Tuamotus, Kurdiokov [Aratika?] Island, the same as Freycinet's Rose Island, then the Rimsky-Korsakov [Rongelap & Ailinginae] and Esch-

The **Krotky**, in a second voyage under Captain Hagemeister (1828-1830). Between New Hollnad [Australia] and Kamchatka, he explored the western part of the dangerous islands of Fiji; in the Ralik Chain [Marshall Is.], the Tamaluia [Ebon] Group was located at lat. 4°39' N and long. 191°10' W [=169°], a few islets belonging to the Namu and Kwajalein Groups (the latter of which he named Prince Menshikov Islands) which were to be explored in greater details by Captain Kromchenko three years later. He explored the whole southern part of the Eschholtz Group of islands discovered by Captain Kotzebue. In the Tuamotu Archipelago, he re-discovered Waterlandt Island previously discovered by Lemaire and Schouten in lat. 14°21' S and long. 145°21' W.

Finally the transport **America**, Captain Kromchenko (1831-1833), who, following the same route as Captain Hagemeister, found the Otdia [Ailinglaplap] Group in the Ralik Chain once again, and explored more closely the Namu and Kwajalein Groups seen by the former, as well as the Jaluit Group. He found that the Prince Menshikov or Kwajalein Islands are not two but a single group stretching for more than 60 miles from SE to NW. The geographical positions of these islands were determined by him to be as follows:

Jaluit Group, center,	lat.	6°00' N,	long.	190°20' W [170° E]
Otdia Group, center		7°20'		191°10' [169° E]
Namu Group, center		7°55'		191°45' [169° E]
Kwajalein Group,	SE point	8°45'		192°15' [168° E]
	NW point	9°19'		193°04' [167° E]

The vessels belonging to the Russian-American Company, sent from Russia to their colonies, even though they had less time and fewer means to spend in geographical exploration than the warships, have nevertheless made a few discoveries. Lieutenant M. Lazarev, commanding the ship **Suvarov**, discovered Suvarov Island in lat. 13°20' S and long. 163°30' W of Greenwich in 1814. Lieutenant Ponafidin, commanding the ship **Borodino**, discovered Borodino Island in 1820 in lat. 25°56' N and long. 228°45' W [sic], and Three Hills Island in lat. 30°29' N and 219°54' W [sic]. The latter is perhaps the same as St. Peter Island discovered by Lieutenant Povalishin in 1821.

Lieutenant Kromchenko, commanding the ship **Helen**, re-discovered the Baron Lowenthal Island in 1829 in lat. 7°15' S and long. 182°45' W (that had been discovered in 1825 by the Dutch Captain Kurtsen). While cruising along the Radak Chain [of the Marshall Islands], he re-discovered the Mili and Majuro Groups, first seen by Captain Kotzebue, the former in lat. 6°4' N and long. 188°4' W [sic], and the latter in lat. 7°9' N and long. 188°42' W [sic].

The **Seniavin** Expedition was luckier than the others because it was supplied for a 3-year voyage and our colonies did not require any warship. She was able to spend a full year in geographical and scientific work. The original plan of our mission was very extensive, as can be judged from the instructions of the Admiralty Department reproduced below. Circumstances did not allow us to carry out the whole of this plan.

INSTRUCTIONS OF H.I.M.
given by the Admiralty Department
to Lieutenant-Commander Lütke,
commanding the corvette **Seniavin**.

At your arrival at Unalashka, you shall receive from Lieutenant-Commander Staniukovich, in accordance with the orders given to him, the order to separate from him and to go and explore and describe the coast of Kamchatka in the land of the Chuchis and Kodiaks (shores that have not been described by anyone and that are known to us only from the voyage of Captain Behring); the shores of the Okhotsk Sea and the Shantares Islands which are known to us but have been inadequately described...

As for your tasks during the winter months, which you shall spend in the tropics, they are left completely to your decision. Suffice only to recommend you to: (1) on your way south, explore the islands which for some time now have been indicated on the charts under the name of Bonin Islands; (2) explore in detail the whole Caroline Archipelago from the Marshall Islands as far as the Pelew Islands, and to explore as far as the equator itself. The Mariana Islands and Ualan [Kosrae] Island will be for you convenient places to acquire provisions. You shall not have to go farther than west of the Marshall Islands as the exploration to the east of these [Caroline] Islands has been assigned to Lieutenant-Commander Staniukovich.

...

The **Seniavin** was a barque (transport) with 90 feet of keel and armed with 16 guns. The ships of this class are the best for long and distant voyages; they are good sailing craft and require but a small crew. The **Seniavin** was indeed a good sailer but she lacked the speed that would often have been necessary, specially in unknown seas. This created many disagreeable moments for us.

The size of the **Moller** was the same as that of the **Seniavin**, but her design was different; her capacity was greater and she sailed faster. These two vessels, built in the Okta shipyards specially for this expedition, were launched in May 1825 and, at the beginning of June, taken to Kronstadt where they were made ready. It is not necessary here to describe the equipment as it is now more or less common among all nations. Suffice to say that we were supplied with the best riggings and as many provisions that the ships could carry. We topped it up with a few articles in Copenhagen and in England.

The crew of the corvette were as follows:

- Lieutenant-Commander Lütke, commander of the expedition;
- Lieutenants Zavalishin, Abolechev;
- Midshipmen Ratmanov, Mayet, Butakov, Glazenapp;
- Cadet Krusenstern;
- Chief pilot Semenov;
- Assistant pilots Nozikov, Orlov;

- Medical Doctor Mertens, Naturalist of the expedition;
 - Assistant Professor Postels, Mineralogist and artist;
 - Baron Kittlitz, retired Navy Captain from Prussia;
 - 5 petty officers;
 - 41 seamen;
 - 2 servants.
- In total, 62 men.

...
Except for one seaman who died as a result of a fall from the masthead, all members of the expedition happily returned home. However, one year later, we had to regret the loss of Doctor Mertens who had taken such an active part in this voyage. Allow me here to shed a tear in the memory of a friend whom I cannot forget, a man taken from science in the prime of life. He was a zealous scientist, an agreeable companion, the soul and ornament of our small society. His enthusiasm for the sciences had no limit. He was able to pass it on to the others; even the sailors were delighted to help him with his tasks. His output, as a scientist and untiring naturalist, are appreciated by others. We regret this companion for the qualities of his soul and heart.

SHORT SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THIS EXPEDITION

Geographical Part

...
In the **Caroline Islands**.—The space occupied by this archipelago has been explored from Ualan [Kosrae] Island to the Ulithi Group (also known as the McKenzie or Egoy Islands). We have discovered 12 islands and, all in all, have described 26 groups and isolated islands. The Caroline Archipelago, until then considered very unsafe, will from now on be as safe as the better-known parts of the world.

The **Bonin Islands** have been located and described.

We have in addition collected many data on the geographical position of the places visited by the corvette, the currents, the tides, etc.

The nautical atlas, containing over 50 maps and charts, has been published by the Hydrographical Bureau of the Navy Headquarters. The text is being published...

Natural History Part

Zoology. There were collected a few rare species of bats and one new species of seals; 100 species of amphibious animals, of which 23 have been sketched by Mr. Postels.

Three hundred species of fish preserved in spirits; Mr. Postels has sketched 245 of them, from live specimens. Many of these species are not very well known and others are completely new. However, what gives added value to this rich collection of sketches is that, while the naturalists were in Paris, the famous Mr. Cuvier, after having examined them carefully, added with his own hand the systematic names and denoted all the new species.

About 150 species of crustaceans, 100 of which have been sketched by Dr. Mertens from live specimens...

About 700 species of insects.

A few native skulls.

An extensive collection of shells.

Some 300 species of birds, among 700 specimens. It was Baron Kittlitz who took care of this part. He himself prepared them and described those which he thought had not yet been adequately described or were completely unknown.

Botany. The plant collection of Dr. Mertens contains 2,500 phanerogamous plants, including ferns. He also collected algae... The most outstanding types have been sketched by Dr. Mertens from fresh specimens.

Nature paintings, representing the overall plant life peculiar to each country, have often been neglected in faraway voyages. Messieurs Postels and Kittlitz followed the advice of their friend, Dr. Mertens, and have put together a large number of sketches of this type; some of these appear in the atlas of this series...

Ethnographic Part

Our common effort has yielded a rich collection of clothes, weapons, tools and ornaments; the most outstanding of these have been sketched by Mr. Postels.

Artistic Part

During the voyage itself, a portfolio of 1,250 drawings was put together; out of this number, 700 are by Mr. Postels, 350 by Dr. Mertens, and 200 by Baron Kittlitz.

At the end of our expedition, all of these collections have been deposited in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences [in St. Petersburg].

...

CHAPTER VII

From Kamchatka to Ualan.—Stay and remarks about this island.

Note: See Plates 17 to 23, and 29 in the Atlas.

The reader will remember that, in accordance with my instructions, I had to visit the Carolines during the winter. As I had not until now made a stopover in the tropics for my experiments with the pendulum, I decided to stop first of all at Ualan [Kosrae] Island that the French Captain Duperrey had recently made known to the world, and where a safe port offered the means to carry out such experiments. We therefore headed for this island without forgetting to explore the general areas where many islands supposedly exist according to some charts.

A brisk NE wind soon took us out of the cold and foggy region (of the North)...

...
On the 29th of November [1827], we reached the coral group of islands known as Brown's Range [Eniwetok] (discovered in 1794 by the English Captain Butler) whose longitude I wished to check. That day and the next, we sailed close to the northern and western parts of this group consisting of 30 islets linked together by a coral reef. The atoll has a circular shape of about 75 miles in circumference, and its interior is occupied by a lagoon. The islets are densely covered with vegetation but we could not see any coconut or bread-fruit trees; they are therefore uninhabited. We shall have occasion to talk some more about islands of this type, one of the wonders of nature which fill the soul of one who sees them for the first time with an inexplicable feeling of admiration for the Almighty creator of the universe.

Pursuing our route southward, we at last saw, in the morning of December 4th, the Island of Ualan to the westward at a distance of about 45 miles. It was evening before we could come within 8 to 10 miles of it. The height of the island, although not great, had an effect on the regularity of the tradewind and we felt but little wind that day. During the night, the wind turned all around the compass and was accompanied by steady rain and distant thunder. The next day, we found ourselves becalmed at some 3 to 4 miles from the northern coast of the island. We could see a few houses on the shore and smoke rising in many places; however, to our great surprise, not one single canoe appeared that morning. Finally, at about noon, we saw one coming from the eastern side. There were four men in it, two of whom were old men sitting on a platform in the middle and they were not rowing. They came alongside without hesitation as they were constantly repeating slowly the word *Uai...*! At the first invitation, one of the old men, then all the others, climbed aboard without hesitation. They then made long speeches in which we could guess that they not only invited us to come ashore but also that we could sleep there, find many coconuts and women; the latter fact they made quite explicit to us by their gestures. Our guests sat down quite freely in a circle on deck; they talked, laughed, and often shouted their *Uai!* We could plainly see from the first moment that our ship was not the first one that they visited. What excited them the most was the color of our skin; they often compared it to theirs and they indicated that

this was due to the effect of the sun. They perhaps would have stayed with us longer but their canoe became untied. This accident shortened their visit and they apparently returned happy with their visit. We saw them meet with another canoe coming from the same direction. There was but one old man, besides two paddlers, on it and as soon as he reached us he began to talk excitedly, fast and in a high-pitched voice, often repeating the word *uros* (which we learned later means "chief"), and pointing at the island and the canoe that had just left. The few pauses in his eloquent speech were filled with the pathetic *uai!* After having exchanged half a dozen coconuts for a few buttons, he left us without stopping his speech and not heeding our invitation to come aboard. There later came a third canoe with two men who, after receiving a few pieces of glass and buttons for their coconuts, went back soon after.

Such were our first contacts with the Ualan people and we would have been happier if they had not visited us with empty hands. A dozen coconuts and a few pieces of sugarcane were all that we got from three canoes.

The night was calm and rainy. On the morning of the 6th, we saw that the current had carried us to a point 12 miles from the coast where we were becalmed all day long so that we did not expect any visitors. However, at about 4 p.m., three canoes came alongside. In one of them there was a young man whom all the others pointed out while saying *uros*. Our visitors climbed aboard without the slightest hesitation, except for the young *uros* named Nena who, either was leaning on me or wished me to be at his side all the time. They accepted gifts with the usual *uai*; they nevertheless did not show the excessive joy often noticed among savages. In the retinue of Nena there was a young man, named Oa, conspicuous by his extraordinary intelligence. From the first moment, Oa wished to conform to our customs, did not sit but on a chair, did not spit but in a spittoon; once he happened to cough on deck and he tried to go below as a result, etc. The frank happiness of these men had nothing noisy about it and was extremely pleasing. The novelty of the objects naturally attracted their curiosity; they showed remarkable common sense for savages. They wished to find out the use of each object. The piano astonished them in particular; Oa quickly carried a chair close to it and started to accompany the player; he often lifted the cover in an effort to comprehend how it worked. The forge was then being used and it created many long *uai!* Oa understood at first that a knife was being made and he wondered if it was meant for him. They all behaved with an astonishing politeness. There was no obsession, no tiresome insistence. That time at least, there was not a single theft, a vice so common to all the South Sea races. In one word, they stood out quite favorably among all the other peoples of this part of the world who are known to us, like the Radak people, for instance. Nena stood out among them not only by his special decency but also by a certain nobility and his particular cowardice; he did not walk about the ship except by grabbing me. I had to make no little effort to bring him before the forge. The unexpected sound of the bell made him shake with fear but he later learned to enjoy it. He wished to know what a telescope was about and, after focusing it, I tried to have him look at his house through

it. He hesitated a long time, took a peek, then begged me to put it away. It appeared that he mistook the tube for a rifle or something like it.

Although our new friends had brought us as few provisions as the first ones, they made a most agreeable and beneficial impression upon us.

During the night, the current carried us even farther from the coast. The next day, the 7th, small breezes from various quarters blew and we took this opportunity to move closer to the western part of the island where the Coquille Harbor is located and where I intended to stop. During the afternoon, our friends came to visit one after another until finally there were 6 to 7 canoes alongside. They noticed that we were heading for the western coast and they made gestures towards the east, repeating *Lela, Lela*, trying to make us go there, and they thought us to be some nincompoops for not following their advice. We had already noticed that our friends were bad sailors; their canoes were badly constructed and managed even worse. That day, they got themselves entangled alongside and one of them was entirely destroyed. This accident did not, however, put a stop to the general merriment. We hove to, took the broken canoe on board and began to repair it. Those belonging to it agreed right away to the idea of spending the night on board. One of them was Chief Kase, the first chief whom we had already met; the other was the young Chief Sia whose appearance was distinguished. To sleep on board seemed like an attractive idea to many and my friend Nena declared that he wanted to stay with me together with Oa, but he wanted me to take his canoe on board first. This was not possible and Nena accepted immediately to send it away. Learning that Nena was staying, nobody wanted to leave us alone and we had a hard time convincing them to do so by repeating *motul* (to sleep), *Lela, o-ak* (canoe), etc.

Our visitors of that day served to re-assert the good opinion that we had of them. The calmness and trust shown by 10 men who consented in sending their canoes away in order to sleep on board a ship under sail could scarcely find a parallel. They behaved very well; Nena and Oa settled in my cabin and the others on deck. I entertained my guests by showing them the engravings in Kusenstern's Atlas. They recognized many things and named them. The tattooed people of Nukuhiva [Marquesas] were of special interest to them. The morai [Polynesian stone altar] was the occasion for a long *uai!* and they pointed at the idols and said: *Lela, eol!*¹ They soon went to sleep but when they heard the noise made by the plates that were being prepared for our supper they guessed the purpose and, forgetting about sleep, came to join us. Our food, it appeared, was less to their taste than theirs was to our own. My friend Nena, a great lover of food, had foreseen his staying on board and had brought with him a porridge made of mashed coconut meat, some sugarcane and another dish whose contents we could not make out. We all found the latter dish to be quite tasty.

On the 8th of December, the wind became steady from the NE and we were finally able to make the western coast of the island. As I was expecting some troubles in maneuvering, I suggested to our guests to go home but they all preferred to accompany us to Ualan, a word which they constantly repeated pointing at the NW corner of the is-

1 Ed. note: Lela, stone [ruins].

land which we had in sight. At about noon, we saw an opening in the reefs and I sent Lieutenant Zavalishin to explore it, and convinced that it was the precise port that we were looking for, I made all sails in that direction. As the wind was blowing directly from the port, we were forced to let go the anchor in the entrance itself in 35 fathoms. We immediately tried to warp our way in but were unable to go beyond the narrows by nightfall. I decided to anchor there as I could foresee no great danger in doing so because any big wind could only blow from the land.

As our guests could only be a burden to us in our predicament, I succeeded in making them go ashore for the night. We made a few new acquaintances here. The most noteworthy were that of Chief Sipe, a man of great importance judging by the noise made when he arrived, and two other old chiefs, Kaki and Eoa, from the nearby village of Lual [Lal]; they were the most pleasing of all those we had met up to that time. They brought us freshly-baked breadfruits in sufficient quantity for the whole crew, and many other fruits in proportion. We were like old friends from the first moment; embracings and jokes succeeded one another continually.

As I wished to be on friendly terms with as many as possible, I had at first allowed everybody on board without distinction. The result was that we could no longer move about the quarter decks. This crowd did not only disturb us in our work but it also caused the unfortunate discovery that not all the island people were as honest as their chiefs. That night, one thermometer and its case disappeared from above the quarter deck and the next day we could no longer find two iron belaying-pins. I decided to use every means to recover the lost objects in order to prevent such deeds in the future but I realized that we were as much to blame for this as they were. Only angels could have resisted the temptation of getting their hands on one or two among the many valuable objects that appeared laid out before them as if to tempt them.

With nightfall, our position was calculated to inspire the darkest of thoughts; it was very dark, overcast with a strong rain now and then. The sea was crashing on both sides upon the rocks, and the noise increased as time went on. The breakers reflected light from time to time and appeared at closer range than they actually were. All of this produced a disagreeable sensation and, in spite of rationalizations, gave the idea that danger was imminent. Indeed, this danger was within reach. At midnight, a strong squall from the east hit us in the middle of a downpour and we dragged our big anchor and our two kedge anchors and we were carried sideways after our side became perpendicular to the wind. Happily, the ship turned towards the direction where the reef did not extend too far at sea; if she had turned the other way, we would have been instantly crushed against the rocks. The corvette was thus able to reach the sea and we only lost our tow kedge anchors whose cables we had cut to escape.

On the 9th of December, at daybreak, we found ourselves about one mile from the entrance to the port and, thanks to a few variable breezes, we made it inside the port at about 11 a.m.

Sipe and Nena came to meet us, accompanied by canoes loaded with fruits. This time we only allowed the chiefs to come on board so as to remove from the others the temp-

tation to steal. Many were those who had fun the first days with us on board who now longingly looked up at the corvette from their canoes, comparing their present situation with the previous one. As soon as I appeared to them, they all shouted: *uros, oaka!* I myself pitied them but it was necessary to show that the incident was considered serious. I tried to make my two main hosts, Sipe and Nena, understand that a theft had been committed on board and that I was insisting on the restitution of the stolen objects and that they would receive nothing from me until they had been recovered. They understood it all, and, took the matter seriously and, after having addressed a few words to their people aboard the canoes, departed with their whole retinue.

The next day, the 10th, we warped our way into the port, near the islet called Mata-nial [Molaneil] upon which Captain Duperrey had set up his observatory and where I also intended to set up mine. I spent the whole day on this islet, busy with observations, while surrounded by a crowd of natives. I had previously had a line drawn upon the sand around the tent and no-one dared to cross it. They watched my every move attentively and shouted their *uai* from time to time. They talked a lot and laughed even more. They were often a disturbance in my work. At the sight of their faces, appearing good-natured, calm and gay, not showing any shyness or arrogance, it was impossible not to pay attention to them. When they noticed the compass, they all shouted together: *Le sacré comment*¹ and they began to talk about the *oaka* (ship) that had come here a long time ago and that had also stopped at Lela. When they heard the noise made by the guns of our hunters, they again shouted: *le sacré comment*. Sipe had already used that expression many times upon seeing astonishing objects. All of this convinced us that they had retained such words from the visit of the **Coquille**. However, is it not a wonder that, from a thousand French words that they must have heard then, they remembered only this nonsensical phrase? (A few of our gentlemen thought they heard *sivoulpe*² but I did not hear it myself). We tried many times to know if they remembered the names of Duperrey and Coquille, and a few other words which they must have heard more often, but all was in vain. They simply repeated these words after us, very distinctly, without appearing to know what they meant.

Convinced of the friendliness and the peaceful character of the Ualan people, I decided to carry out my pendulum experiments here and to that effect, on the 11th, I set up a camp on the islet of Mataniel. In order to protect us from any little annoyances, we surrounded our camp with a stone barricade seaward and a fence made of boarding nets landward. The inhabitants, far from preventing us from doing so, hurried to help us in this work.

One of our most regular visitors ashore was our good neighbor, Kaki, who regularly brought us cooked breadfruits every morning and did not seem to expect a reward from it. One day he brought along his son, a four-year-old child, sitting astride his back; he certainly was more frightened of me than a child at home would have been of a chimney sweep or a negro. When I came close to him, he shook all over and shouted loud-

1 Ed. note: French expression meaning "the darn thing."

2 Ed. note: Rather S'il vous plait, meaning Please.

ly. It is not the black skin or the white skin that is strange or give fright, but the fact that it is of a different color than one's own. This reminded me of a piece of satirical writing in which a certain negro king, when speaking about the envoy of an European nation, said: "It is true that he resembles a human being but he is as white as the devil." We frighten our little children with our chimney sweeps; Ethiopian children would be frightened by millers and wigged men if they had any. The color of the English traveler Denham is said to have looked so repugnant to the women of a certain town in the interior of Africa that a single look cast at him was sufficient to cause the symptoms of something like seasickness with them.

We could have believed the same about the Ualan ladies; perhaps they avoided us in the fear of experiencing similar symptoms. We were surprised by their total absence. Not only did we not see any around us, but also in the neighboring villages we did not meet with any. It would have been possible for us to think that they all had been sent to the interior of the island, although this did not agree with the trust that the inhabitants accorded us nor with certain mimical gestures made by our first visitors.

We had not seen Sipe or Nena since the day of the serious talk about the thefts. We were supposing that they would not re-appear until they had found the objects, and we had not made a mistake. On the morning of the 12th, my friend Nena appeared and announced with joy that the chiefs Sipe and Sighira¹ were on their way over, and had with them the *massa* (iron);² he at the same time raised three fingers, so that we recognized our three missing items. Indeed, a few moments later, the latter came up with the three items wrapped in banana leaves. They then narrated how and where they had found them, but I understood nothing of their long stories; however, their joy was obvious. Sipe embraced me many times. The warmth of his affection did not, however, make him forget about his *tella* (axe).³ I had not forgotten my promise either; the gifts were ready. After having made the chiefs sit down inside my tent, in accordance with their rank, I had the treasures brought in with solemnity. Each received one axe, one shirt with a clasp, and a small mirror so that they could then admire themselves in it. They were in seventh heaven. Sipe, in his excitement, took his necklace of dry leaves off and put it around my neck; however, it scratched my sunburned skin so much that I was unable to suffer it for more than one moment. Some time later, they expressed the wish to go aboard the corvette to show to Sighira, who had not been there, Chief Nicolai (the portrait of the Czar). When they returned, they found us having dinner and they did not refuse to partake of it. While we were eating, the idea came to Sipe to exchange his name with Mr. Ratmanov, a first example of this custom generally in use in the South Seas. The others wished to imitate him right away, and it was my lot to receive the name of my friend Nena. He went outside the tent and announced to the crowd that he henceforth was Chief Litske, and that Nena was sitting inside the tent. The crowd responded by a long *uai!*

1 Ed. note: Now written Sighrah, a family name still known on Kosrae.

2 Ed. note: Lesson had recorded this word as "mossa."

3 Ed. note: Now written "tuhla".

From then on we were constantly in friendly communication with the inhabitants. As it was our habit not to send anyone away empty-handed, we received the visit of the chiefs from Lela every day. I am going to mention the main ones here, in order to give you an idea of their names: Kanka, Nena's father, a friendly old man whom we recognized as the chief described by Mr. Lesson; Simuarka, Seoa, Seza, Nena, or Litske as he was called, would come often and would take upon himself to be the others' guide, often explaining what he himself did not understand. Our visitors would supply us in abundance with breadfruits, sugarcane, and in smaller quantities, with coconuts and bananas.

On December 14th, we were visited for the first time by ladies. Mrs. Kaki, accompanied by almost all the women of Lual, came to amuse themselves for over an hour and, after having received many gifts, went away slowly and crossed the shallows on foot to go home. We could hear their laughter and chatter for a long time.

The other visitors, three or four young and pretty girls who had come from farther away, came for not so innocent a purpose. The parents or masters who accompanied them explained the purpose of their coming, by making signs that left no doubt whatever. We did not put their sincerity to the test as perhaps this was a ruse to withdraw more gifts from us. However, if we ourselves did not show contempt, the faces of the girls for their part expressed displeasure at having failed in their attempt. One must add, however, to their credit, that they always behaved with much decency.

Taking the first opportunity of time off, I went on the 16th with our *baïdarka*¹ to the village of Lual. To get there, we had to cross a fringe of mangrove and other trees that cling to the shoreline over a distance of about 200 meters. It is strange and interesting to pass aboard a canoe through a thick grove where tree branches rise to form a thousand arcades over us and look impassable. The village of Lual is located on a sharp rise of ground near the shore, amid a grove of breadfruit and pandanus trees. The houses, rather the huts, that are part of it are dispersed here and there without any semblance of order. We found them completely empty. Not a single inhabitant came to meet us. If it had not been for two or three common individuals whom we had seen before, who were leisurely stretched upon mats under a large shelter and who invited us to sit down, we might have believed that the village was really abandoned. We could not explain this fact. The trust and the good welcome of the inhabitants, our conduct toward them, and the gifts we showered upon them, did not allow us to think that jealousy or fear could have made them hide their families from us. If they had gone away somewhere for a short time, why would they have brought everything with them?

Our walk did not last long because ravines and impassable undergrowth began at a few paces from the village. We were about to leave when Sighira appeared; he had been looking for us. His arrival caused the scene to change. Fruits were brought in right away and they were immediately prepared. We witnessed there for the first time the preparations for *seka*.² Sighira began by stripping all of the leaves from the bough and presen-

1 Ed. note: Skin-covered canoe from Alaska.

2 Ed. note: Now written "suhka," it is the same as sakau, the kava of Polynesia.

ting them with a mysterious and solemn air to a divinity by placing them in a corner reserved for that purpose. (The description of the *seka* preparation will be made later).

Sighira accompanied us as far as our camp, bringing a small quantity of fruits, and promising to bring some more the next day.

The first news I received the next day was that the small anchor of one of our canoes had been stolen during the night. I did not wish to close my eyes on this first theft committed so openly. So, when Sighira came as he had promised, I told him that we did not want to have anything to do with them anymore as long as the anchor was missing. Leaving his canoe with the fruits, he left immediately for Lual in order to make a search for it. However, after one hour, he did not come back but had someone come for his canoe. This made us suspect that he was not entirely a stranger to the theft. I did not keep the canoe because I did not want to be the cause of further trouble. That night, When Chiefs Nena and Seza came to see us, the former bringing a few gifts from Kanka, I complained to them about the theft of the anchor. I did not hand over the axe that each of them clamored for but rather I promised to do so if they could recover the anchor.

Seza came back the following morning without any news about the theft and therefore I did not give him any axe but a mirror with a golden frame that appeared to console him entirely. He played with it and made the sun reflect from it into the eyes of his subjects. He had them dance; he appeared to be gayer than ever before. That was all a ruse to distract us. When we were busy with our astronomical observations, we suddenly heard someone shout "Help!" Instantly, we were armed. I gave an order to seize Seza but he was already fleeing with all his companions through the shallows on the northern side which indicated that he was the cause of this alarm. I feared that a battle had started but I was relieved to learn that the whole affair was only caused by the theft of one axe. Our carpenter, so as not to disturb our observations with his noise, had gone to work outside the camp. One of the savages who had been seen one moment earlier talking softly with Seza had crept silently behind the carpenter, hit him on the head and, grabbing the axe, fled to the wood through the shallows. More accustomed than us with this path, the thief was able to elude us. We could only seize half a dozen canoes that were near us, two of which belonged to Seza, and the rest to our friends from Lual. We sent one of them, Leguiak,¹ to parley with Seza and invite him to come to us, but it was useless as the whole gang disappeared behind a headland towards the north. We made ready in case our peaceful hosts would decide to provoke hostilities. I doubled the guard on the shoreline, and had a small gun placed in a suitable location. The canoes were pulled ashore and I ordered, in the presence of our prisoners, that all things be made ready to burn them. I then released the prisoners after declaring that these canoes and many others would be burnt if the stolen objects were not returned.

During the evening, Kaki came to see us from Lela with his wife and children and accompanied with our envoy, the old Leguiak. He had already learned about everything from him. He knew that we had seized the canoes, kept some prisoners, and that

1 Ed. note: Sometimes written Likiak in later historical documents.

it was our firm intention to recover the stolen objects at all costs. In spite of all of this, with a courage and an extraordinary trust for a savage, he came directly to us ignoring the shouts and warnings of his children who made every effort to try and persuade him not to come and pulled their hair in despair. We, of course, did not remain unmoved by this noble deed; he and the whole family were showered with presents. Kaki blamed very much the conduct of Seza by whose order the anchor and the axe had been stolen; he was now in the village of Tepat [Topat] that belongs to him.

Meanwhile, Kaki's wife who had heretofore remained in the canoe, expressed the wish to visit my camp and she was naturally received with due honors. An infinity of things would make her shout constantly either a *uai!* or a "le sacré comment!" The old man himself was bursting with joy when he saw how we treated his wife and small child. Indeed, never guest nor host had another occasion to be more satisfied with each other.

After he sent his family away, Kaki made me very happy by accepting to spend the night with me; his company, in spite of the difficulty in understanding each other, was always interesting for me. The next morning, his only complaint was that he was often frightened by the cry of the guards.

I was thinking about the means by which I could keep my decision to have the stolen objects recovered. The surest means was undoubtedly to detain one of the main chiefs, and on the evening of the 19th the opportunity presented itself. Chief Seoa came to see me. When he approached, Kaki who was then near me with his whole family sent them away from the neighborhood of the camp and sat down in front of my tent. Such action is surely a mark of respect. I received Seoa coldly and did not accept his gifts. I tried with Kaki's help to make him understand the cause of this, and I told him finally that he had to stay with us and send his canoe to Seza in Tepat, in order to ask him to return the axe and the anchor. He agreed happily to spend the night with us, imagining that we only intended to feast him, but when he understood what it was all about, he appeared very worried. He wished positively to wait until the next day before dispatching the canoe. I insisted for him to send it right away. He finally agreed and ordered it to leave but, instead of going to Tepat, it went to Lal. At nightfall, I announced to him that he had to go on board the corvette to sleep. This announcement made him despondent. We had a hard time to convince him to go. He was in the midst of a terrible dilemma; it was impossible for him to resist and he did not know what was awaiting him on board the vessel. By the way, when he got there he calmed down and his cheerfulness returned. He insisted only upon keeping Kaki with him and the latter had to share his arrest.

The next day brought us no news about the lost articles nor about the islanders from afar, but our neighbors kept on visiting us with the same trust and tranquillity as usual. I allowed Seoa to come ashore but, in spite of his begging me, I refused to release him. Reduced to despair, he tried to escape but, after his capture, he became completely despondent. I took pity upon him and decided to let him go but not before I ordered, solemnly and in the presence of a large crowd, to destroy one of Seza's canoes, then I declared that, if the stolen objects were not returned by the next day, I would do the

same with the others. I took this measure with a heavy heart but I thought it necessary to take away from them the desire to commit other excesses by showing to them that in so doing they would create more harm to themselves than to us. The experience of all the previous travellers has shown that, in order to keep peace and understanding with savages, one must know how to use kindness and prevention at the same time as firmness and perseverance and even make a show of force when necessary. A people whose universe has been confined to the boundaries of a small island and has learned only recently about the existence of another race of men cannot possess the same notions of fairness and property. It would therefore be unjust and cruel to punish them as we would our people for what we consider a crime. On the other hand, weakness at the beginning would necessarily encourage them, as it would spoiled children, to commit new unpleasantnesses that could only be repressed by the spilling of blood. I was trying my best to avoid such an extreme measure at all costs, because the islanders, even though we had a disagreement, had behaved as best they could. Despite our harsh measures against the authors of the misunderstanding and the threat of a more severe punishment, our neighbors who had not taken part in the theft continued to surround us with their smiling faces. The respectable Kaki kept a philosophical calmness that would have been the envy of any man not a savage. Many made jokes about the short period of their detention. One of those who had been arrested in the middle of the shallows where a sailor grabbed him by the belt and brought him to the boat would bring the latter a gift of breadfruit each time he came to see him.

The measure that I had taken did not remain fruitless. The day after the destruction of the canoe, Kaki, who as usual came to see me in my tent, was called away by someone sent by Sipe and half an hour later he came back accompanied with his whole family and carrying triumphantly our anchor which he claimed he had found, and with a promise that the axe would soon follow. Satisfied with this result, I ordered that all the canoes be let go and to declare that peace and good friendship was restored. Upon hearing this, the islanders near us showed their general joy by long shouts of *uai!*

Our naturalists who had given up their excursions on account of our dispute with the inhabitants took this opportunity to visit Lela, the common residence of the main chiefs, who welcomed them in the most friendly manner, telling them to urge me to come. I did not think I could do so until I had finished all my tasks ashore. Such work kept me busy until December 25th when I returned on board the corvette. The trip was fixed for the next day.

Our party included, besides myself, Messieurs Mertens, Postels, Ratmanov, Krusenstern, three sailors and one Aleut native with our *baïdarka*. Two routes could take us to Lela. One of them was through the island by a valley separating Mount Buache from Mount Crozer [sic], the place where it is the lowest and the only possible way over from one side of the island to the other. The other route would take us along the shore around the northern point of the island. I chose the latter route intending to return by the other. Besides Kaki, who was following us with our baggage in his canoe, we were accompanied by a crowd from among our acquaintances who fought among themselves for the

pleasure of carrying our instruments or weapons. Among them, the old man Leguiak was the most outstanding on account of his constant service and cheerfulness; he was liked by everybody. During this long march, he was constantly at my side, either carrying my rifle or my instruments which could not have been entrusted to better hands.

The first part of the route was the most disagreeable. We had to walk with water up to our knees along a fringe of mangrove swamp that extends northward for a mile and a half from the port. By the way, such walks in water whose temperature is 23 degrees¹ the same bad effect as they would in our climates and we finished by becoming so accustomed to them that, upon reaching a swamp, none of us would have considered going ten extra steps to avoid crossing it. The trail then follows the shoreline strewn with sand and pieces of coral as far as the bay in which the Island of Lela is located. All along the route, people came to us with coconuts to refresh us.

We arrived at the bay by sunset and Chief Sipe's canoe was waiting for us there as he had been informed of our coming. We all crossed over to the Island of Lela aboard it. The whole beach where we were about to land was covered with people who had come to see us; they were mostly women and children. The women would make signs to us in order to get ornaments but there was no noise and no bother. My friend Nena came into the water up to his waist to meet us and told us that Sipe was waiting for us. He took us there. Sipe was at home eating and, as is the custom, he invited us to take our places and sit down.

At that very moment, an envoy from the main chief, Togoja,² arrived to present his compliments and a few coconuts. This was the first time that we had heard about this important person about whom nobody had told us anything before. I answered that, given the late hour, I did not dare bother him but that I would go and thank him personally first thing the next day.

Fatigue made us think that rest came first. Sipe noticed this need and, as the good host that he was, promptly showed us the lodging that he had reserved for us. It was a house apart from the others, inside a small and very clean yard, that we occupied without further ado. Our *baïdarka*, placed sideways across the doorway, served as a barrier against intruders. A roast from the products of our own hunting, a soup made with some English preserves, the fruits of the country and a glass of wine were sufficient to restore our strength and we soon peacefully fell asleep in spite of the lack of softness of our bedding and the terrible cries of the rats throughout the night.

One of the first encounters we had in Lela was with an enormous sow left there by the corvette **Coquille**, and we did not meet with it again. They probably had taken it away to remove this temptation from us. Indeed, seeing that we kept asking them for food and never seemed to have enough of it, they easily could have been led to believe that we would eventually cast our eyes upon the sow. This animal was being looked

1 Ed. note: Degrees Réaumur, which must be multiplied by a factor of 1.25 to yield Degrees Centigrade, or Celsius.

2 Ed. note: Rather Tokusa, or Tocsa, as in later documents. He was the paramount chief of Kosrae.

after by Sipe and had its sty within the very yard where we resided and lived very well indeed. It was fed bananas and they had made it so fat. It appears that *Cocho*, as it was called here,¹ had not fulfilled the hopes expected of it, because we saw no other specimens of its race anywhere else on the island. Fortunately, we had one sow which we believed pregnant remaining on board and I decided for this reason to leave it here.

We arose at the break of day. The first thing we noticed was a ceremony taking place inside Sipe's eating house and which had no doubt something to do with their religious ideas. I shall talk later about this subject.

While our canoe was being prepared for me to explore the port area, I went with Sipe to pay a visit to the main chief. After following a very muddy lane for a while, we reached his house. It looked no different from other houses. There was nobody yet inside the eating house. A short time later, an old man, about 70 years old and with grey hair came in through the side door and sat down without paying the slightest attention to us. After a few minutes, Sipe told us with a low voice: "*Uros Togoja*." I had not realized until then that the great man was before us, and I arose to pay my respects in our own manner. The old man then cast his eyes upon me with an empty look and only said: "*Mea?*" (What?). A sailor whom I had brought along with me brought the presents consisting of one axe, many knives, scissors, drills, boring tools, planes, nails, and finally one shirt and a bonnet which I placed upon his head. He looked at all the objects in front of him and, pointing at each one in turn, repeated: "*Mea inghe?*" (what is this?). In order to explain the use of each tool, I had some holes made with a drill and a borer in one of the nearby beams, and had a few notches made with the axe, then smoothed with the plane, etc. Many of his assistants understood all of this very well and expressed their astonishment by a long *uai!*. The old man kept repeating: "*Mea inghe?*" The bonnet seemed to bother him but he soon found a better use for it and he placed all the small objects in it and wrapped the whole thing with the shirt. Noticing a nail that had been hammered into a beam as a demonstration, he tried to pull it out with his fingers but it did not even move. This was the first thing that he seemed to understand. He disappeared for a while and soon returned with a reciprocal gift which consisted of mats and a few pieces from their weaving. I would rather have accepted a few bunches of bananas and some coconuts instead. I was told by signs that Mrs. Togoja was waiting for me. I turned around and saw an old lady who was looking in from the street through the side door and put her hand to her neck. Some scissors, one ring and one necklace did satisfy her and earned me another gift similar to the first one.

Meanwhile the preparation of the *saka* had begun. It differed from the others only in the fact that, during the whole time, a man kept the master's cup (a half coconut shell) up in the air and he presented it to the men in charge of the preparation only when the juice was ready to be squeezed out. Togoja, while waiting, took courage and had me sit by his side upon the mat, and examined me and all my belongings very attentively. The color of my skin was what surprised him the most. His curiosity was pushed to a point where I could not satisfy him and could only repeat his own words, but this

1 Ed. note: Pronounced "kosho" from the French "cochon"; now written "kosro."

would make him laugh heartily. All of those present would pay him the greatest respect, talked to him only with a soft voice and without looking at him straight in the face.

During our conversation, Togoja mentioned the *cocho* that we had on board and about which he had heard. I made him understand that I would let him have it in return for a sufficient quantity of coconuts, breadfruits and other fruits. As far as we could understand, Togoja agreed to these conditions.

Back to our lodging, I went aboard our canoe to go and explore the southern shore of the bay but hardly 400 meters from the shore the canoe sprang a leak and we had a hard time to make it back. This type of skin-covered canoe, because it is made of leather, does not have in such climates where the temperature of the water and air is always above 20 degrees Réaumur, the same strength and therefore the same advantage as where it was invented.

While waiting for repairs to be made to the canoe, we went in company with Nena and as usual surrounded by a crowd of natives to visit the island which does not have more than two miles in circumference and we crossed it in all directions. The whole shoreline, except at a few places where the trees or rocks touch the sea, is encircled by a stone wall some five feet high, in order to protect the houses and plantings from the sea. The land parcels belonging to the various chiefs are similarly enclosed by walls which are almost 6 meters in height. We were astonished by the size of the stones used in these structures; some of them measure as many as four feet in all directions and, therefore, must have no fewer than 60 cubic feet in volume and weigh over 50 hundred-weights. We were unable to understand what means the inhabitants had used to raise such masses to a height of 5 to 6 feet. Many uninhabited islets here and there upon the shoals have been encircled by such walls. What is most striking is the fact that the whole island is criss-crossed by canals. These canals were no doubt at first but creeks through the mangrove swamps but the inhabitants have raised their sides and reinforced them with walls so that they have become true canals 3 or 4 feet deep to provide easy communication. These canals communicate with the sea only on the south side of the island. In order to visit the other side, we had to cross them with water up to our waist. Upon this occasion, the natives in our company, given that they were all rubbed with oil, had a definite advantage over us. They were dry soon after coming out of the water, whereas we had to drag for a long time yet our bunch of rags which we call clothes.

These men often amazed us by their shrewdness born out of instinct that made them recognize in the mud or upon the sand of the beach the traces of the passage of the chiefs. It happened that through this means we were able to find those we were looking for.

We spent the afternoon measuring the bases and the angles of various parts of the bay.

I amused myself in my moments of leisure by watching the children who, from morning to night, assailed the stone wall that encircled our house and which they did not dare cross. Their cheerfulness and their funny nature were contagious. Two or three young girls of 13 to 15 years of age could easily have passed for beauties even at home;

they had large black eyes full of fire, teeth like pearls, a most pleasant face. Unfortunately, these gentle creatures were covered with dirt. These little rascals knew very craftily how to get things from us. In turn, they would teach us some of their songs and were amazed at how fast we could learn them. The two following songs appeared to be their favorite ones:

Sonde uagma catanazic, combien non non.
La sacricã (bis), nin nin kuluka (bis).

Here again we meet some nonsensical words in French.¹

The friends of the daughter of our host, herself about 6 years old and, by the way, cute and full of chatter, would sometimes meet at her place in one of the small houses next to ours. Such meetings followed a regular pattern, except when the gift of some necklaces and earrings brought a happy interlude to them. The girls would sing and the boys dance, because women are not allowed to dance. Among their games, there was one game played with the hands much like our own but much more complicated. They sit face to face and clap in turn the palm of the hand, then the knees, or the palm of the hands of those across them, and even those of their immediate neighbors on either side. This game consists in the hands executing a single sequence of claps with no variations whatever. It is accompanied by the beat of an extremely monotonous tune.

We had intended to go back the next day but our survey work kept us busy until the evening and we had to postpone our return until the following morning. We had no problem reconciling ourselves with this; if only we did not have to hurry, it would have been our pleasure to stay longer amid this good and friendly people.

I took the opportunity of a beautiful moonlit night to take a stroll on the seashore. Within a few moments, half a dozen young girls offered to accompany me. By the refinements of their skilful flirtations, they would have no reason to envy their counterparts in London or Paris; to the contrary, they could have put them to shame by their decency and reserved manners. They tried to convince me by attacking me with cheerfulness; they were singing songs in which my name was often repeated, etc. We were followed by a crowd of young boys, shouting, laughing, and never have I seen such a noisy bunch in my strolls in the big cities. The hospitality of the inhabitants was awake even at that late hour. Many of our friends, as I chanced to pass in front of their house, would come out with coconuts and bananas and would invite me in. All of a sudden, the shouting and laughing ceased, and everybody from the smallest to the tallest sat down around me as if they had been touched by a magic wand. I was left standing in their midst and wondering what happened when I perceived Chief Sighira at his front door. During the whole time that I conversed with him, the deepest silence prevailed over this crowd that had been so noisy one moment earlier. There were only a few rascals who would slip along the walls, laughed quietly or fooled around a bit.

¹ Ed. note: The part that reads: "Combien non non," which means: How much? No, no. The last part could be: *nitnit kuluklac*, a reference to rotten fish smelling bad.

On the 29th, we began early to prepare for our departure. The day before, Nena and Sipe had agreed to accompany us, each with his canoe, to carry our baggage. We thought we had a firm agreement, and the large quantity of *pawa* (the pudding I mentioned earlier) which was being prepared during the night seemed to indicate that our host was preparing for the journey. However, when the time came to leave, we realized that none of our friends was thinking of putting their promise into practice. Nena had disappeared and we found Sipe busy taking out the ashes from the house we had lived in with an iron shovel that I had given him, and no longer thinking about us. After many requests on our part, he ordered that a empty canoe be placed at our disposal and he went to hide; so much so that instead of going back with a large retinue and ample provisions, we were forced to go empty-handed and accompanied only by our faithful Kaki.

We were at a loss to think what was the cause of this apparent lack of faithfulness on the part of our friends, and the thought occurred to us, and that thought was the most painful, that, having been enriched by us perhaps beyond their dreams, they had no longer any reason to pay attention to us. Besides knives, scissors, axes, iron tools, nails, and an infinity of trifles given to Sipe and his women, he received from me a cup bearing a Latin inscription giving the name of the ship, the year, the month, etc. It will be a pleasant surprise for anyone visiting Ualan in the future to find some traces of those who preceded him... A flask that had contained some Cologne water in Sipe's possession (a gift from the **Coquille**) gave me as much pleasure as a meeting with an old friend... It will be difficult to recognize many of the articles left behind by us. During our stay here, many of our planes had already been transformed into hatchets.

This unexpected behavior forced us to change our plan to come back through the island, and we had to go back along the same route we had used previously, except that we avoided the coral beach north of Lela and used the canal that goes from the bay of Lela almost as far as the northern point. This canal meanders through romantic groves of sonneratia and mangrove trees; if only its salty and muddy waters could be changed into a clean brook, nothing could be more attractive. The chiefs of the willages lying on our route came as usual to meet us with presents. One of them, Kaki (the third we met by that name), belonging to the village of Petak, came along with us. After we had dragged the canoes through an isthmus, over a distance of about 200 meters, at the northern tip of the island, we continued our route along the shoreline and arrived on board the corvette in time for dinner.

The two Kakis dined with us. The Kaki from Petak had a noteworthy liveliness and cheerfulness; he drank and ate everything with great appetite. The older Kaki took him everywhere on board, explained everything and told him about everything, so much so that his namesake began to belittle the houses of all the chiefs in Lela, from that of Tojoja to the last one.

We waited all day the next day hoping to see our friends from Lela, as we could not accept the idea that they had forgotten us. At last in the evening, not having seen anyone, I dispatched Leguiak on a special mission to Lela to tell the chiefs that we would be

leaving the day after the next day, and if Togoja wished to receive the sow from us, and the other chiefs to receive other gifts, they had better not lose any time.

On December 31st, we removed our camp from Mataniel Islet and we completed the arrangements for our departure.

I went to Lual to attend a *tuktuk seka*¹ to which Kaki had invited me the day before. It was a farewell feast. The ceremony was extraordinary only by its large quantity of breadfruits and other fruits. After the meal, all the inhabitants of Lual brought me their own parting gifts consisting of mats, woven cloths, hatchets and rings in such a quantity as to form one complete load. Everything took place with much order and solemnity; they came in turn, repeating the same phrase in which I recognized only the word *uros*. Kaki would introduce each gift bearer to me and indicate those to whom I should give an axe. At the end of the ceremony, the whole gathering with their gifts and the fruits left over from the feast accompanied me as far as the corvette.

Kaki's wife asked to see the *o-ak* (ship) and this gave me much pleasure because she was to be the first Ualan woman on board, and I encouraged her by the promise of some rich gifts. Once arrived at Mataniel Islet, however, she changed her mind, saying that she was pregnant and not strong enough to climb aboard. Neither our pleadings nor those of her husband, sincere or otherwise, could shake her. We suspected that the arrival of Nena had caused this change of heart because women have to show more respect to chiefs than the men.

This chief came alone, bringing nothing, and announcing the bad news that Sipe did not intend to pay us a visit, and he kept reminding us about the axe that I had promised to give him. I invited him to spend the night on board but he insisted on going ashore. As soon as I agreed, however, he changed his mind and declared that he would stay with me together with Kaki as if he had wanted simply to test my desire to keep him.

The next day, January 2nd [1828], they both left us, carrying away gifts, promising to send us many fruits in return. We did not wait for their canoes though and, as soon as our last readings of the chronometers had been taken, we weighed anchor and left the port much faster and more easily than we had entered it.

In order to complete our survey of the island, we had to tie in our observations on the eastern coast, we spent the next day hove to off the Island of Lela, hoping that some of our friends would come aboard but it was in vain. We could see them walking slowly along the beach without seeming to pay attention to us. So as not to delay our work, we had to pursue our voyage.

We came back the next morning of the 3rd in front of Coquille Harbor. I sent Messierus Ratmanov and Mertens to Lual to see our good friend Kaki to ask him to remit to their main chief the animal I had promised, and which I had delayed handing over in the hope that Togoja would give me a commensurate present. They came back at about noon. Not only Kaki but the whole village had run to meet them and shown their sincere joy at seeing them once again. Kaki made them understand very clearly how he had missed the corvette; no more *o-ak*, no more houses on the islet, etc. The assertions

1 Ed. note: Sakau pounding (ceremony).

of this good and respectable man were certainly not fake. I am sure that he will miss us, just as much as we will remember him always with fondness. During the whole time that we were in contact with him, we had not one single occasion to be unhappy with him. Our friendly relationship was not once broken. Every day he brought us breadfruits and other fruits to such an extent that we received more from him than from all the others put together. Therefore, we reciprocated by giving him more gifts than to any of the high chiefs. On this last occasion, he again sent us as many bananas and coconuts as could be gathered in a hurry. When we parted, we were asked if we could not go and get our wives and return with them two days later.

Kaki took charge of the sow and, with his good common sense, asked how it was to be fed and how one had to behave with it. Even though they had met *kosho* before, they all kept a respectable distance from it. It is to be hoped that the race of this useful animal will propagate upon this island. We would then be able to say that we left behind not only useless trifles in return for the hospitality of this good and friendly people.

We can now also declare with no small pleasure to the whole wide world that our three-week stay at Ualan not only did not cost a single drop of blood but that we left these good islanders with the idea that firearms are meant only to kill birds. They do not know what a bullet is and, if the **Coquille** was as lucky as we, their delicate hearing was not shocked by the noise made by a cannon, and that, after two visits by European ships. I do not think that such a precedent can be found in all the annals of the South Seas.

Having at last the boat on board, we presented our sails to the wind and left this interesting island about which we keep the most pleasant memories.

GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT UALAN ISLAND

Ualan Island is 24 miles in circumference. Its center, according to our observations, is located at 5°19' lat. N., and 196°54' long. W. of Greenwich. A pass between two mountain masses separates the island into a northern portion and a southern one, with the southern part being more than twice as big as the northern one. On the latter, there is Mount Buacvhe (2,019 feet ASL) with a rounded peak on all sides. The southern part is surmounted by Mount Crozer [sic] (1,694 feet ASL) whose crest is in a NW-SE direction with the northern flank cut sharply and undulating at the top. In general, this part of the island has many peaks, either isolated or grouped in pairs like asses' ears. One of these peaks, remarkable by its regular conical shape and its location near the Coquille Harbor, has received the name of Mertens Monument from us.

The northern part of the island is surrounded by a coral reef which has a gap to form a port, on both sides of the island; on the west side, it was the one where our ship was anchored, and on the east side the port which the islanders call Ninmolshon, and which Captain Duperrey call Lele (although the islanders do not say Lele, but Lela) after the small island by that name which is located in it. The southern part of the island is surrounded by a series of islets linked by a coral reef which contains a lagoon that can be used to go around that part of the island. That reef is interrupted near the southern tip of the island and forms a port that the French have named Lottin, and where we did not go.

The shoreline, sheltered as it is by the reef from the violence of the waves, is covered by a wide fringe of mangrove and other shrubs forming a thick wall of vegetation whose greenery is pleasing at first but soon its monotony becomes tiring to the eyes. This fringe, because it varies in width, prevents the determination of the exact circumference of the island and must continuously change its outline by gaining seaward what it loses on the land side, once the swamp that gave it birth becomes dry and produces more useful trees.

In general, the whole island, except for the sharpest peaks on Mount Crozer, is covered with thick vegetation rendered impassable by creeping plants. In the neighborhood of the houses, this forest is made up of breadfruit, coconut, banana and other fruit trees. The pass that leads from one port to the other is the only place where the island can be crossed. That path is but two and a half miles in length; however, it is unpleasant on account of its water puddles, specially after the rain.

One meets clear water streams coming down the mountains at every step. Their large number, the vigor and richness of the vegetation, and the weather which would normally be a dry season in the tropics, all prove that the climate of this island is extraordinarily damp. During our whole stay there, there was not one day without rain. Oftentimes, the rain lasted a few days. We became wet throughout even under our tents and we had a very hard time to keep rust from our instruments. The Réaumur ther-

mometer oscillated between +20° and +24°; in spite of such weather, we did not notice a bad effect upon our health. The natives appeared to us to be very strong and healthy. One may say that they are used to it, but even our people who were often forced to stay for hours in water up to their waist did not suffer any ill effects. We had not one person sick when we left, and not one became sick thereafter either.

The villages, as one would expect on islands, are generally placed along the shore. They can hardly be seen, however, because of the fringe of islets or the mangrove bush. All the villages are surrounded by stone walls as we have described them, surely to mark the property boundaries. Each village has its own name and the same name is used to describe the surrounding district. The following table has been written in accordance with the detailed account given by our friend Kaki:

Names of villages ²	Names of their chiefs	Population Men/Women	Remarks [Modern names] ¹
Lela Island:			
Lik	Sighira	6/5	[Luk, A-12f]
Siauair	Sipe	10/15	[Safoira, A-12e]
Ninfaial	Sighira	14/5	[Infal, A-12c]
Metais	Kanka	5/4	[Mitaïs, A-12b]
Tai	Kanka	20/10	Kanka lives here. [Te, A-12a]
Yat	Sipe	13/9	All the high chiefs live in Yat: Togoja, Sipe, Nena, Sighira, etc. [A-12d]
Ualan Island:			
Limais	Simuarka	2/3	First village north of Lela. ³ [A-7]
Petak	Kanka	5/4	[Potak, A-5]
Pghijik	Alik-Nena	8/7	[Pikisik, A-4]
Sielat	Seza	10/7	[Sialat, A-1]
Wia	Nena	9/6	[Wia, D-135]
Matente	Nena	18/9	[Matante, D-134]
Tauenziak	Sighira	3/2	[Tafonsak, D-132]
Tepat	Seza	10/8	[Topat, D-129]
Lual	Sipe	20/15	[Lal, D-126]
Wegat	Sighira	3/2	[Wukat, D-119] ⁴
Funolof	Selik	2/2	[Fenolof, D-115]
Lias	Selik	10/8	[Las, D-114]

1 Ed. note: Numbers from Bryan's Place Names.

2 The villages are named in sequence as they occur.

3 The others follow counter-clockwise around the island.

4 Ed. note: Named after the river which gave its name to the harbor, re-named Coquille by the French.

Weule	Sipe	5/3	[Yol, D-113]
Yela	Sipe	11/8	[Yela, D-112]
Wio	Sighira	12/10	[Wio, D-110]
Linmout	Selik	9/6	[Lenmwot, D-108]
Mot	Selik	10/7	[Mwot, D-107]
Leap	Seza	7/6	[Leap, D-102]
Kiosh	Seza	6/4	[Koas, D-101]
Lighinlelem	Seza	8/6	[Lakinlelum, C-92]
Wai	Seza	4/3	[Ua, C-90]
Tahowen	Kanka	5/3	[Tafowuon, C-89]
Isha	Kanka/Nena	8/6	[Isa, C-88]
Nevoalil	Kanka/Nena	7/6	[Nefalil, C-86]
Sulmoyen	Simuarka	6/5	[Sipien, C-84]
Utwai	Kanka/Nena	10/7	[Utwai, C-83]
Tamout	Kanka/Nena	5/4	[Tafout, C-71]
Meenke	Simuarka	7/5	[Memke, C-68]
Yeoungal	Simuarka	5/4	[Jamual, C-67]
Feunkol	Sipe	13/7	[Fenkol, C-65]
Teaf	Sipe	6/5	[Taf, C-63]
Keple	Togoja	8/6	[Koplo, B-53]
Lela	Selik	5/4	[islet, B-48/49]
Yeseng	Sipe	6/4	[Jesing, B-50]
Mealem	Seoa	5/4	[Malem, B-45]
Piliul	Sipe	13/8	[Piljoil, B-42]
Peuk	Togoja	--/--	Size not mentioned. [Pok, A-24]
Tenoag	Sighira	8/5	[Tenuak, A-22]
Sianjik	Sighira	7/5	South side of Ninmolshon Bay. [A-28] ¹
Tafoeyat	Nena	8/6	[Tafojat, A-29]
To-ouol	Kanka/Nena	9/6	[Tofwol, Tofol, A-33]
Ninnem	Nena	9/7	[Innem, A-36]
Lugaf	Seoa	4/3	[Lukaf, A-38]
Fuomseng	Seoa	6/4	[Fomsang, A-37]
		---/---	
	Total:	409/301	

To judge from my own observations, I have no reason to doubt the exactness of the number of inhabitants shown above. The name of a few villages which we met along the way is not shown in this list. Maybe they were forgotten or else Kaki did not spec-

1 Ed. note: Lele Harbor was called either Pane Bay (ref. Duperrey, 1824) or Ninmolshon (Lü, 1827) by the natives.

ify villages but the districts about them. For instance, Wegat and Melo belong to the same district and their population is listed under Wegat.

When we add what has possibly been forgotten, as well as the chiefs and their women who are not listed above, one can fix the whole population of Ualan at 800 inhabitants, of both sexes, not counting the children whose number was in much larger proportion.

The chiefs or *uros* are divided into two categories: the high chiefs who own all the lands and who all live together on the Island of Lela, and those of the second category who live in the villages. We were unable to discover exactly the degree of dependence and the relationships existing between these two categories. Each chief of the first class has a few chiefs of the second class under him. The latter show as much respect toward the former as the common people show toward them. It appears that they have few lands of their own, independently of the high chiefs. It was not unusual to see in the hands of the high chiefs, one moment afterwards, the objects that we had given to the ordinary chiefs. One day, my friend Kaki complained about his superior, Sipe, who liked to take away everything from his own people. In spite of this, the ordinary chiefs are far richer than the common people.

The common man owns nothing. He may eat as much sugarcane as he needs, in order to survive; he sometimes has breadfruit but he would never dare lay claim to coconuts. The people observed a strict discipline on that score. Our officers, in the course of their strolls, often asked for coconuts that hung heavily from the trees but they always received the reply: "*uros Supe, uros Seza.*" Never did any islander pick one for us although it would have been easy to pass the blame unto us. Every day some canoes from the neighboring villages on their way to Lela passed us by, even stopping at our camp, but we were never able to receive anything from them. That is why our trading was always very limited. Everything that we got came to us from the chiefs, mostly from those of the second class.

We did not notice any class difference among the high chiefs. Togoja was the only exception. Both the common people and the chiefs would bow before him. We could not understand the reason for this state of affairs. If he had been recognized as the supreme chief, what Europeans call king on other islands, he should have had more external power than the others, some sign would have made him stand out, or at least he would not have been poorer. Nobody, when not in his presence, paid attention to Togoja, and it was only by chance that we learned about his existence. His properties on the island were smaller than most of the others; his house is hidden by those of others, it is not any different from them and one reaches it only through a muddy lane. The sole difference is that it has a large and low doorway made of reeds on the street side, whereas the other houses have only holes in the wall for entrances. I do not know if this difference has to do with chance or with his rank.

We had no opportunity to learn the scope of the power of the chiefs upon their subjects, or the basis for it, and by what means they keep them under their authority. It appeared to us that everything worked smoothly by itself. It was as in a family; everyone obeyed the chiefs without the least apparent constraint or displeasure. I had no occa-

sion to see one of the common people refuse to obey a chief in anything whatever nor a chief in any way make a show of authority over an inferior, ask him to do the impossible, get angry at him, use bad language, much less beat him. In general, during our whole stay there, I never heard once a single word spoken in anger among any rank or age group, and I never saw a hand raised in anger either. If the crowd was to be parted, one single sign was enough to effect this. One simple "shsh!" from a chief and all his rowers quickly boarded his canoe. Indeed, when I remembered the inhuman behavior of the chiefs toward their people on other islands in the South Sea, the blows from a stick that they administer in order to part the crowd and make room for their guests, and I compared that behavior with the Ualan customs, I was often doubting that I found myself among savages. My conclusion from all this is that the basis of their social organization is the good and peaceful character of the people. The authority of the chiefs is purely a moral one, the obedience of the vassals entirely voluntary. The chiefs do not think about oppressing their people any more than their forefathers did and on the other hand the people do not think about extending their rights upon the coconuts. Where there is no oppression, there is no rebellion, and where there is no rebellion, there is no need for force or any laws.

It is noteworthy that all the high chiefs own lands scattered all over Ualan Island but all live together on the Island of Lela and most of them in Yat, belonging to Chief Sipe. Lela is like the capital of Ualan. It is possible that this is a political solution taken in order to maintain in the island a permanent peace; indeed, how could ambitious ideas arise when all the chiefs are together and can observe one another constantly? In all the high islands of the Caroline Archipelago, there exists a continuous war between various villages, according to Chamisso, and here in Ualan they do not even know what a weapon is. It is perhaps due to the same principle that the villages are so distributed on the island that the lands belonging to one are not together but interspersed with those of another, as can be seen in the list of villages given above.

The nation considers itself as consisting of three tribes: those of Penneme, Ton and Lishenge. Many of the high chiefs belong to the first tribe: Sipe, Sighira, Alik-Nena, Kanka, Simuarka, Selik, Seza and Nena. Togoja and Seoa belong to the second tribe. Sitel-Nazuenziap, mentioned in their prayers, belongs to the Penneme tribe. The second-class chiefs and the common people under them are always of the same tribe as their high chief. This arrangement brings to mind the patriarchal government in use among many migrating tribes. We found only second-class chiefs and common people in the Lishenge tribe, and not one high chief.

The exterior marks of respect are very simple. If they meet with a chief, they sit down; if they pass in front of his house, they bend over; he is spoken to only in a low voice and without looking at him in the face. To remain standing is looked upon by them as a lack of etiquette as much as remaining lying down would be at home. To show friendship or love, they embrace their friend, rub their noses against his, and sniff his hand noisily.

The chiefs have no physical mark to distinguish them from the others. A smoother hairdo, a newer belt, a cleaner body, a fresh and fragrant flower in their ear, or a leaf in their hair bun, and more ease in their mannerisms are the only marks by which to recognize a chief. If they had not taken the precaution, upon meeting us for the first time, to say *uros* when pointing at themselves, we would often have confused them with common people. However, the canoes belonging to the high chiefs have something special, a four-face pyramid in the shape of the roof over a Chinese pagoda, woven with cords made from coconut fiber and ornamented with shells, which is placed upon a platform over the outrigger. They normally place the fruits they carry under this pyramid.

The skin color of both sexes is brown, a little lighter for the women. The height of the men is not above average. Sipe, one of the tallest, was only 5 feet 7-1/2 (English) inches [about 170 cm]. They are well-built but are not particularly athletic; they are lean for the most part. Even though the chiefs are as idle here as they are elsewhere, they do not become as fat as the others in the Great Ocean, specially those of Hawaii, on account of their food which is almost exclusively vegetarian in nature. Old Togoja was the only one with a big belly. The men are generally rather strong. Sipe, who did not appear to be one of the strongest, took one day as a joke one of our companions into his arms and turned him around as with a child; this companion was later weighed at 180 pounds [80 Kg]. Calmness and kindness can be read on their faces but their features are generally not outstanding; their eyes lack expression, which is normal for them as the face acquires expression only as a result of passion, and they are free from it. The young people have happy-looking eyes, and some young boys would represent an ideal of true happiness.

The women are not generally pretty. They lack the colors which are, according to our standards, a necessary attribute of beauty. The artificial luster imparted to their body by coconut oil, their hanging breasts, combine to make them ugly. Among the young girls, however, there were a few whose large and fiery eyes, white teeth as polished as pearls, well-rounded shapes but above all their kind and friendly manners, their frank cheerfulness without brazenness, their modesty without shyness, made them extremely attractive.

Very unfortunately, we found them to be very dirty; this fault distinguishes them unfavorably from the other islanders of this sea whose physical cleanliness generally surpasses the purity of their morals. These beautiful faces were mostly covered with dirt, just as much as those of the beauties of Sitka [in Alaska]. This negligence was at odds with the cleanliness inside their houses. I think that Sipe must have taken us for great sinners with our snipes and pigeons. One day he noticed some feathers and other waste in a corner of the small yard where we stayed and showed his displeasure quite openly, and from that time onwards we were more careful.

The suppleness of their members is beyond belief. When they sit down and fold their legs, the lower part of their legs from the knees down to the bottom of their feet is parallel to the thigh. When they lean upon one hand, the joint of the arm opposite to the

elbow curves outward so as to form a protruding rather than a normal angle. Mr. Postels did not want to draw them in that posture for fear that knowledgeable people would interpret this position as a gross error on his part.

Even though they are continually exposed to the wind, the Ualan people are extremely susceptible to the cold. At the slightest rain, they shiver and try to shelter themselves from the wind. During one of my excursions on Lela, a shower surprised us upon a reef in an open area. The majority of those accompanying us started to run for cover while some of the others would seek shelter behind me or behind Dr. Mertens; one of them even picked up two flat stones which he raised to cover his face in order to shield that part of his body at least.

The men go entirely naked except for a narrow belt supporting a small bag that provides some form of support; this is the minimum required for decency. The belt, as well as the banana-fiber cloth from which it is made, is called *tol*.

The women wear a belt made with the same cloth, about 10 inches in width. They fasten this miniskirt so loosely around their bodies that they are often forced to bend over while walking in order that this necessary article will be supported by their loins. What makes this posture look even funnier is the mat which serves as a cushion when sitting down and which is tied by its center to the belt behind their back. When they walk, the ends of this mat hit them in the legs. It is impossible to imagine a funnier look. By the way, it is only inside the houses that they wear this mobile seat so as not to have to move it every time they change places.

The men gather their hair upon their neck in the exact manner with which we tie the horses' tail at home when it is raining. Some of them let their beard grow naturally while others pull the hairs out. They enjoyed having their beard shaved by our barber. We seldom saw any full and thick beards.

They bear very few ornaments; the most common one is a flower or a leaf stuck in a hole pierced through the ear lobe, or placed in the ahir bun. When they wear nothing in their ears, they fold the lobe over and push the tip of it into their auditory canal. They also make a small hole at the top of their ears in which they introduce some fragrant seed. I saw some of them who had placed at that spot a long straw with a cross at the end of it which the wind turned at great speed. Some people wear necklaces made with flowers, others necklaces made of buttons from coconut shells and ordinary shells, or even from long pieces of turtle shells, etc. As for the latter, I believe that they may be some form of tribal distinction rather than ornament. *kaki*, whom I mentioned many times before, always wore a piece of turtle shell 4 inches in length and 1-1/2 inches in width hanging from his neck. During the farewell party that I mentioned earlier, all the residents of Lual had a similar one at their neck. I never saw anyone else wearing one.

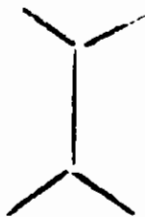
The attire of the ladies is not very complicated. They sometimes let their hair hang loose; at other times they gather it, not on the neck like the men but on the side and without typing it so tightly. The holes in their ears are always full of flowers or fragrant herbs, in such a way that they end up two inches thick; when such an ornament is missing, the gaping hole is not pleasing to look at. One of the signs that a lady is favorably

disposed toward someone occurs when she hands over a flower from her ear. They also pierce the cartilage between the nostrils but I rarely saw any ornaments there; rather they used to place the needles that we would give them in there, as well as the small pieces of paper which they would roll up into cones first. However, the most noticeable part of their attire was the necklace which proves that it is not only in Europe that fashion goes against common sense. This necklace, rather collar, is about 9 inches in cross-section and consists of an infinity of small laces made of coconut fiber, tightly woven together. Such a tie is never taken off. One can imagine the amount of hodge-podge that must accumulate there over the years, knowing how clean they really are... The women's necks are accustomed to this ornament, as the feet of the men are used to walking upon coral shards. We notices that the size of the necklace changed with the age of the individual; that of young girls had but a few strands, and their number probably increased over the years at predetermined times. They also wore one of these cords on the leg, above the ankle.

One can also add another toilet article for the ladies and that is a mat they use as an umbrella and sunshade which they place over their head to protect themselves from the rain or the hot sun.

Both sexes anoint their body with coconut oil, a general custom in the islands of the Great Ocean. The chiefs use freshly-made oil and they longed to own some of our dishes for that purpose. I saw the common people rub themselves all over with a rag in which they had placed some shavings of coconut meat. The odor of this mixture is not unpleasant but extremely strong. It lasts so long that a comb that Nena had used twice on his head kept this odor during three months, in spite of the frequent washings. The same thing happened to the sailors' hammocks made of canvas upon which the islanders had sat many times.

Both sexes are tattooed but without much symmetry or regularity of the figures. They draw long lines along the arms and legs, and some other short lines perpendicular to them, etc. A common figure which they almost all had was the following:



This figure must represent a bird. It is placed on the arm above the other lines, either alone, in twos or threes, and not the same number on the opposite arm. Some of our gentlemen thought that the number of figures represented rank but I did not notice this to be the case. We did not have the opportunity to see how they apply these tattoos.

According to what we understood from their explanations, they scrape the skin with a shell, and then rub the juice of a plant on the spot.

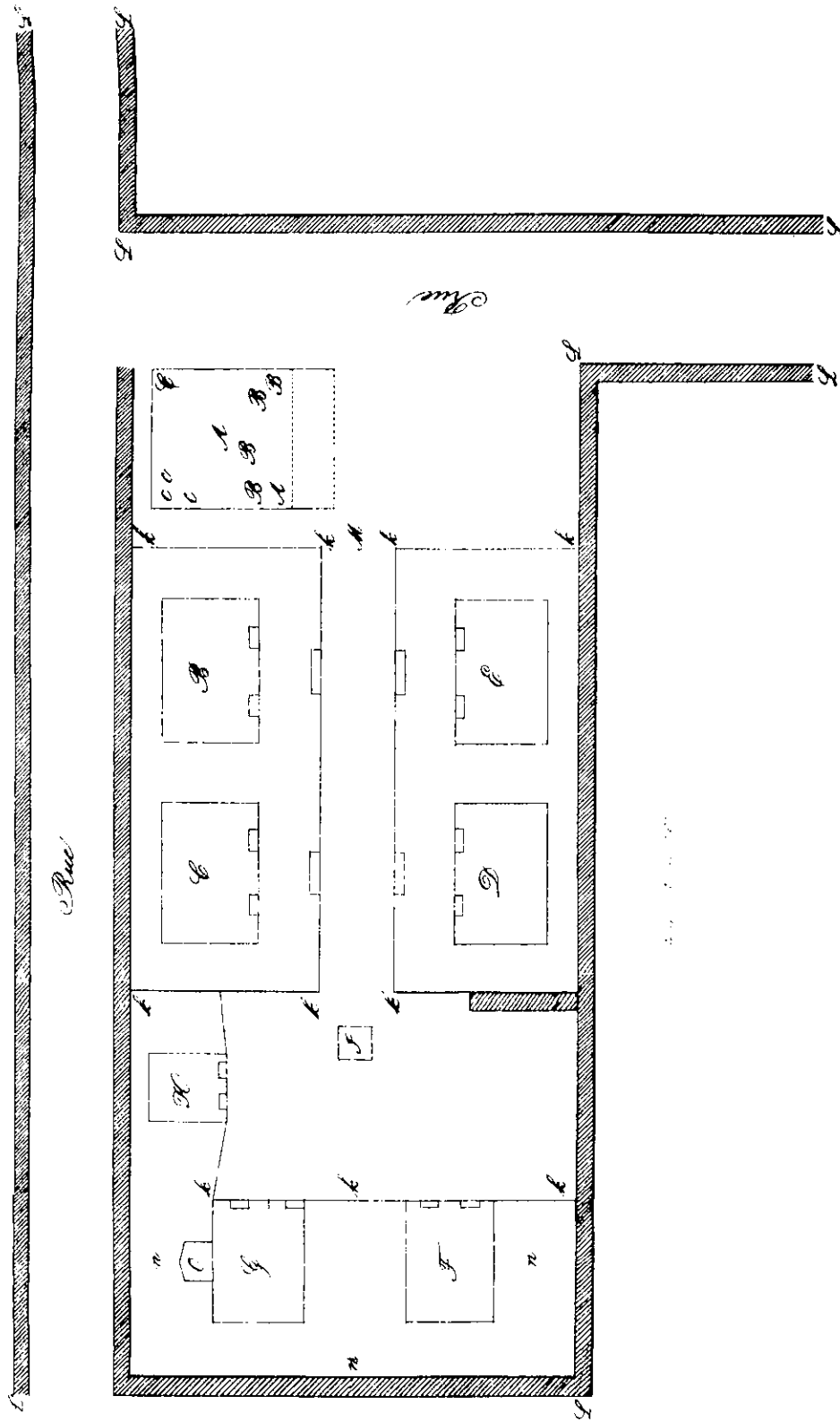
Their houses are very appropriate for the climate. Four big pillars are joined together two by two, at an acute angle, at a varying height depending on the size of the house. Upon this is placed a rafter made up of three joists tied together so that the two ends rise up about ten feet higher than the middle. This makes the roof take the shape of a huge saddle. The Ualan houses are thus distinctive. Some poles are tied to the pillars and rafter lengthwise and cross-wise, and on them are fixed the pandanus leaf shingles that complete the roof all the way down to about four feet off the ground. This empty space is subdivided by partitions made of woven reeds or split bamboo. There is no special outlet for the smoke; it escapes either through the door or is lost in the upper part of the roof. The elevation of the houses is such that the air is never compressed and is therefore always pure and fresh.

Such is the general layout of all the houses; they differ only in size or in internal divisions, in accordance with their purpose. Most of the houses measure 4 square meters, and as many meters in height; however, the big feast houses (each village has one) measure 16 square meters, and 30 to 40 feet in height. The first part of these halls is entirely open. There is a side door on the right and in the left corner, there is a shelf upon which are placed the staff and sea shell trumpets dedicated to Sitel-Nazuenziap, some *seka* leaves to honor him, etc. One or two flat stones are buried level with the ground surface; they have a depression in the center where the roots of this plant are crushed. In the sleeping houses, there are two doors in front, one 2-foot high and the other as high as the wall itself. Those who are not rich and who live in just one house separate their sleeping quarters from the rest with a mat partition. The floor is usually covered with mats.

The residence of the high chiefs is made up of many houses. Here is a detailed description of Chief Sipe's housing arrangement which will give an idea about all others (see Figure).

L,L,L are walls made up of large stones surrounding all the houses of the chiefs. It is a strange thing that, even though most of the chiefs live in Yat, belonging to Sipe, the houses of each chief are enclosed by such a wall. Coming in from the street, one first encounters a house, A, that serves the purposes of living room, drawing room, dining room in our homes, and which I call eating house to differentiate it from the others.¹ This is where the master spends the greater part of his day, sitting at the left of the entrance at A. This is where they cook breadfruit, prepare *seka*, and where he receives his visitors. He places the important ones next to him, and the others sit in a circle at B,B,B. The least important ones or those busy with some task preventing them from taking part in the general conversation stay at the other end (C,C,C). This is where, from morning to night, the people flock, during our stay, their number was so great that most of them had to remain outside the house. A wall made of split bamboo (k,k,k) separates

1 Mr. Lesson called this type of house *Lom umu*, or *Pae*, but we did not have the opportunity to hear how it was called.



the interior lodgings of the chief; nobody may enter there except himself and the members of his household, which included ourselves. When coming in through Door M, one finds a similar bamboo fence on either side behind which are individual houses. C is the house where Sipe's first wife spends her daytime hours. The second wife lives in D. WE always saw many children in B, related to Sipe but not those of his own family; that is also where his son, still an infant, born of his favorite wife and cared for by an old maid servant, lived. I do not know the purpose of House E. At the end of the walkway one comes to a small yard with three houses in it, two of which (F,G) are about the same size as the others, and the third (H) much ssssssmaller. Sipe would have supper and spend the night in G. Mrs. Sipe slept in H with her 4-year-old daughter; this is also where Miss Sipe would play at various games with her friends. F was the lodging assigned to us which we used as we pleased and where we had also carried our *baidarka*. At I, there was one of those stones upon which they crush the *seka* but we did not see them use it, not even once. At O was the enclosure for the sow that Captain Duperrey had left with them. The whole space enclosed by the fence k,k,k was covered by very neat bamboo planks, except for the area n,n,n where a few coconut, banana, and breadfruit trees formed a small domestic garden and gave a pleasant appearance to the whole family plot. The plot was 70 paces in length by 30 in width.

The description of the houses has taken us only a short time; the inventory of what they contained will not take us much longer because they are almost completely empty. Among a people who live so simply and so uniformly, the household goods are soon counted.

In the center of each house, there is a sort of large and slim box, enclosed only by small edges, meant to keep food out of the reach of the rats, etc. In two or three other places there are other smaller boxes, or simply poles with hooks to hold all types of small articles such as the coconut shell cups, which are sometimes covered with a very clean cloth, many *tol*, the small fishing implements, etc. This is also where they put the trifles received from us. A t rough made from the trunk of a breadfruit tree, some three feet in length by about two and a half wide, in which they carry the water to make *seka*, is a compulsory piece of furniture in every house; when it is not used for this purpose, it is used as a seat. A few vessels for various purposes and some small looms to weave the *tol* complete the list of furniture in their houses!

The *tol* are woven with banana fiber. The threads, whose preparation I did not have the opportunity to observe, are dyed in black, white, yellow, and red. They have, to form the web, a small loom upon which they place the threads around four small sticks so that one thread can in succession pass to another, as on our looms. Once the web has reached the desired width, it is tied at both ends and taken off the loom. Then the *tol* is to be of one color, the task is soon completed, but when figures are to be part of its design, each row of the web is made up of as many threads together as there are colors involved. One must easily imagine what pain and attention are required for this task, in order for all the threads to form a straight line cross-wise, and how tiring this work must be. Their manner of weaving is very similar to ours. One small stick is passed

from one end of the web to the other; one end is tied to some fixed point and the other tied to the waist of the female worker, and the web is thus stretched and lengthened. Their shuttle, made the same way as ours, is propelled from one side of the web to the other alternatively, etc. It is noteworthy that the very knot by which they tie the ends of the thread is made absolutely the same way as that of our weavers.¹

In the houses belonging to the second-class chiefs, in the corner where the staff of Sitel-Nazuenziap is placed, are kept the large adzes that are common property, it appears. They are made with large shells, worked and sharpened with coral stones into the shape of a half cylinder, and fastened with some cords to a perfectly-round handle, so that by turning the adze, it may be given the most advantageous position. The longest adze I saw had 20 inches in length and about 4 in width. They come in all sizes. The smallest ones are mainly hatchets with an iron blade, and every piece of iron they can get their hands on is fashioned in this way. I did not see any stone axes, even though they are in use, because they call tella the basalt rock and other hard stones that can be used for that purpose.

For lack of ordinary knives, they use a sharpened shell which they carry in their belt or upon their lower lip, which gives them a funny look.

We did not see a single musical instrument anywhere, not even a drum. In general, they appear not to have too much musical talent. They listened attentively to the piano and flute being played, but neither of these instruments apparently produced a great impression upon them.

Their canoes can be counted as a piece of furniture, given that they maintain them carefully and many even keep them inside their houses.

The big canoes of the chiefs are from 25 to 30 feet in length and no more than 1-1/2 feet in width. They are always dug out of a single tree trunk (breadfruit). Either because they lack tall trees or because they might want to preserve them, their canoes are always provided with sides made up of pieces about one foot wide by two feet long, fastened together by cords. They inlay white shells in small holes in them. The joints are not caulked with anything; therefore, with the least big wave or when the canoe is overloaded, the water seeps in and it must be constantly bailed out. Many times we laughed when we saw the islanders try to plug a hole by passing in some piece of breadfruit (the same way that Aleuts plug holes in their *baïdarka* with meat). Eight to ten rowers can sit into one of these canoes. They are finished and polished very beautifully; they paint them with a mixture of red clay and they know how to make them shiny. The ordinary canoes are made the same way as the ceremonial canoes but are smaller and not so well finished; some are no more than 6 feet in length and one foot wide. They row with oars made the same everywhere, and over shallow water they push with poles or use the same oars turned with the flat end upwards. These canoes are very well suited to their purpose: they are light and have a small draft; they can therefore cross the shallows where the mangrove grows, in order to reach the villages. When necessary, they can be easily

1 Ed. note: A different opinion from that expressed in the sketch of the weaving apparatus reproduced in Duperry's voyage (see page ...).

dragged or carried. The navigation employed by the Ualan people does not require other features. They never venture beyond the reefs and have no reason to use sails; that is why they do not know of them. I believe this case to be unique in the whole of Polynesia [sic]. In order to attract them beyond the reef, the occasion must be extraordinary, like the arrival of a ship; they are then rather awkward, get themselves entangled with one another, etc. In short, they are very bad sailors. When they were aboard the corvette, most of them suffered from seasickness even though the movement was almost not noticeable. The chiefs strongly desire to keep their large canoes intact. Sipe, despite his generosity and hospitality, hid himself rather than having to loan his canoe to us.

Those of you who hold the *dolce farniente* in high esteem would do well to become a chief at Ualan; they spend their whole life in complete idleness. They rise with the sun; they would sleep longer but there is a limit to everything. They take two hours to rub their body with coconut oil, etc. Meanwhile, the fire is lit in the eating house, and everything made ready for cooking the breadfruit. At 9 a.m., they gather to drink *seka*. I will now go on to describe the ceremony involved with *seka*, such as is followed on solemn occasions.

[Seka, or sakau, ceremony]

The master takes the *seka* plant (*piper methisticum*) as it comes after it is pulled from the ground. He sits in front of the most distinguished guest, speaks a few words to him as if to ask his permission. Once received, he removes the root, and places the leaves upon a shelf in a corner dedicated to Sitel- Nazuenziap. By the way, this part of the ceremony was not always observed. Meanwhile, the person or persons in charge of the preparation make themselves a belt of banana leaves, untie their hair and tie it again, no longer on the neck but on top of the head. At Sipe's and Togoja's places, two men were in charge; I do not know if this had to do with rank or due to the number of the guests. They then begin their work by washing the stones upon which the *seka* is to be crushed. They then slap their hands together 26 to 30 times, take the stones used as pestles and hit the large stone many times; the number of hits does not appear to be regular as we sometimes counted 10 and at other times as many as 17. They then attack the roots which they beat until they are but a stringy mass. They then hit the stone in quick sequence before beginning to extract the juice. After pouring a small amount of water on the mush, to bring out the flavor, they form a ball out of it and squeeze it as strongly as they can with their bare hands while the juice flows into the awaiting coconut shells. After this first trial, they pour water again on the mush and continue until the required number of shells have been filled.

Meanwhile, the breadfruits, already cooked and taken off the stones, are presented together with *katak* roots,¹ coconuts, etc. upon large plates made with woven coconut leaves, in front of the guest whose decision seems to be in order. The guest splits one of the breadfruits, and this acts as a signal for everybody to start eating. The spokesman

¹ Ed. note: *Kuhtak* is soft taro.

then presents the guest with one of the coconut shells full of *seka*. They did not become upset when, at most times, we refused this nectar. The person drinking takes the cup to his lips, and bends forward to say a prayer (more about this later). After which he blows the foam off, and drinks a mouthful. Some drink the whole cupful; others keep it in their mouth a while, then spit it out. Most of them, however, would drink half and reject half. All of this was followed by moans, groans and contortions whose cause I did not understand because, having tasted this drink many times, I found it to be absolutely tasteless and not the least potent. At Togoja's house, they would place an individual plate before each guest, with a coconut and a breadfruit on each. The feast ends that way, the guest goes back home and what remains of the food is carried off behind him. We were thus provided food in this way by the chiefs.

The same ceremony is carried out every morning when the chiefs take *seka*, except for the part having to do with the guest, and that is the way they have breakfast. It happened that I noticed that the ceremony was also repeated at night, but it appears that the real *tuktuk seka* only occurs in the morning.

Besides *seka*, they sometimes prepare the root of another plant called *kawa*. They then use other stones, other pestles, and even other troughs for the water. However, *kawa* was not prepared once while we were there.¹

Besides the morning *seka*, which corresponds entirely to the *kava* drunk in the morning at Tahiti and at the other islands, I did not notice any regular times for meals. They eat when they are hungry, often but little at one time, and it seems, even in the middle of the night. Nena at least, when he spent the night with me, took care to have a plate full of breadfruit, etc. placed by his side and he dispatched the whole thing during the night. They drink little; no doubt a vegetarian diet makes this unnecessary.

Fish and crayfish are the sources of animal food that they eat. They do not have any domestic animals, but their forests abound with pigeons and hens, and the shores with shipes, which they do not eat. Their main dishes consist of breadfruits, coconuts, *katak* roots, taro (*arum*), bananas, sugarcane, etc. which they eat either raw or cooked in a single manner, and maybe all mixed up. Their cooking is nevertheless more complex than could be imagined. Sipe, who liked to talk a lot, explained to us the manner of preparing a large number of dishes; he put up his hair to imitate the behavior of their cooks, and showed us by signs how each dish was made. Among all these dishes, we only experienced *pawa*, and I have already mentioned how tasty we found it to be. In order to prolong the supply of breadfruit, which cannot be otherwise preserved for long, they bury it underground to make it ferment, and they then call it *huro*.

They cook breadfruit, *katak*, etc. by baking it in the ground just as in the other islands. They obtain fire by rubbing a small board of soft wood, in the direction of the grain, with a stick made of hard wood; this rubbing is slow at first, then speed is increased by degree, then becomes very fast when the wood begins to heat up and fire soon appears at the end of the small board where the wood had been shaved. The whole

1 Ed. note: Lxtke did not realize very well that the *kawa* of Polynesia is prepared exactly with the same plant as the *sakau*, or *suhka* of eastern Micronesia.

operation only takes one minute, but one must be accustomed to succeed. We tried it many times but we could never get fire in this manner.

I never saw the wives of the chiefs eat with their husbands; it appears that the same restrictions apply here as on other islands, except perhaps for the quality of food because there is plenty to go around. They are not permitted to go inside the eating house either. Togoja's wife could only appear quickly at the side door to receive our gifts. The men, by the way, do not eat only in that house. I saw Sipe take his evening meal in the little house next to ours.

The food of the common people is naturally more uniform. A type of tasteless banana called *kalash*,¹ the hard and unpleasant pandanus fruit, sugarcane, and the fish rejected by the chiefs, belong to them. The better type of bananas, the *katak*, the coconuts, and probably also many types of fish, are the exclusive property of the chiefs. We were surprised by the small relative number of coconut trees that are found on this island because nothing seemed to exist to prevent their growth. Such fruits are so precious for the chiefs that, in order to prevent theft, they sometimes install a horizontal barrier some 30 feet up the trees. Such precautions are never seen elsewhere.²

Such customs result in the people not being fussy and they ate with pleasure all our dishes. When we ate ashore, they usually gathered at the door of our tent, not only to satisfy their curiosity but also to catch something to eat. The chiefs are much fussier; however, they all liked our salted meat, which was naturally called *kosho*. They soon learned to like sweet Chilean wine but they positively refused to drink brandy.

We did not have the opportunity to learn what they do with oranges.

The impartial duty of a historian now forces me to mention a custom that I would willingly omit, and which I thought existed only among the Hottentots [of South Africa] since the missionaries have forbidden the queens of Tahiti from using it (see Wilson's "Missionary Voyage"). I am referring to the disgusting habit called phthiropagy [lice eating] which Dr. Mertens looked upon correctly as the first step towards anthropagy [cannibalism]. This custom does not belong here exclusively to a certain class, as was the custom in Tahiti. They all practice it upon one another without fear of starving. We showed our repulsion so often to them that they reduced this behavior in our presence, but they sometimes mocked us by feigning to pick certain small animals and throwing them at us. During our visit to Togoja, Sipe took the fancy to repeat such a joke but I got up and told him that if he did that once more, I would leave instantly. He succeeded in appeasing me; meanwhile, Togoja would as usual understand nothing of what was going on and simply repeat: "*Mea inge?*" Finally, Sipe explained to him and to the whole gathering what it was about, and he thus astonished the crowd with our particular prejudices, and it had an effect similar to that produced upon Ali Pasha of Egypt when he was told about the learned European societies and their coffee with milk. The only thing missing from the scene was the cry: "Infidels!"

1 Ed. note: Now written "kuhlahsr".

2 Ed. note: The barriers were against the numerous rats.

Eating, sleeping, gathering to talk, that is how a chief spends his life. His intellectual faculties are in a state of inactivity as much as his physical faculties. He does not fear poverty and has no enemies. He does not know the meaning of fear, or of hope; his passions are asleep. That explains no doubt the kind and peaceful character of the chiefs but also the small scope of their intelligence; most of them are stupid. We could make ourselves understood better from the lowest of the [common] people, and even their wives, because at least they do some work.

The Ualan ladies, like ours, would look at the habit of sitting with the arms crossed as a bad one. However, since their occupations are not as varied, they limit themselves to weaving *tol*, caring for their children, although they may also employ servants. Sipe's wife always slept with her six-year-old daughter, while her infant son spent the night in another house with an old maid. After having finished her morning ablutions, she had her son brought to her and kissed him tenderly.

The common people has everywhere more work than the chiefs, but in a place where the needs of man are very limited and where nature provides almost everything spontaneously, the slave himself could not be abused with work. The transport of materials for the repair and construction of canoes and houses constitutes a chore in which the poor people of Ualan are employed but for a short time. Their regular work consists of looking after the plantations of the masters, the harvesting and transport of the fruits to the capital, and fishing. To harvest the coconuts, they tie their legs together with pandanus leaves or cords in such a way that the legs can remain about one foot apart; thus when they climb the tree the feet cling around it and their hold is strong. More precaution is required to collect breadfruit because if it falls on the ground, it splits open. They use a special tool, called *tangas*¹ for this work; it is a long pole with a forked tip and they loosen the fruit with it and bring it down carefully.

Fishing is almost exclusively a woman's job; we at least saw but few men doing it. They have seines made with coconut fiber cords and with floats very similar to ours. Their nets are four feet by two, stretched between two sticks, and they take the fish out of the water with them. They spear the big fish with wooden spears which have at the tip a sort of harpoon made from three fish teeth strongly tied together. They do not use any lines because they never fish outside the reef. They build fish traps in many places upon the shallows by raising stone dikes to form tanks which the fish enter at high tide and when they remain prisoners when the tide falls; they may then be easily taken.

They also hunt the turtles that come in rather large quantity into the port, but I did not have the opportunity to see how they do it. I also do not know if they eat them, but somehow I doubt it. We were unable to catch a single turtle; some of them were harpooned but they always managed to dive under the stones that cut our lines, or get rid of the harpoon. They would get entangled in the small ropes of our tide measuring device, would struggle sometimes for a long time, and break everything, but we never had the pleasure or skill to catch one.

1 Ed. note: Now written "tahngwes."

The men of all ranks love to form a circle and talk among themselves. The decorum observed during these meetings is truly worthy of imitation. We did not understand what they said but it was impossible for them to be always in agreement. In spite of it, we never noticed any displeasure, dispute or strong language. The general custom is to talk in a low voice, and I often observed that our loud conversations did not please them at all. This makes me think that, despite the friendly relations that lasted during our whole stay, we may have left behind the reputation of being people who are always uneasy, do not know how to speak in a low voice, and cannot stay in one place very long. We could not remain in one place too long for two reasons: firstly, because we had various tasks to perform, and secondly, because it was too uncomfortable to remain sitting as they did for very long. It was mostly at nightfall that they gathered this way. We would sometimes gather with them also; even though we did not always understand one another, the meeting was always a gay affair.

The only means of lighting their houses is the fire from the hearth; even so, they do not need it because as of 8 p.m., sleep wins them over, except for very few. They do not even have the habit of getting up at night to play games, as on some islands of Polynesia.

[Kosraean dances]

We did not find among them any public games, and it is possible that they are not in use, because it is not probable that the chiefs would have kept this pleasure from us if they did exist. By the way, they danced willingly for us, whenever we asked them to. Their dance, as with all dances in general, is as hard to describe as to paint. A few men form a line one behind the other and execute slow movements of the feet and hands while remaining on the same spot. In spite of the many motions and apparent lack of system, the movements are so well synchronized that if one looks at them from behind, they look like robots moved by the same mind. All of these movements, very supple and executed by well-built men, as they generally are here, give a pleasing effect. One exception is the restricted motion of the head. The whole dance is accompanied by a chant, low in tone and with rasp voices as if the men were asthmatic; it is rather unpleasant. The dances are subject to particular rules: not only are women not allowed to take part but it appears that the men cannot take part except with predetermined partners. Before dancing, they slip shells shaped like rings, called *moek*,¹ up their arms as far as just below the elbow.

We saw no games of chance among them. Such games have been invented by men either to kill time or to appropriate somebody else's property. The good Ualan people cannot have the latter idea; as for the former, they succeed in killing time without having to gamble. We did not find any gymnastic exercise either, no martial arts, no sport shooting, etc. All of these pastimes are more or less related to war or the hunting of wild beasts, and they do not know either activity. Also, the purpose of such games is

1 Ed. note: Now written "Muak"

competition as with an enemy, and the character of the Ualan people is such that they consider one another as brothers.

They have absolutely no weapons, not even sticks for use against men; it appears therefore that they do not have the minor idea of war. Does a similar situation exist elsewhere on Earth? There are indeed large sea shells (*Triton variegatum*) used as trumpets, like those used to signal war on other islands of the Great Ocean, but they are placed upon the altar of Nazuenziap, and are used only in religious ceremonies, as we shall see below.

All that I have said up to now is sufficient to prove the astonishing goodness of this people, the likes of which could hardly be found elsewhere on Earth. They do not know great emotions; they do not mutilate themselves with shark teeth to manifest their sorrow, only to forget about it one moment later, but a sad face and lowered eyes suffice to show their state of sorrow. When happy, they do not overdo it either, but show it by embraces and bursts of laughter. They do not come to meet a stranger bearing palm or other signs of peace, because they do not know any other state but peace. From the first moment, they influence others by their frank gaiety and by a child-like and constant trust. A longer acquaintance with them reveals kindness, an even character, politeness, and even honesty. The theft carried out in broad daylight by Seza would not prove the opposite, because there are rascals in every country, even among the chiefs. One must say, to prove this trait of the national character, that everyone without exception disapproved of Seza's conduct, even the children, who usually repeat what they hear the adults say. In a group playing with Sipe's daughter, someone pronounced the name of Seza. I then said: "*Seza koluk*" (Seza bad), and all of them repeated together "*Seza koluk*" with a gesture and a facial expression that left no doubt as to their sincerity. Seza himself did not appear once during our whole stay in Lela; it was certainly not on account of fear, because there were only eight of us there and we could not have done him any harm. The chiefs in Tahiti and in other islands did not show this kind of shyness. During our excursions, we were often accompanied by a crowd of inhabitants and, far from having to take precautions against any theft, we gave them our guns and instruments to carry and they took more care of them than we would have done so ourselves. We sailed aboard their canoes and never lost anything. Our gentlemen naturalists were always accompanied in their excursions by male volunteers who would offer any kind of assistance like climbing trees, carry their parcels, etc.

Their friendship was not selfish. They often asked us to give them some things they needed, but it was not in exchange for what they brought us. We tried many times to introduce among them the idea of barter, because it was inconvenient for us to have to rely on gifts, but it was always in vain. They either brought too little or too much; the chief would ask for nothing or for an axe, but he usually was happy with what he got.

It would be superfluous to speak about hospitality after this. It is present just as among the Beduins or Hottentots. The host does not rush forward to meet the guest; he does not embrace him, all the while thinking: Get lost! but he simply shows him where to sit by his side, and his face is calm and inviting. *Seka* is prepared, breadfruit

is being cooked, they eat quietly; hospitality does not, however, go beyond that and does not extend, as in some other places, to the very wife of the host. The guest leaves quietly without much emotion, and what is left of the feast is carried behind him.

It is above all, within the family circle that kindness and evenness of character are shown. It is not here that poets would have invented the devil of marriage, no more, it is true, than the dreams of Doris and Daphne. Histanc and wife live on friendly terms and apparently on the same footing. Kaki often consulted with his wife, the way it is done at home among united families. When they received some gifts, they never forgot their wives; the latter, on the other hand, never forgot to ask upon their return with gifts: Where is mine? Fathers and mothers are kind toward their children but not unduly. Togoja who did not have any children, kept one of Nena's children in their place, a charming 8-year-old boy, full of liveliness. The old man could not resist pinching him on the cheek or ear very often, and the child took it in stride in a way that showed that he knew how to appreciate the old man's tenderness. The children are generally of good behavior. When we were surrounded by small boys, we never heard them shout or scream. We never did notice, when they were in groups, any disputes or fights; they were, however, very lively and they even fooled around. The young girls are extremely cute, inviting and without the least shyness, but always ready to beg.

The sweetness of their character did not exclude great merriments. It seems that they do not know about boredom; they were always pleased to find an opportunity to laugh, even at their own expense; they even laughed more heartily at themselves than at others. They took practical jokes very well and never got angry. They show their joy or their approval exactly the same way as the inhabitants of the other islands in this ocean, that is, by slapping the palm of the right hand against the joint of the left arm held close to the body, and it produces a low-pitched but very loud sound. They chuckled when we tried to mimic them with our clothes on and therefore unsuccessfully. They in turn did not produce much noise by clapping their hands together.

Polygamy is tolerated but not in general use. All the main chiefs have many wives. Sipe has two, Nena three, etc. but the second-class chiefs whom we knew had but one wife. Of Sipe's two wives, one was obviously his favorite, but I did not notice that the other one was under her authority.

Polygamy, although not general, and the small number of women relative to that of the men, results in many unmarried men here, and quite probably in certain customs not entirely in line with good morals. We had at first looked upon such morals as due, perhaps unjustly, to the passage of the first Europeans by this island. The Ualan women cannot boast to possess the same modesty in this respect as the Ratak women. I did not have the opportunity to test their faithfulness to their husbands, but it appears that they are not all like Penelope, and do not pretend to be like her wither. I can mention, for instance, Kaki's wife who liked to joke about her pregnancy and attribute it to one of our companions (who, by the way, rejected this claim); Kaki himself joked about this matter by indicating how his wife was crying at her lover's departure.

[Kosraean religion]

When one reads the narratives about faraway countries, he becomes convinced that there does not exist a people anywhere, no matter how small or savage, that does not recognize the existence of a supreme being ruling over the destiny of man; this is one reason why such books provide so much pleasure. According to the character of that people, its more or less depraved condition, and maybe as a result of the climate, the fertility of the soil or lack of it, the spiritual and material manifestations of this being are very different, often distorted, and almost always unworthy of the wisdom and kindness of the creator of the universe, as revealed by our religion. Nevertheless, in spite of their lack of perfection, such manifestations prove the need for the immortal part of man to rise towards his origin in a non-physical world, considered as a final but sure asylum against the imperfections linked with his physical body. With respect to this subject, the religion of primitive people deserves the complete attention of the traveler, not only to satisfy this curiosity but also his desire to learn something.

This subject, more than any other, made us feel sorry for not knowing how to speak the Ualan language. In spite of all their explanations, we could collect but very obscure ideas regarding their religion. Their god is named Sitel-Nazuenziap. He had been a man of the Penneme tribe (or perhaps this tribe comes from him). He had two wives, Kajua-sin-liaga, Kajua-sin-nionfu, and his children were Rin, Aurieri, Naituolen and Seuapin. It appears that they consider Sitel-Nazuenziap as the founder of their race as well as their god.

Sitel-Nazuenziap does not have any temples, nor morais [altars], no idols. In each house, there is a special corner where a staff, 4- to 5-foot long, pointed at one end and grooved longitudinally at the other end, represents their common lares. They only make a small offering consisting of branches and eaves from the *seka* plant. The shell trumpet is placed there as if it were his property, and from this we could suppose that he was a warrior, because the sound from this horn is the signal of war on all the South Sea islands... Across the stream running by the village of Lual, there was a thread tied to a tree on both sides and some small red flowers on it (See Plate 19) [in the Atlas]; this was one of the offerings to Sitel-Nazuenziap.

The drinking of the *seka* is undoubtedly part of their religious rites, because they revere the plant so much that they were unhappy when they saw us touch an offering to Sitel-Nazuenziap, and the prayer they recite during the *seka* ceremony, always with respect, is probably the form of the offering. They say:

<i>Talaelem seka mai ...</i> ¹	<i>Sitel-Nazuenziap (Penneme).</i>
<i>Rin seka</i>	<i>(Penneme)</i>
<i>Naituolen seka</i>	<i>(")</i>
<i>Seuapin seka</i>	<i>(")</i>
<i>Shieshu seka</i>	<i>(Ton)</i>
<i>Mananziaua seka</i>	<i>(lishenge)</i>

1 Ed. note: Mai ... is verbalized almost like a song. *Nionfu* is a nasal sound.

<i>Kajua-sin-liaga seka</i>	(<i>Penneme</i>)
<i>Kajua-sin-nionfu seka</i>	(")
<i>Olpat seka</i>	(<i>Lishenge</i>)
<i>Togoja seka</i>	(<i>Ton</i>).

This whole prayer, except for the first three words whose meaning I do not know exactly, consists of proper names plus the name of the plant. Among these names, one finds those of Sitel- Nazuenziap's wives and three of his sons, followed by that of the present chief, Togoja. Each of these persons is considered as belonging to one of three tribes forming the nation, as indicated in parentheses next to their names.

The ceremony, which I mentioned earlier, took place in Sipe's eating house as follows: the man playing the main role was sitting with the legs under him, upon the back of the trough which they use when they bring water for the *seka* preparation. He wore a collar made of a branch from a young coconut tree, and held the staff representing Sitel-Nazuenziap which he pressed against his knees. His eyes were out of focus, he turned his head at every moment, whistled in a strange way one moment, hiccupped the next or sometimes made a gurgling sound and spat in the same manner as when they drink *seka*. He pronounced words now and then, sometimes inaudibly, and I sometimes heard my name *uros Litske* (that is how they called me). The whole thing appeared to be an imitation of a man drunk with *seka* and I thought for a while that the man was indeed under its influence. The Triton shell was in front of him. Meanwhile, the stones were being heated upon the fire and the preparation of the breadfruits was going on with the calmness and silence appropriate to the solemnity of the occasion.

When all these actions had gone on for a while, Sipe took the shell and presented it respectfully to the person in charge who, after blowing it a little, gave it back to him, arose soon after this, and fled from the house through the side door, but not after having placed one foot in the fire of the hearth on the way out. We were told that he had gone to Togoja's place to perform the same comedy. He ran up the street shaking the staff on all sides and everyone in the way scattered at his coming. Half an hour later more or less, he came back carrying the staff as we do a rifle during a bayonet charge; he came in through the side door, bending over and as if he wished not to be noticed, and after having replaced the staff in the corner, he came back and sat next to us again, in full health, as if nothing had happened.

Despite the long explanations by Sipe and others, we were unable to understand clearly the meaning of this ceremony. It may be that the representation of a man suffering from drunkenness caused by the immoderate use of *seka* has been established for the moral purpose of convincing the people to abstain from this vice; this appears to be probable because, during our whole stay there, we never saw a man drunk with *seka*. This priest, from the Lishenge tribe, was one of the frequent visitors at our camp; he told me later on that he was *seyalis* [priest] to Sitel-Nazuenziap. His long tale about canoes having come from the sea, etc., like so many other tales, was lost on us.

It appears that they have a few obscure ideas of life after death. They dress the deceased with their best ornaments, wrap the body in clothes, place the hands on the belly, and then bury the body. I saw a recent grave in the village of Uegat. It was next to the house of a relative of the deceased and was made noticeable by two complete banaba trees laid down alongside it. When speaking about this subject, they normally pointed at the sky many times.

The **language** of the Ualan people is sonorous, soft and delicate.¹ They speak in a very pleasing manner, and without the noisy haste generally noticed in the conversations of savages. They try to give emphasis to their voice by inflections in the voice itself, expressions of the eyes and body movements. In all languages, women express themselves more pleasantly than the men, and the same thing occurs here. I heard the words *Shal-shal? Comment? danser?* \$Fed. note: *Shal-shal*, or *Sal-sal* was a dance performed only by the chiefs. The other words are French: How? To dance? resonate for a long time in my ears after I asked the young girls to dance for me. One must remember that women are not allowed to dance in Ualan.

Ualan Island can be used as a very good port of call, specially for whaling vessels that fish in these seas, and for the ships that go to China by the Eastern route. There is a good port, a beautiful climate, a good people, fresh water and fruits in abundance. The latter would restore strength to a crew after a long navigation, as much as the meat.

One should not expect to find much sea provisions to be had here but there is enough for everyday use. The pigeons and wild hens make an excellent roast, and the soup made from them is tasty and nourishing. Four or five hunters provided us with a sufficient quantity to be able to make a fresh soup for the whole crew every day. The snipes make a delicious roast. The fish and the turtles, if a method to catch them could be devised, would be of great help; we could not do so and the inhabitants cannot supply many of them. Among the fruits, one can get as many bananas of the regular type as required, and sugarcane also. It is always possible to get breadfruit through the chiefs; our men got used to it soon enough and got to prefer it to ordinary bread. It is not possible to get enough coconuts or the better kind of bananas. We got so few of the former that we could give one each to our men only three times a week.

The only things to be had for sea provisions are sugarcane and oranges. The latter were not ripe when we were there; that is why we do not know if their quantity is sufficient. The bananas that are not perfectly ripe will ripen after about a week. There is also a sort of pickle, a fruit that grows on a tree, round in shape, with a very thick and hard skin; when salted or placed in vinegar, it provides an excellent side dish. We did not, however, find enough of them to provide the whole crew with it.

It may be that in the future Ualan will be able to supply pigs to navigators. Captain Duperrey's good intention remained fruitless. It is hoped that our experiment will have more success.

¹ The words I have collected, as well as detailed remarks about this subject, can be found at the end of Chapter XIII.

The fresh water which we got from the stream that flows by the village of Lual is a little salty but it kept well, was helthy and not bad to the taste. Firewood is not good; that from the large sonneratias could be had in quantity but the wood is damp and hard to dry.

It is now time for me to bid adieu to Ualan and its friendly inhabitants. I sincerely wish that they liked us as much as we liked them, that our visit has left remembrances as pleasant for them as they did for us, that all we did for them will improve their condition, that they may never have occasion to pegret that white men have made their way to their little isolated country.

The description that I have made of Ualan Island has been extracted, without any additions or subtractions, apart from a few useless details, from the journal which I kept while at Ualan. I have not compared my notes with the narratives published by previous visitors, and I did this on purpose so that my conclusions will remain entirely independent of the judgments of others.¹

I will not talk about the little differences between us, something that is unavoidable when describing a people with whom we can only communicate by signs, and the impossibility to clear up confusion by this means. I will only cover the apparent contradictions that may give a different idea about the condition and customs of the people described. On the other hand, I will also point out the passages where the conjectures of one author are confirmed by the remarks of another.

One of the main contradictions between us has to do with the interpretation of the words Ton, Penneme, Lishenge, which I regard as the names of the tribes or generations used to divide the people, whereas Mr. Lesson consideres them to be the names of casts or ranks, and he adds some sub-divisions which we did not noticed.

I must admit that my interpretation is not entirely satisfactory. If they denoted generations, in the sense usually attached to them, then how come there was not one high chief from the Lishenge generation, even though there were a few from the second class?

However, I cannot accept Mr. Lesson's interpretation either. WE did not notice the rigorous distinction between classes, nor the marked difference between the chiefs and the common people, that Mr. Lesson mentions. We saw that most of the high and richest chiefs wer Peenneme. Two of them, Togoja and Seoa, were Ton, word which Mr. Lesson thinks means King. Seoa was in no way different from the Penneme chiefs. Sitel-Nazuenziap, the object of their cult, was Penneme. In the prayer, there appear prominently persons with these three names, and that would not be the case if they were the names of casts.

In the old chief mentioned by Mr. Lesson without naming him, it is impossible not to recognize our Togoja. Mr. Lesson says precisely: "Ualan Island is ruled by a para-

1 See the *Voyage médical autour du monde, exécuté sur la corvette la Coquille*, by R. P. Lesson, which contains remarks about the soil, the products of Ualan Island, its people, their language, their morals, etc. See also the "*Journal des Voyages*" published by D. Frick and N. Devilleneuve, in May and June 1825. The journal of the commander of that expedition, Captain Duperrey, had not yet reached Russia when this note was written.

mount chief who bears the title *Uros Tolor Ton*. The others rule over the various districts of the island, or they are part of the entourage of the king in Lele." In another passage, he says: "It was the residence of the king of the island." I have said earlier why I was unable to recognize Togoja as king over the whole island.

The prayer or formula that they recite in drinking *seka* justifies Mr. Lesson's conjecture that the chiefs are the object of a cult after their death; we did not see any general pantheon dedicated to chiefs.

Mr. Lesson makes a mistake when he says that the *seka* drink is prepared with the leaves or the branches of this plant.¹ It is prepared, as in all the Polynesian islands, with the root. We saw this done many times, as we have said earlier; the chiefs took off the root, and the branches and the leaves were offered to Sitel-Nazuenziap. They do not pound these roots in wooden vessels but upon special stone mortars sunk in the ground.

Mr. Lesson criticizes the moral character of the high chiefs. As for us, we did not always praise them; it is true that one of them had obviously participated in thefts and that at the end we had reason to doubt their gratefulness. I must, however, defend them against the attack of our predecessor. Here is what Mr. Lesson said: "Such goodwill and friendliness could not be found among the chiefs; either out of pride, vanity or avarice, or because they considered our gifts to be their right, they showed themselves to be greedy, insatiable, and without nobility or generosity in their character." Elsewhere he says: "Those of Ualan (the chiefs) appeared to us to be envious, jealous of their prerogatives, and without the least nobility in their character." He narrates that one of them went so far as trying to steal the rudder of a ship's boat under the eyes of the French sailors, and ordered that one of the French officers who had remained in Lela be undressed.

We are ready to recognize Chief Seza in this audacious chief, already made known to our readers, but the others do not share his bad qualities. In general, they are good and hospitable, although not as much as the lower classes. Such is, at least, the impression they made upon all my companions, none of whom shares Mr. Lesson's opinion.

On the other hand, we did not find the high chiefs to be brighter or more civilized than the others. To the contrary, we got more benefit from our conversations with the second-class chiefs, and most of our information came from them. The former were noteworthy by their slackness in spirit and body and this made them completely stupid.

Mr. Lesson looks upon the climate of Ualan as unhealthy. It did not appear to us to be so, in spite of its humidity, judging by the state of health of our men. Perhaps during a long stay, specially during the rainy season, or more aptly said, hot season because it seems that the rains last the whole year, the health of men unaccustomed to being continually soaked under a vertical sun may suffer in the end; however, a few days spent to refresh the crew should never bring great harm. We did not see any trace of ill health among the Ualan people caused by a bad climate; they all appeared to be strong and healthy. I cannot accept the assertion that the majority of the population

1 See *Journal des Voyages*, p. 286; *Voyage médical*, pp. 130-194. On page 129, he says "fermented drink," but this is obviously a slip of the pen, to describe an "intoxicating drink."

suffers from the skin disease known in all parts of the South Sea; ten percent at most were affected by it.

Among the sketches annexed to Mr. Lesson's article in the *Journal des Voyages*, we notice one (Fig. 6) called *sague*, [rather *sagai*] in which we recognize the staff of Nazuenziap, about which we have so often talked about, but Mr. Lesson took it to be a simple fishing tool. It may be quite possible that something similar is used for fishing, although we have not seen it, but what is certain is that they show a special veneration for this small stick by placing it in a corner apart in the eating house and surround it with the branches of the *seka* plant, something they never do with any ordinary fishing implements.

We did not notice any difference in the language spoken by the various classes; rather, we found that everybody without exception used exactly the same language, and the words we got from some always served us to be understood by the others. It happened, of course, that some people would answer differently when asked a similar question, but this is due to the well-known difficulty of making oneself understood by savages, and also to the fact that one thing may have more than one name for them also.

I cannot accept Mr. Lesson's opinion to the effect that the Ualan people are of Mongolian origin; however, as his remark applies to all Carolinians, I shall return to this subject when the other people have been introduced. As for the Ualan people, even though they belong to the same race as the rest of the Carolinians, there exists indeed traces indicating that they have been in contact with the Japanese, and that they have borrowed from them a few ceremonies from the Shinto creed, the oldest in Japan.¹ Such a creed is based on the cult made to invisible spirits, named *Shin* or *Kami*, in honor of which they dedicate their temples, *mia*. The symbol of the divinity is placed in the middle of the building; it consists of strips of paper fastened to sticks made of *finoki* wood (*thuya japonica*); such symbols, called *go fei*, can be found in all the houses in the country where they are kept inside miniature *mia*. "Besides such chapels are places flower pots with the green branches of the *sakari* (*cleveria kaempferiana*), and often of the myrtle or pine tree. Some lamps are also placed near them, a cup of tea and many vases full of *sake* (the wine of Japan). Other things are added: a bell *sutsu*, flowers (*fanatate*), a drum (*taiko*), and other musical instruments, placed next to the temple to Kami, a mirror (*kagami*), as a symbol of the purity of the soul. The Dairi [emperor], thought to be descended from the divinity, bears the title of *Ten-si* (son of heaven). At the inauguration of each Dairi, his height is measured with a bamboo stick, then preserved in the temple, and after his death the Dairi is revered as a kami or spirit. Such wooden sticks surrounded as they are by green branches and musical instruments remind us of the staffs of Sitel-Nazuenziap with their *seks* leaves and the Triton shells. If we add to this the idea that Ten-si, rather Si-ten, would be pronounced Sitel by the Ualanese, rather than any other way, then the similarity between *sake* and *seka*, and the Japanese-sounding words noted by us in their prayer, for instance, "*Kajua-sin-liaga, Kajua-sin-Nionfu*," we would unwillingly be brought to surmise that some time ago a

1 See Mr. Klapproth, in the "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages" of December 1833.

Japanese vessel came ashore at Ualan, and the men aboard communicated to the islanders the knowledge of their traditions and ceremonies which would naturally have suffered great changes over time.

CHAPTER VIII

*Navigation in the Caroline Archipelago.—Discovery of the Seniavin Islands.—Stay at the Mortlock Islands.*¹

Before exploring the Caroline Archipelago, I wished to determine the position of the magnetic equator at the longitude of Ualan Island. Therefore, we sailed southward when we left it and at about noon on the following day (4 January [1828]), we cut the magnetic equator at 4°7' lat. and 197°8' long. We continued southward until we found the position where the dip of the needle was 1°15' S., then we turned back toward the north. On the 10th, we looked in vain for two small islands placed on the Arrowsmith charts at 5°12' lat. and 199°5' long. On the 13th, we looked also in vain for the Musgrave [Pingelap] Islands indicated on the Krusenstern chart at 6°12' lat. and 200°45' long. I decided to go on as far north as 7°30' to look for San Agustín [Oroluk] Island which Admiral Krusenstern and Captain Freycinet place at different longitudes.

As soon as I entered the Caroline Archipelago area, I adopted the principle of tacking on the spot at night, under reduced canvas, so as not to pass an unknown island in the night or run into one. I thus lost from 10 to 11 hours a day but this considerable waste of time was compensated by safety of navigation and a more accurate exploration of the area of sea covered. I took exception only once, in the night of 13-14 January, when I found myself at the intersection of the routes followed by Captains Tompson, Ibargoitia, Duperrey and a few others, and it seemed very improbable that the smallest island could still remain unnoticed in the area. We continued our pace during the whole night under reduced canvas and, at daybreak, we found ourselves with a big and high island just ahead of us. We could hardly believe our eyes, as such an interesting discovery at this spot seemed so impossible: this is the strongerst proof (if one is still needed) that the discovery of unknown lands is due only to pure chance, and that those who fight over the honor of having discovered something first are fighting over nothing. However, one must differentiate between a chance discovery and a search based on calculations and combinations. It is in this sense that Columbus found rather than discovered America. Cook found Mendoza's Marquesas Islands, the New Hebrides and many other islands, but the Sandwich Islands, the most important ones that he added to geography, are his own discovery. Be that as it may, it is strange that one of the biggest and highest among all of the Caroline Islands had been one of the last ones to be discovered.² Captain Duperrey looked for it some 50 miles farther north, in accordance with the indication of the inhabitants of Uagai [Mokil] Island who spoke to him about an island called Pulupa [Pohnpei], situated WNW of their island. Perhaps we would not have met with it ourselves, had it not been for the doubt about the longitude of San Agustín Island that I have mentioned, and that we had proposed to resolve.

1 See Sheets 24 to 28, 29 to 35 in the Atlas.

2 Ed. note: I have proven that the first European ship to discover Pohnpei was a Spanish one, in 1595 (see HM3:51-54).

If the wind had been stronger during the night, or if daybreak had found us further north, this unexpected encounter would have placed us in great danger. But now nothing prevented us from rejoicing over such a pleasant discovery, though it was due to chance. At about 9 a.m., we were very near the coral reef that surrounds the high island at about half a mile from it, and we hove to in order to take our bearings.¹ Some thick coconut groves and smoke that rose at many places were proofs that the island was inhabited. Soon there appeared sailing canoes from around the northern [sic] point, and about 40 of them, of various sizes, finally surrounded us. The largest carried 14 men and the smallest, two.² When still far, they began to sing as loud as they could, to dance, to move their head and hands about, etc. They willingly came alongside the corvette, but I had a hard time to convince even one of them to come aboard, and he came up only after I showed a knife. Their wild faces expressing mistrust, their large bloodshot eyes, the noise and the unruliness of these islanders made a very unpleasant impression upon us who had not yet forgotten the kind and decent manners of our Ualan friends from whom they differed not only in language but in appearance. After having stayed in the middle of this noisy crowd until noon, I had the sails set and we headed westward along the southern shore of the island. Little by little the canoes left us. One single islander, who was hanging on to the vessel, did not wish to leave us, in spite of all our efforts to make him understand that we were leaving his canoe behind. The cause of this inconceivable attention toward us was soon explained; he remained there to await the right moment to succeed in his design. As I was getting near him with the same assurance that the good Ualan people had accustomed me to, he jumped forward to seize the sextant with which I was about to make an observation, and tried furiously to jerk it from my hands. This boldness on his part was so unexpected that the sailors near me did not come to my help right away, and it was only by suffering a cut made by the edge of the instrument that I managed to save it from the rapacity of the savage who, realizing his failure, dove into the sea like a porpoise and rejoined his canoe by swimming. He was the same man we had loaded with gifts in return for the visit he had made to us.

Following the meanderings of the reef, we saw at about 3 p.m. an opening that looked like a port.³ I sent the boat in to explore it, with Lieutenant Zavalishin accompanied by Dr. Mertens. During this time, we were making short tacks with the corvette within sight of them. Here, we were surrounded again by a number of canoes with the same dances, the same noise and the same shouts as before. We noticed one woman in one of the canoes. There were in many of them bundles of arrows and bags full of stones. When they perceived that we had noticed such things, and that we were talking about it, they hastened to cover the arrows and the stones carefully with mats; such precautions told us that it was not superfluous for us to take similar precautions also. Lieuten-

1 Ed. note: The Gregorian calendar date was then 2 January 1828. The ship was approaching Metalanim Harbor from the SW (see map).

2 See Plate 14.

3 Ed. note: Kiti Harbor (see map).

ant Zavalishin came back without having been able to explore and measure the whole lagoon as he had been closely surrounded by the canoes of the islanders who, without insulting him, would scream and shout all together, throw coconuts and various of their handicrafts into the boat and invite our people by signs to go ashore.

At sunset, they all left us.

After having tacked during the night, we went back to windward and, on the morning of the 15th, we came back to follow the reef very close. A few men who were on the reef barked like dogs when we passed them by, and this made us believe that dogs were not unknown to them.¹ This conjecture was later confirmed. Upon noticing an opening in the reef, I sent the boat to explore it.² We hove to and waited for the boat. While in that position, there came to us many canoes with which we exchanged a few coconuts, some breadfruits, bananas, fish, one cock, and, what is unusual, some coconut shells and sea shells full of very good water which, it seems, the islanders had not brought for us but for themselves. After a lot of noise, three of their chiefs, also called *uros* here, agreed to heed our invitations and climbed aboard. They remained standing still for a moment, astonished and frightened. Little by little, they became more daring and even accepted to come into the room where we presented them with many gifts and tried in various ways to keep them occupied. They did not even have the shadow of the friendliness of our Ualan friends. Their faces were not misshapen but were unpleasant. Their wide eyes moved from side to side. After having received some object from us, they then would not let go of it on any account, not even when we tried to show them how it was used. They naturally appreciated iron and objects made of iron, and above all the axes. Many of them tried the axes upon the iron chandeliers, the belaying pins, and upon the guy chains, hoping no doubt to be able to steal them. The most pleasant of all our visitors was Chief Lapalap,³ an old man of about 70 years of age, who distinguished himself from the others by his quiet and cheerful disposition. He bore the scar of a bad wound upon a leg which makes it probable that civil wars took place among them, as in the other high islands of this archipelago.⁴ When we moved the sails to go forward, they all went out of the room to go up on deck, and they stayed for a while clinging to the shrouds and gunwales, then one by one they threw themselves into the sea and swam back to their canoes.

There was no anchorage within the opening just visited; the other, facing the SW point of the island,⁵ that Lieutenant Zavalishin had not been able to explore entirely on the previous day offered greater promise. We therefore stopped there again in passing, and this same officer was despatched to complete the exploration of it, with the order that he should run up a flag on the boat if he became exposed to some danger on

- 1 Ed. note: The Europeans could not possibly have known that this man was a member of the Dog tribe; *kiti*, or *kidi*, means "dog in the local language.
- 2 Ed. note: Roj, Ros, or Roach, Harbor (see illustration, due south of the center of the island).
- 3 Ed. note: This word simply means "high ranking" (ref. Rehg & Sohl's Ponapean-English Dictionary).
- 4 See the remarks made by Doctor Chamisso in Vol. 3 of the Voyage of the Rurik.
- 5 Ed. note: Kiti, or Ronkiti, Harbor.

the part of the inhabitants. All the canoes in sight followed our boat into the bay. A short time later, we saw that the flag was up; we instantly headed closer to the shore and fired a gun. Lieutenant Zavalishin was soon aboard the corvette, and he reported to me on his excursion as follows:

"I left with the boat at about 11 a.m. to go and look for an anchorage within the opening between the reefs facing the SW point of the island. I found out that it consists of two bays separated from each other by a pass that is no wider than 100 meters. In the outer basin, the depth is from 25 to 30 fathoms; in the inner basin, from 16 to 23, and within the pass 14 fathoms. The narrowness of the pass, its orientation NE-SW which is directly contrary to the prevailing winds, and the small area of the bay, make this spot improper for an anchorage."

"When I left the corvette, there was not one canoe near me. All of those that were near the vessel joined me in the outer bay, and so many other canoes came to join them when I was in the inner bay that I then counted 40 of them, carrying at least 200 islanders. They sang, screamed, offered us some fruits, etc., as they did yesterday, and, even though by coming near us they were in the way of our operations, they did not at first showed any hostile intention, and, without communicating with them we continued our work."

"They became bolder and more bothersome with time; finally, they came right across the path of the boat, grabbed it with their hands, and even tried many times to remove the iron bar from the rudder. One of the islanders was seen unwrapping a bundle of arrows, with an evil purpose no doubt, because a cry arose from the other canoes, and he covered them again instantly. When we left the bay, they came closer all around us, shouted still louder, and we had to open a way through their canoes to move forward. The same savage I have just mentioned, was now very close to the poop of our boat; he seized a dart and pointed it at me. Fortunately, at that very moment, I turned my eyes in his direction, and, upon seeing the danger, just had the time to fire above his head with the pistol I had always kept in my hand. This shot achieved the desired effect. Everyone shut up, sat down in their canoes, and remained that way for a few minutes. Taking then advantage of their trouble, we cleared a way, and raised the flag to warn the corvette about our problem. Having overcome their terror, they began to pursue us while sounding their sea-shell trumpets, but it was already too late [for them] because we were ahead of them and soon we were happily aboard the corvette."

Only one pursuing canoe came rather close to the vessel. All the others then went away in all directions to various parts of the island, but the sound of the Triton shell, used to announce war in all the islands in this sea, could be heard a long time afterwards coming from all directions.

We continued our route westward, and later on northward, following the shoreline, leaving a group of low islands on our left.¹ A few islets upon the reef were at sea level

1 Ed. note: The Ant, or Andema, Islands (see map).

and the trees that grew on them seemed to grow directly out of the sea. At 5 p.m., we saw still another group of low islands to the NW.¹

During the night, we tacked off the western side of the island, with a very strong and gusty wind, and at daybreak on the 16th we saw that we had overrun the northern point, beyond which the reef extended a further 5 miles northward. We made a few more tacks to reach its northernmost tip and then we followed its western side, at about a quarter of a mile from it. Upon coming close to the island, we met with a troop of men armed with lances standing upon rocks on the reef, but there were but few canoes. When across from the NW point of the island, noteworthy for its high and very steep rock² which appears to be made of basalt, we saw a large opening in the reef, and beyond it, a large bay that promised to be a good anchorage.³ I decided to try once again to find a proper anchorage. There were only a few canoes around us and I hoped that our people could complete their work without being bothered by the inhabitants, who were looking at us from the reefs. For greater protection, I gave to Lieutenant Zavalishin a second boat armed with a mortar and under the command of Midshipman Ratmanov; however, I gave a strict order to both of them to the effect that they were not to use firearms under any pretext except in self defence. Our boats at first went on their way peacefully. They discovered a pass about two cable lengths and a half in width and 28 fathoms in depth, and beyond it, in all likelihood, there was a vast and safe port. But as soon as they passed the narrows, the islanders, who had until then observed their movements in silence, launched their canoes which had been hidden behind the rocks, shouting the while, and soon had them surrounded and repeated the scenes of the day before, but with still more audacity and bother. They even threw cords around the rudders and thole pins as if they wished to seize the boats. The firing of blanks no longer produced any effect; each one was followed by shouts and renewed daring. Lieutenant Zavalishin displayed the agreed signal and we fired a few blank shots with the guns but, at the distance that we were, we could not affect them either. Our boats had a much harder time than on the previous day to disengage themselves and reach the corvette.

It is possible that these warlike islanders did not have any hostile intentions against us because, while the scuffle was going on, there was a canoe alongside and the two or three men aboard the vessel did not seem to bother with what was going on in the distance; maybe it was their curiosity, or the strong desire to see extraordinary objects, or a defence posture, that made them pursue this bothersome obsession. Their conduct was such, however, that we were unable to complete the exploration of the anchorage. There was only one means remaining to keep them at bay: it was to make them taste the power of our firearms, but I considered this means as too cruel, and I did not hesitate to renounce the pleasure of stepping ashore upon the land we had just discovered

1 Ed. note: The Pakin, or Pagueinema, Islands (see map).

2 Ed. note: Sokehs, or Jokaj, Rock, also known as Peipalap, or "Big Stone" in the local language. Lütke named it Cape Zavalishin.

3 Ed. note: The main harbor of Pohnpei, known under various historical names: Santiago, Jamestown, Kolonia, or Ponape Harbor. It received from Lütke the appellation: "Port du mauvais accueil," which, in French, means: "Port of the Bad Welcome."

rather than achieving it at the price of some blood, not only their own but quite probably that of our own men as well. That is why, without persisting much longer in looking for an anchorage in this bay, which we baptized Bad Welcome Harbor, on account of our lack of success and the inhospitable character of the natives, we continued to explore the western coast of the island.

The reef that bordered this coast went on as far as the western point, beyond which there was a gap¹ made noteworthy by two small islets. The boat was sent in there, rather late in the evening, but it did not find any anchorage.

After a bad night, during which there was a violent wind accompanied by a shower, and during which we only tried to maintain our position, we came back the next morning (17th) to the western point of the island, and from there we continued our exploration toward the SW point, where we put the finishing touch to the exploration of the big island, except for a small part in the NE that we had seen only from afar.

We then headed westward to explore the [Ant] islands lying in that direction. While we sailed close to the reef that surrounds them, as usual with us, we were suddenly becalmed. The height of the [big] island that interrupted the tradewind could not so easily interrupt the huge current in the same direction and we were carried directly toward the reef, and only three cable lengths separated us from it. The boats were launched immediately and took the vessel in tow. We spent three hours in that critical situation, one moment going away from the reef, thanks to some weak puffs of air, the next moment getting closer to it again, until the tradewind arose anew at about 4 p.m. and finally released us. We continued on our way and at sunset we had finished the exploration of the southern part of the group. It consists of twelve coral islands of various sizes, covered with thick vegetation. We did not see any sign of habitation anywhere, but it appears that these islands are visited regularly, because we could see at one place a pile of stones, high upon a black rock.

The next day (18th), after having explored the limits of the reef that extends from this group towards the NW, we went on to another group [Pakin] located further north and consisting of five islands, besides a few other islets. This group also appeared uninhabited at first but we spotted six men on the northernmost island; they were pushing their canoe through the breakers and making for us. As we arrived in the lee of the group, we hove to and waited for them. They came toward us singing and dancing as usual and signalling with a piece of red cloth; we answered with a red handkerchief. Once at the poop of the corvette, they traded various trifles and a few fruits but they did not understand or did not wish to understand our invitations to come on board. In order to make myself understood better, I went down to meet them with the boat; however, this visit was no more satisfactory than the previous ones because they all spoke at the same time, loudly and fast, paying no attention to the fact that we did not understand them, and without fixing their attention even for one instant on one object. We

1 Ed. note: The Tauak Passage (Bryan's Car. 4-E2).

managed to find out the names of the islands in the nearby group¹ but the **name of the big island**, which was naturally the one we wished to find out from the beginning has remained until now uncertain. The word Puinipet or Painipet, which they pronounced most often, is the one that would seem most likely, but we were not certain that it was for sure the name of the island.²

Among our visitors, one had a bad case of elephantiasis and another the skin disease known in the islands of this sea.

Continuing our route along the southern end of this group, we saw a few coconut groves, and in various places about 10 islanders, but there were no canoes.

Thus we came to the end of our discovery; however, it would have remained incomplete without the certain knowledge of the name given to the high island by the natives. So I decided to go back there once more in order to try and find a man intelligent enough to resolve the issue.

After having spent the night between the low island groups, we headed the next morning (19th) for the western coast of the big island. Soon four canoes came to us and after the usual singing, dancing and waving of a red rag, they came alongside the ship. They were common people who had nothing else but some water wrapped with the leaves of some arum plant, and maybe this fact indicated more shyness and more intelligence than the others. **We made certain that the name of the big island was indeed Puinipet.**³ We also learned that the southernmost of the low group was Andema and the one in the north, Paguenema, but the latter name was not so certain.⁴ They also told us the names of the smaller islands [f of Ant atoll], but not clearly enough for us to be able to place them on the chart. Here are the names in question: Air, Ap, Kuruburai, Paiti, Pingulap, Uneap, Ame; it appears that such names belong to those near-

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- 1 Ed. note: The map shows them as Kapenuare Island (now Nikalap), Tagaik, Ta, and Katelma, although the Tagai and Ta labels on the map have been applied to the wrong islets.
 - 2 Ed. note: The name Ponape was made standard by the Spanish in the 1880s, but 100 years later, this became Pohnpei, which means Stone Altar, or Slab, in the local language, as *pei* and *pai* is a large, flat, stone.
 - 3 Ed. note: Emphasis mine. Recorded on the attached map, with French sounds, as "Pouynipete."
 - 4 Ed. note: What Lütke's informants said was probably: Paguen mwo, and Ant mwo, i.e. That's Pakin, that's Ant.

est Puinipet; Meaira, Avada, Mo, Wuragalama, probably those belonging to the Andema Group.¹ The northern group [Pakin] consists of the islands named Kapenwar, Ta, Katelma, and Tagaik.² They also mentioned Kantenemo Island but we could not understand where it is located.³ All of these islands together received the name of Seniavin Islands, in honor of the distinguished [Russian] officer whose name adorns our vessel.⁴

After we left the islanders, we headed north, bidding adieu to our discovery, strongly regretting to have been unable to know better this land that seemed to promise to navigators more resources than all the other islands in this archipelago put together. If only I could have spent a few weeks exploring it, I might have decided to use upon them the ultimate means of inspiring some respect toward us. After such an intimidation, some peaceful overtures would have brought friendly relations, but time was necessary for all this, and we had but too little of it. A few more days spent there would only have served to frighten and irritate them, not to bring them back to peaceful dispositions, and maybe we would still be unable to get to know in detail the land and its people, and prepare in this way an even worse welcome for the navigators who will follow us. This way at least we have opened the way for them and wish them more success. Even though we had spent such a pleasant time in Ualan, I now regretted it because the time might have been more usefully employed in exploring a country worthy of note, above all on account of the special character of its inhabitants.

The Seniavin Islands are located between 6°43' and 7°6' lat. N., and 201°30' and 202° long. W. of Greenwich. In the main island, Puinipet, we recognize without a doubt the Palupet of Father Cantova, the Pulupa that the inhabitants of Ugai [Mokil] Island pointed out to Captain Duperrey, and the Panope mentioned by Kadu to Chamisso.⁵

- 1 Ed. note: There is no correspondence with modern names that I could find, except perhaps a mention of Lukunor (represented by Oneap) and of Satawan (represented by Mor), two names that had also appeared on the very first map of the Carolines, that recorded by Father Miedes in 1664. However, the islets of Ant atoll were renamed later on when some Kiti chiefs took over the atoll.
- 2 Ed. note: See my remarks above. Kapenwar may have been recorded wrongly, as *kepinwer* means throat.
- 3 Ed. note: How did Lütke know that this was the name of an island? Upon his insistence, and pointing at Ant atoll, the natives bay have answered something like: "That overthere, they are the Ant Islands, i.e. *ko Ant mwo*, but this is a pure speculation on my part.
- 4 Ed. note: The title and legend of the map read as follows: Chart of the Seniavin Islands (Caroline Archipelago). Magnetic declination 7° NE. 1828. Surveyed and drawn by Navy Lieutenant Zavalishin. ---- Track of the Seniavin; Tracks at night; - - - - Tracks of the boats.
- 5 In pronouncing the word Puinipet, the first syllable cannot be faithfully rendered; as pronounced by the natives, it has a strange and wild sound, extremely difficult to repeat and harsh to the ear. Kadu was mistaken when he described Panope as a low island.

The island is known by the latter name, more correctly pronounced Faunupei, in all the Caroline Islands west of it, as we learned later on. It is about 50 miles in circumference. Its highest peak, the Monte Santo, we named after the naval victory of Admiral Seniavin over the Turks; it is 447 [French] *toises*, or cord lengths (2,861 English feet) [871 m] above sea level. Its nearly flat top does not give the impression, at first, that it is about 1,000 feet higher than Ualan.

In the NW part there is a flat area where the land comes down sharply at the NW corner of the island (Cape Zavalishin), noteworthy because of a rock about 1,000 feet high, almost a vertical cliff, that appears to be made of basalt. In the other parts, the land comes down gently to the shoreline. There is on the southern coast an isolated basalt rock that stand out, and looks like a lighthouse or a small sentry box when seen from the East or the West.¹

As much as can be judged from afar, the main formation of the island, as for all the other high islands in this sea, is basalt. It is, like the others, surrounded by a coral reef upon which are islets of various sizes, also of coral. However, within Bad Welcome Harbor, and a little farther East, there are some high islands near the shore.² The island appears completely covered with vegetation but perhaps less dense than Ualan Island. On the lee side, that is on the south and west sides, some mangrove and other shrubs growing in the water make the shore impenetrable.

Very few houses can be seen near the shore as they are hidden by the woods, but smoke rising in many places, as well as large coconut groves, attest to the large size of the population, specially on the north side; the SW part appears to be less populated. There came to us on separate occasions as many as 500 full-grown men; the entire population of the island, including women and children, may therefore be estimated at 2,000 inhabitants. We saw men at the Pagenema Group but I cannot decide whether they live there permanently or were just visiting for a time. In any case, their number was very limited.

A few houses that we were able to see were completely different in style from those of Ualan. They did not have their roof peaking at both ends, but they looked more like the huts of the low Caroline Islands.

The Puinipet natives differ markedly from both the Ualan people and the Carolinians whom we saw later. Their external appearance is more like that of the Papuan race. Their faces are big and flat, the noses wide and flat, the lips thick, the hair frizzy on some of them, the eyes wide and prominent, expressing defiance and ferocity. Their joy is uncontrolled and exaggerated. A continuous sardonic laugh and wandering eyes are not designed to make them look pleasant. I did not see a single face with a peaceful gaiety. When they take something in their hands, it is with a certain compulsive movement and the apparent intention of not letting go of it as long as they can resist.

1 Ed. note: This rock received the French name of La Guérite, which means Sentry Box. It may correspond to Tololom, or Mt. Wana. Another hill south of it received the name of Mount Tenedes, for which I cannot think of an explanation.

2 Ed. note: Takatik, Langar, Mant, Tapak, among others.

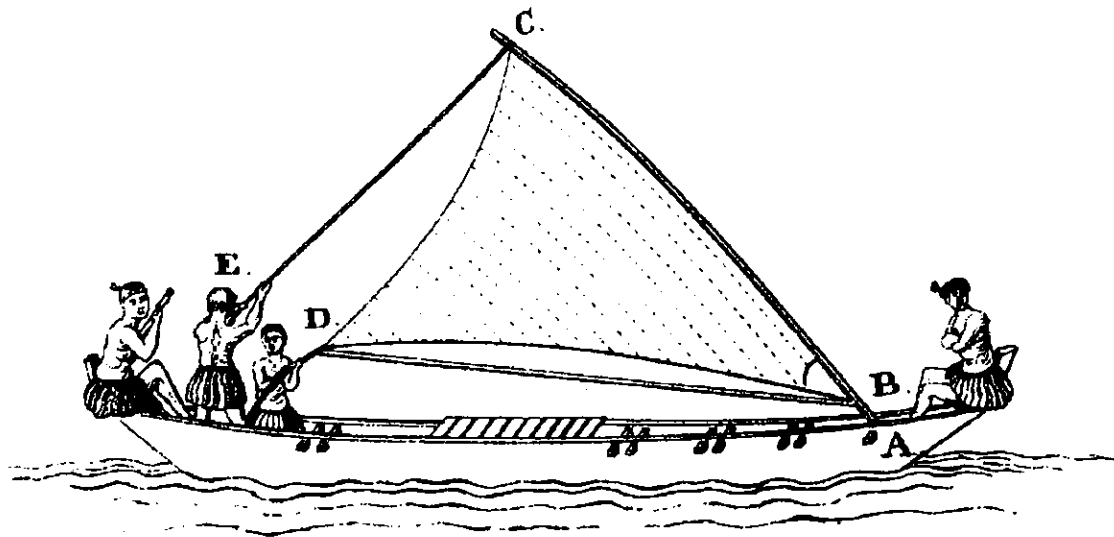
The color of their skin is a shade between dark brown and olive green. They are of an average height, well-built, and appear to be very strong. Each of their movements denotes resolve and agility.

Their clothes consist of a short, variegated apron, made of grass or dry strips of banana bark, which is tied to the waist and comes down to the middle of the thigh, as those of the inhabitants of Radak. They throw upon their shoulders a piece of cloth made from the mulberry tree (*morum papyrifera*);¹ there is sometimes a slit in the center of it through which they pass the head, exactly like the poncho of South America and the mantles worn in the western islands of this archipelago. The belt resembles the common *maro* of the Polynesian Islands, and differs from the *to* of Ualan in that it has no bag attached; it is woven with banana fiber. They wear their hair loose and in disarray, neither tied nor braided. They wear a head band made of mulberry bark, 4 to 5 feet in length and about 2 inches in width, and this is also used as a sling. They often began to make contact with us by untying this band and giving it to us. The ornaments that they wear around their neck and on the ears are very similar to those also in use on other islands. The tattoos they wear on their body offer a much greater variety and artistic taste than those of Ualan. The same can be said about the designs on their cloths which are in fact very beautiful.²

[Pohnpeian canoes]

The canoes are of various sizes. The large ones can carry as many as 14 men. They are made from a single dug-out tree trunk, have no gunwales so that they fill with water constantly and must be bailed out very often. Both ends can serve as a prow. They have an outrigger like all the other canoes in this sea, but they differ from those I know by having **sails without a mast**. Their sail is made of mats in the shape of a right triangle. The long side BC (See Fig.), and the hypotenuse BD are fixed to poles joined at B, but in such a way that they can move freely. The side CD is free. To orient the sail, the corner A is fixed to the end of the canoe that will serve as the prow; corner C is raised in the air through a long pole tied to it; corner D is also controlled by a pole. The sail is lowered in a jiffy by folding it upon the poles. To change direction, the sail is folded and corner A is carried to the other end of the canoe. This is done very rapidly. They show, in general, much skill and speed in handling their canoes. Given the shape and position of their sail, it is impossible to make it larger, and this is probably the reason

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- 1 Such was the common opinion aboard the corvette, and this is what I noted in my journal. However, Dr. Mertens says that they used the bark of the breadfruit for that purpose. The sample aprons that we have collected are absolutely similar to the same type made in the Society and Sandwich Islands, and those are certainly made with mulberry bark. The diagonal lines made by the mallet that was used to beat this bark can be clearly seen in both instances. The use of this material, whatever it is, is one of the things that differentiate this people from the inhabitants of all the other Caroline Islands, who make their cloths only with banana or coconut fibers. The Puinipet people have both types.
- 2 See Plate 31-e.



Mastless canoes of Pohnpei, first described by Lütke.

why the Puinipet canoes do not have the same speed as the canoes of the inhabitants of the low islands.

Everything seems to indicate that they had never seen a ship before, or at least, they had not had any contact with them; the best proof of this is that they never brought any fruits with them. We did not find a single piece of iron in their possession, but they know of its usefulness. The chains of our shrouds and rudder had a special attraction for them and they tried their strength on them many times.

[Pohnpeian dances]

We spoke earlier about their dances and songs, rather the frenetical cries with which they always approached the ship. Such demonstrations, as well as the waving of a piece of red cloth made from bark, are apparently signs of friendly intentions. The red rag replaces the green branch in use in the other islands of this sea. Their dance has neither grace nor regularity. They stamp their feet on one spot while moving the fingers very rapidly and swinging their arms around the head. Some of them placed pieces of coconut leaves at the tips of their fingers, which appeared to lengthen them by 3 to 4 inches, and made a certain rustling noise when in motion. Others raised their oar in the air and made it twirl very fast.

[Pohnpeian language]

The turbulent character of the Puinipet people, their impossibility to fix their attention for one moment upon one object, prevented us from collecting many of their words. However, those we did collect prove that their language has some affinity with that of

Ualan, and more so with the language of the western Carolinians.¹ They always speak fast, loudly, without rhythm or inflection of the voice, and always as if they were angry. Their pronunciation is rough, harsh on the ear, and very difficult for us.

It would be surprising, given such an unstable character, if this people did not know war. The scars that we saw many of them wear, and the use of the Triton shell which is a sign of war, are proofs that they fight, but only among themselves because they have no neighbors who can measure themselves against them. We only saw two types of weapons: the sling and the spear. The latter is a slim pole, about 5-foot long, at the end of which is fastened a fish bone. It does not appear that it can create very serious wounds; they probably use it also to spear fish.

From all of our observations, there is no doubt that the Puinipet people do not belong to a different race of men than the others in the islands of the same archipelago; however, we did not get to know them sufficiently to be able to draw conclusions or to form theories about their true origin. They appear to have some resemblance with the Papuans. The nearest land inhabited by this race is New Ireland which is but 700 Italian miles away, a distance much inferior to that normally covered by the inhabitants of the low Carolinian Islands.

We could not either say anything about the products of Puinipet Island, but they probably do not differ from those of Ualan. The weather must be as damp as in the latter island, if one may judge from the abundant rains during our stay.

We found here an animal whose existence had been declared unknown in the Caroline archipelago, the dog. Maybe it came from another country with the inhabitants. The example we got for ourselves was different from any of the breeds of European dogs; it was as tall as a great Dane, and resembled it more than any other type. It had a large forehead, pointed ears, a tail almost always hanging down; its appearance gave it a character as savage and distrustful as that of his masters. Its coat was short, rough, white with some black spots. We got it when it was young, no more than three weeks old, but then it was so wild that it refused to come out from under a gun mount for three weeks and it was growling all the time. Later on, it became accustomed to us but it never got rid of its evil disposition; whenever it saw a stranger, it tried to slip behind that person and bit him on the legs. It never barked but it sometimes howled. At Port Lloyd [Bonin Islands], we took it ashore one day; it ran away into the bush and it bit the hand of the man who tried to seize it. At our arrival at Kronstadt, it took the first opportunity to flee and we never saw it again.²

We headed northward to reach the latitude of San Agustín Island [Orokuk] whose search had been interrupted by the discovery and exploration of the Seniavin Islands. The next day we reached 7°18' lat. N., and then headed west, without success, as far as

1 See the comparative table at the end of Chapter XIII.

2 Ed. note: The first dogs in Pohnpei may have come from the Spanish frigate Santa Catalina, from Peru, that got lost at Pohnpei in 1595, the one that separated from the flagship one day south of Pohnpei (see HM3:28). Spanish conquistadors had used mastiffs to attack Indians in their wars of conquest of South America (see, for instance, HM1:110).

203°. ¹ As I supposed that it was not situated further west, we then went southward. Puinipet Island remained in sight until the evening of the 20th when it disappeared in the dark at a distance of over 40 miles.

My intention was then to explore islands discovered by Spanish and English navigators between 5°15' and 5°45' of latitude. Perhaps it would have been easier to make new discoveries between the 7° and 8° of latitude, but I thought it more important and more useful to occupy myself with the detailed exploration of islands, albeit previously discovered, but only known by a name, not even the native name, rather than waste my time running after new discoveries, perhaps in vain. The names given by the natives to the places where they live are necessary to systematically describe an area, specially one as vast as the Carolines. This truth is so obvious that only prejudice could challenge it. If only the early navigators had made the effort to learn the true names of the islands, the geography of this archipelago would not have shown the disarray it was in until very recently. I also looked as necessary the search for the existence of Quirosa Island by 6° of latitude. ² Finally, by going southward, I could determine the location of the magnetic equator.

[Ngatik atoll]

Until 23 January, we continued heading SE without seeing anything noteworthy, except a current that came from the west almost in a direction opposite to the wind. We saw again Puinipet Island in the NE; it disappeared only on the evening of the 22nd when at a distance of about 55 miles. On the 23rd at noon, we found ourselves exactly at the latitude of Los Valientes Islands. ³ We headed west, but it was only at noon the next day that we spotted them from the masthead, and at 2 p.m. we were already close to them.

All the coral islands look so much alike that to describe each group separately would represent a boring and useless repetition. Half an hour after land is sighted from the masthead, a light green band is seen on the horizon; it becomes clearer with every moment. If the ship is making good headway, another half an hour later the breakers are seen on both sides over a more or less long distance. Fifteen more minutes and one can see clearly the low beach, white, and everything going on there; the species of the trees can be recognized, etc. If the ship continues on at the same speed, another fifteen minutes would bring it upon the beach. Such is the full narrative of the apparition of every coral group, and I will not repeat it in the future.

We arrived at the island situated at the western corner of the group by nightfall and we thought we saw men on shore; this made us wait impatiently for the dawn of the

1 Ed. note That is, 157° E., but Oroluk is in 155°; therefore, it was 2° further west.

2 Ed. note: It was the name later given to Quirós' discovery of 1595, i.e. the same Pohnpei that Lütke has just re-discovered.

3 Named Seven Islands and Raven Islands on the English charts, lat. 5°36' and long. 201°40'. These islands were discovered in 1773 by the Spanish Captain Don Felipe Tompson who called them Los Valientes [the Brave Ones]. They were later sighted by the English Captain Musgrave in 1793 and by the Spanish Captain Joaquin Lafita in 1802.

next day (25th). At daybreak, we came close to the islands and saw about 30 men on the beach who motioned to us to come to them, obliged as they were to do this because they did not have a single canoe; this is perhaps a case without parallel in all the islands of the South Seas. Their huts, very pitiful in appearance, were grouped in the shade of the coconut trees. Even though the breakers, seen crasing heavily on all sides, offered little hope of stepping ashore at that location, Messieurs Ratmanov and Mertens were nevertheless sent with the boat with the mission to try as much as possible to make contact with the inhabitants, to find out the name of their land, etc. They came back at about noon without having been able to succeed. The sea was breaking everywhere with so much violence that it would have been impossible, without imminent danger, to attempt a landing. The inhabitants, gathered as a crowd upon the beach and even in the water, called them with shouts and with signs, showed them some coconuts, waved some fronds, etc. Our gentlemen, on the other hand, were shoing them some knives, ribbons: they even tried to throw some of these things at them, but both sides could do no more because it was impossible for them to meet.

After having taken the boat in, we skirted the western part of the group. The islanders followed us on the beach as we moved along, not stopping their signs of invitation; by the way, we regretted as much as they did not to be able to accept such an invitation.

The rest of that day and half of the next day were spent in exploring the northern and western parts of the group. After this work was over, we headed south with the intention, after having veered some 30 miles from the route followed by Captain Musgrave, to head west again.

Even though we could not learn the name of this group from the inhabitants themselves, we nevertheless were able to learn, by combining the information gathered later in other islands we visited, that they call it Ngarik [sic].¹ It is shaped like a triangle, 22 Italian miles in circumference. We counted 8 islands, not just seven as shown on Tompson's map. This map is in general rether exact, given the superficial survey upon which it must have been based. WE found that the reef completely encloses the group, without the least pass into the lagoon. It would be interesting to know if Tompson had made a mistake when he indicated an opening on the south side through which the islanders' canoes had passed, or if this opening had been closed in the course of 55 years by the architectonical work of zoophytes.²

A large quantity of coconut trees grow on all the islands, specially the south part of the northernmost island [Peina] which is entirely covered with these trees. In spite of this, we saw no sign of habitation except on the island situated at the western corner of the group. On the other hand, Tompson only saw people on the easternmost island [Wat]. He also saw canoes on the lagoon; as for us, to our great surprise, we saw nothing that resembled a canoe. This is made even more curious when we saw standing a large number of breadfruit trees which are normally used to make canoes, and besides,

1 Ed. note: Misprint for Ngatik.

2 Ed. note: A passage for small boats does exist on the south side.

upon the beaches and the reef a large quantity of logs thrown there by the sea. The population of this group must be very low. I suppose that the 30 men we saw form the entire population of the westernmost island. I do not think there were any inhabitants on the others, because it seems improbable that the appearance of so extraordinary a thing as a ship would not have pushed them to show themselves upon the beach.

On 23 January, at 5°25' lat. and 203°40' long., we saw an extraordinary number of birds, as well as flying fish and bonitos; we captured one of these. Early on the 28th we headed NW to place ourselves on the supposed latitude of Quirosa Island.¹ At noon, we were at 6° lat. and 205° long. by observations, and at 2 p.m. we headed west. We ran in that direction until noon of the 30th when, having reached 6°10' lat. and 206°55' long., we headed SE to place ourselves to windward of the Mortlock Islands, intending to resume the search for Quirosa after exploring the Mortlocks.

On the 31st, the weather was overcast and rainy. That evening a few sea birds came to fly around the corvette and rest on the rigging; we captured one of them with bare hands. On the 1st of February, rain fell so abundantly and the sky was so overcast that we had to lay to for a few hours, even though we were already on the latitude for the Mortlock Islands. At 11, we were able to continue our route and one hour later the islands were seen from the masthead. We went on with a weak northerly wind towards the northernmost one and were still far from the shore when a few canoes appeared; one of them came by rowing and the others by tacking. The former reached us first. It was manned by 4 men whom we were unable to entice upon deck, but they showed no fear, and quietly traded coconuts for some trifles. They looked much like the Ualan islanders. As soon as the sailing canoes came close, they left hurriedly and went back to their island by rowing. In one of these new canoes, a man wearing a conical hat was sitting; he had a piece of cloth on his shoulders of the same style we had seen at Puinipet. He was unable to come alongside for practical reasons because his canoe had projections on both sides, an outrigger on one side, and a platform upon which he was sitting on the other. That is why our communication took place for a time at the poop of the corvette. He said he was Tamol [chief], and his name was Selen. I introduced myself in the same manner and gave him a knife; he gave me three coconuts in exchange, but he refused to give me the coconut fiber cord with which they were tied, insisting upon receiving another knife for it. He then showed me another knife, about 10 inches in length and with a bone handle that looked exactly like a kitchen knife, making me understand that he wished a similar one. Wishing by all means to entice him aboard, I showed him an axe, promising to let him have it if he came on board. He was unable to resist this temptation; he came alongside immediately, and climbed up without hesitation, and without showing the least mistrust. We welcomed him in a friendly manner; he received the axe and many small objects, so that his hands were soon full. I asked him to place

1 This island was discovered in 1595 during the second voyage by Mendaña and after his death, and was called Quirosa on Spanish charts, after Quirós, the pilot of Mendaña's ship. Admiral Burney, having traced the route of this ship, supposed the longitude of this island to be about 206° W. [154° E] (see his book "Chronological History," vol. II, p. 179).

the axe on deck and he did so right away. This sign of trust made a good impression upon us. He followed me without hesitation into the cabin where he showed as little astonishment as on deck; in one word, a ship and white men were not unknown to him.

The approach of the night shortened our conversation; he soon showed the desire to go away and I did not keep him. Some new gifts were presented to him at his departure, and he reciprocated by a new sign of trust: as he prepared to climb down, he gave the axe, a handful of nails and the other trifles to a sailor who was on the rail for him to give them back when he had reached his canoe. These actions, not meaningful in themselves, reveal the character well. This short intercourse gave us a pleasant contrast with the one offered by the savage Puinipet people whose exaggerated vociferations still rang in our ears.

There was also a Tamol in the other canoe who asked us also for an axe, called *tele*,¹ but he could not decide to come up and that was the condition to receive one.

We learned that the group before us was called Lugunor [Lukunor] (the Lugulos of Don Luís Torres). Another island [grop] was seen from the topmast to the south; they called it Setoan [Satawan].

At daybreak (2nd), we saw that the current had carried us rather far to the NE. By 10 o'clock, we had reached the northernmost island of the group and we skirted the reef that extends westwards beyond it. The horizon from the NW to the S was full of islands. We were being followed by a few canoes that we were unable to meet until we had rounded the western point of the group. Our two visitors were two tamols, already quite old; their names were Out and Languapo. At the first invitation, they came down into the cabin and shared our lunch. A third one soon appeared, and he asked to see the captain (which he pronounced "capital"). Such a mark of learning earned him a place at the table. When presented with food, they would say *mamal* (good), but their faces showed that they said that only to be polite. They behaved like people who had already been aboard ships, or who at least had heard about them. Nothing astonished them too much, although they examined everything carefully. The axes alone had a great value in their eyes; they accepted the rest with pleasure but they asked for nothing but *sele* and *sapesap*.² Our guests retired early and, at their departure they were covered with white shirts which at first appeared to please them more than the axes. Our first acquaintance, Selen, soon appeared but not for a long time. I asked that a shirt be given to him also and we saw them all wandering among the coconut trees until sunset, wearing their shrouds like ghosts on the Champs-Élysées.

Meanwhile, a lively trading was going on aboard. Coconuts, fish were exchanged for all sorts of trifles but mostly for iron. Time was insufficient for our gentlemen naturalists to sketch the large number of fish, very varied and beautiful. The largest ones were made into an appetizing supper for the crew. The good character and the gaiety of the islanders recalled the similar qualities of the Ualan people. Our relations with this people promised so much pleasure that I decided to stop for a few days, if only we

1 Or *sele*, as the "s" and "t" are often interchangeable here.

2 Ed. note: *Soopele* is the word used for a large axe in the Central Carolines.

could find an anchorage; I would then have the opportunity to proceed with some astronomical and magnetic observations. Looking for a pass into the lagoon, we skirted the southern side of the group at a short distance from it. The reef formed a solid dike between the islands and one could have walked from one to another except between the first and second from the East [Lukunor and Supunor], where we thought we saw an opening. This doubt was to be resolved the next day.

We had a dozen canoes around us and they seemed to take pleasure in observing all our movements.¹ We heard from time to time, coming from one side or the other: "*Tamol mamal, mamal Lugunor.*" They sailed very fast. While we sailed at five-and-a-half knots, although a tail wind is not the most advantageous for them, they were often obliged, in order to stay with us, to let go their line or reduce their sail, and as soon as they took the wind again, they sped like arrows.

After having explored the southern side of the island, we hove to in order to communicate with a canoe, larger than all those we had seen so far, and that had been following us for a long time. Even though the sun had already set, three tamols, Onom, Kalial, and Tukupas, did not hesitate to climb aboard by the cord ladder at the poop, because their huge outrigger did not allow them to come alongside. Kalial stood out on account of his special cheerfulness and his athletic shape. Some knives, chisels and other small objects of this type appeared to satisfy them fully, and in exchange we got about 50 coconuts and four hens which they had brought. They went away very happy, shouting for a long time after us: "*Mamal, etc.*"

A rainy night was followed by a similar morning (3rd), we headed for the opening we had seen in the reef. At 9 a.m., Lieutenant Zavalishin left to explore it. He came back two hours later with some very good news, not only about the pass but also about the port beyond it. We took the opportunity presented by a puff of wind from the SE and went into the lagoon; we then towed to a good anchorage in the lee of Lugunor Island. An entire fleet of canoes accompanied us in silence. A few of them, out of zeal, tried to tow us but only succeeded in entangling themselves in a funniest manner.

Selen, with his shirt on, was in the meantime with us. Hardly had we anchored that others came to introduce themselves. The most pleasant among them was Tamol Ebung, an old man of simple appearance but witty and full of common sense. In naming for me all the islands of this group and the neighboring groups, he named quite a few others. I instantly took a chalk and after drawing the neighboring groups on the deck, I begged him to continue, and he drew with good precision all the islands of the Caroline archipelago that he knew. His map contained many of the names found on Father Cantova's map. It was interesting to discover that the eastern part of the archipelago [on his map] showed the islands of Faunupei [Pohnpei] and Arau [Kosrae], which he described as very high islands. The former is no doubt Puinipet that we have just discovered; the other may be Ualan. The letters "r" and "l" are here often confused; Alau differs little from Uala. Selen, seeing what we were discussing, asked Tamol Teliour to come up from his canoe. This chief had travelled a lot and he also drew the whole

¹ See Plate 35-c.

archipelago in his fashion, north as far as Guaham [Guam], and as far west as Pelly [Palau]. They call the former Uon; it would have been difficult to recognize Guahan in this word if they would not have added also: Rota, Saipan, Marina [Manila], Spaniol [Español], Ingres [English].

I asked him what there was farther west of Pelly. He drew a line and showed very clearly by signs that the sky comes down there and leans upon the earth and one has to creep under. Teliâu's great knowledge in geography did not prevent him from being a bad cosmographer. We made copies of these maps which we considered a treasure, but we learned later that their verbal information was much more satisfying than their maps. There is no old man here who cannot trace maps such as those reproduced by Cantova and Doctor Chamisso. However, while they all agree as to the number of islands, they differ in their relative positions and distances. That is normal. For a people whose knowledge is based upon memory and traditions, some lines traced on paper or in the sand cannot have the same meaning as for our minds that are used to mechanical methods. They see such lines only as a tool to remember better; we see them as the main thing, and we check our memory against them. They see no contradiction in the fact that one man draws two islands one inch apart while another draws them two inches apart, because each representation means the same navigation time.

We will return to their geographical knowledge when we discuss the general geography of the Caroline Archipelago.

Among the objects that attracted their attention were the spears and other handicraft of the Puinipet people. When they learned where such objects were from, there was a general commotion; the name Faunupei, Faunupei passed from one mouth to another. One of the chiefs, taking some spears and slings in his hands went to the cabin's window and showed them to the islanders in the canoes, telling them that we ourselves had been at Puinipet, and many other things no doubt very marvellous because the crowd often broke in clamors. When, after this, something astonished or pleased them, they asked if it came from Puinipet; they had such a high opinion of Puinipet's industry that they believed that the mahogany furniture whose polish they admired, had certainly been made in Puinipet. Those warlike or rather boisterous men are viewed by these peaceful and harmless peoples in a similar fashion as the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands are viewed in the Friendly [Samoan] Islands. They talk about the Puinipet ppeople as if they were giants in strength and courage, and because we had been there and left with our heads in place, we acquired no little fame.

At nightfall, they all left, except Selen and Ebung who made preparations to sleep on board. Music appears to amke a greater impression on them than on the Ualan people. Ebung was beyond himself at the marvels he experienced, but, like a sensible person, he made a running commentary to Selen. In exchange for all these novelties, they gave us one much less pleasant piece of news by telling us that in their archipelago, SE of Lugunor, there is the island of Piguirap [Kapingamarangi], whose inhabitants eat human flesh. Selen explained by very expressive gestures and with a deep horror the manner they use in cutting up a man, roasting him, eating him, etc. I asked if the same

thing existed on other islands, but Selen answered no for all the others. If this news is true, then Piguirap must be, like Puinipet, populated by a race of men different from the rest of the Carolinians.¹ However, to rectify such information, I must add that the Carolinian Chief Oralitau, whom we later met in Guahan, and a very witty person as well, denied such a fact; it must therefore remain in doubt.

The next day (4th), after having completed my astronomical and magnetic observations on the beach at Lugunor, I went to pay a visit to my acquaintances. I had to cross the whole island to do this. The imagination is at first struck by the appearance of this garden of coconut trees that appear to grow out of the water and represent an ideal of elegance and majesty, and the magnificent breadfruit trees whose products could compete with our cereals. One wonders about the wisdom of Mother Nature who has provided man in these two plants, not only what he needs to satisfy his hunger and thirst, but also all the necessary materials to build his houses, his canoes, to make his clothes, his household utensils, etc., and provide him at the same time with shelter against the rays of a vertical sun, and plenty of fresh air. Soon, however, one feels like the enchanted queen sentenced to spend the rest of her life in a magic garden. Uniformity tires you out; look on whatever side, and always you find the same objects. There is not the least distinctive stone to mark your route, no right or left. The waving heads of the palm trees gently pushed by a constant breeze from the same direction, the monotonous sound of the waves breaking forever on the same beach make one fall asleep like the song of the nurse does to a child in his crib. The uniformity and boredom in which the inhabitants of the low islands live must be that way. The inhabitants of the polar regions live no doubt more happily. One night lasting six months followed by a day lasting as long, the need to find food, hunger sometimes, although not always very pleasant, provide at least some variety in their way of life. There is no such variety here.

The houses of the islanders are located only in the NE part of the island and are spread out without any order. If one imagines the roof of an *isba* (thatch cottage) of the Russian peasant placed upon the ground and covered with pandanus leaves rather than boards or thatch, he will have an exact idea of the houses seen here.² The two ends, orientated NE- SW, are closed by partitions made with coconut fronds and each have a door. Some of the huts have on the sides additions that look like some ship cabins; others have some kind of low sentry boxes covered on all sides except for a small hole on one side. Such hovels, which can only be entered by crawling, were, as we had conjectured, destined for women. Here and there were the household goods consisting of fishing implements, and in some of them, the canoes themselves. In the center of them could usually be found the hearth, made obvious only on account of the fire there; inside and outside, there is only dirt. We had been unhappy with the uncleanliness of the Ualan people, on account maybe of the unpleasant contrast with their other character-

1 According to information collected later on, Piguirap, or Piguiram, is situated at about 2°30' lat. and 206° long. Ed. comment: Kapingamarangi is populated by a different race, indeed, Polynesians, who probably had exterminated the original inhabitants.

2 See Plate 32-e.

istics; however, the Lugunor people, compared with them, are true cynics. Not only their person is covered with coconut oil and yellow coloring, but they do not care, when relieving themselves upon the beach, to do it in such a way that high tide will carry away the result. It is not always on the beach where they do it either, which would be considered in Ualan as the height of uncleanness.

Nevertheless, a cordial reception awaited us always in their miserable and dirty huts. The coconuts appeared instantly and gifts followed, not only from the owner of the house but also from all those in attendance. The severity with which they hid their women from us offered a sharp contrast with this cordiality. Only one of us chanced to see some women running away into the bush; except for that one time, no-one among us ever saw a feminine figure. Many women were shut inside the cages made for that purpose inside the houses; others were in the separate huts as far as we could judge from the cries of the children. We were always accompanied by an islander who took great care in not letting us go near such places; he, as well as all the others, ceaselessly repeated *farak!* while showing the route to be followed.¹ For savages to hide their women, this is something ordinary, but I would never have believed that jealousy could go this far. As long as we remained sitting, they were all happy, inviting and kind, but as soon as we got up to pursue our route, the unbearable *farak!* would be heard and it finally bothered us a great deal. If we were inclined to calumny, we could say that the husbands in this country have learned by experience that the wisdom of their wives cannot be guaranteed except by placing them behind partitions and mats, and that it is better for the tranquillity of the household not to expose them to temptation.

They did not practice the same jealousy toward their dead. They permitted us to examine the graves; they are made exactly like their houses but on a smaller scale, that is, they have a roof over them about 5 paces in length, made of woven branches. Upon some of them, they have a second roof just like the first; they usually place coconuts under the lower one. Such are probably the graves of the chiefs because elsewhere they have a special enclosure where they say the dead are buried also.

The observations and other various tasks kept me busy aboard the corvette or at the observatory over the next two days. During my free time, I spent pleasant moments communicating with the chiefs while the other savages played with our people, taught them how to cut open some coconuts and laughed a lot about their lack of skill. Tamol Peseng, a very witty old man, was always with me; he gave me some very interesting information. Not happy with this only, he tried to learn something himself by asking where we came from, how we had come to their place, and wished to know how we express our numerals, etc. In general, the Lugunor people showed a very rational curiosity; they examined carefully all the parts of our ship, measured its length, the height of its masts, etc.

On the eve of our departure, I walked the length of Lugunor Island once again in the company of Peseng. In the NE part, in the middle of a thick grove, we met with a circular enclosure made of stone, two feet high and about 7 paces in diameter, with an

1 Ed. note: That word meant "go on!", *faaragh*, as it is now written.

opening on one side. The ground inside the circle was completely covered with coconut palm fronds. The wall is called "Sefaiu" and the space inside "Enen." Peseng made me understand that it was a place where people came to rest; stretching himself down, he invited us to do the same.¹ The young men following us began to pick up coconuts thereabout, and after having taken some rest and refreshed ourselves, we had to agree that such a place answered its purpose very well. It appears that it was reserved for chiefs only, because nobody from the crowd dared to cross the wall and step inside, not even to bring us the coconuts; our sailors, like half-tamols, had to serve as go-betweens.

They climb coconut trees here just as they do in Ualan, by linking their legs with an old pandanus leaf. In this way, they climb, as if they had a ladder, tree trunks that are perfectly smooth and 80 feet tall. My sailors, counting themselves as the most resolute among Neptune's children, had to admit they could not measure themselves up with them. To cut a nut open, they bury a pointed stick upon which they strike it to peel off its covering. Either refinement is unknown in other islands of Polynesia, specially in the Sandwich Islands where they climb even the highest trees wearing nothing, and husk the coconuts with their teeth.

I turned around the houses of the islanders until the end of the evening and met the same inviting welcome everywhere. In spite of the unbearable "*farak, farak*" that followed us even then whenever we came near a place where the women were shut in, their reclusion seemed to have been relaxed a bit. That night, I met with an old woman at the door of a house and she did not try to avoid me but out of spite I ignored her. I later saw two young girls who payed me the usual comopliment: "*Tamol mamal.*" To my great regret, the late hour did not allow me to prolong my interview with them as long as I would have wished and I only had the time to give them a few trifles which they received with joy, and to see that they were very cute and did not differ much from the Ualan girls either by their figure or their adronments. Their *to*/though appeared to be two or three inches wider.

When I told the chiefs that I intended to put to sea the next day, they seemed to become sad. Peseng declared to me very intelligently that, while he remained in Luginor and we were already back in Russia, he would think often about what "*Capital Litske*" was doing. This would seem like a vain compliment at home, but coming from the mouth of one we call a savage, such words were the true expression of a kind heart. The news of my departure caused a general commotion in the island. They all hurried to profit as much as possible from the time remaining to us. They were all bringing hens, cocks, what they had; they wished to have nails, knives, etc. I went away with a good supply of all sorts of small objects. Similarly, I took the opportunity to invite Selen and Peseng to spend the night on board as I wished to learn more from them. Among other information, I learned from them the names they give here to the main stars. They spent the greater part of the night talking together; not only they ignored my need to rest but also they even came to wake me up each time a new main star appeared through the hatch.

1 Ed. note: *Nenne* means to sleep, in Carolinian.

Nothing keeping us here any longer, we began at daybreak on the 8th to prepare to put to sea. The group had been surveyed in detail by the boats, the chronometers had been checked, and many lunar observations had been taken. I received many farewell visits. I presented my friends with various iron tools, not forgetting trifles for their women, and I bid goodbye and received the assurance that I would be sorely missed.

WE left the port at about 11 a.m., and lost our kedge anchor (the fourth one within a year) as it was probably stuck between some rocks because all the efforts amde by our people only caused the cable to break and the anchor did not move.¹

Between 5°17' and 5°37' lat. N. and 206°1' and 206°23' long. W., there are three low coral island groups consisting of as many as 70 islets of various sizes. These islands, seen for the first time in 1795 by the English Captain Mortlock, appear under his name in Krusenstern's Atlas, and also in ours. The easternmost group, Lugunor, is oval in shape and 18 miles in circumference. Lugunor Island, at the eastern corner of this group, is shaped like a horseshoe and forms a very good anchorage, named Port Chamisso in honor of this learned traveller who was the first to give us trustworthy information about this archipelago. The width of the island varies from half a "verst" [1/2 meter] to 150 paces. Its center, about 7 feet above sea level, is covered by breadfruit trees, and specially along the shores coconut and pandanus trees grow tall, their tops are loaded with fruits and, on the lagoon side, they often bend down low over the water. The southern part of the island is sandy, but the northern part has much vegetal soil upon which the arum [taro] plantations are made (they always require a damp soil), and around them can be found all the houses of the islanders. These plantations are divided by narrow canals designed to carry water to all parts and need apparently to define the boundaries between the properties of the various chiefs. The surrounding wood provides a magnificent scenery; plants of all kinds and varieties are seen most favorably and serve to give a typical idea of the products of the low islands.²

The island naturally has no fresh water³ other than rain water which is collected in pits and in a sort of special tanks dug into the trunks of coconut trees that are leaning.⁴ We found that the water in the pits was always dirty and smelled bad. This small supply is sufficient for the inhabitants because they drink very little and also because they replace this indispensable drink for us by the delicious drink that nature prepares for them ceaselessly in the fruits of the coconut tree. It is the true source of life, springing at the touch of the magic wand wielded by the Almighty.

The Lugunor people did not invalidate the good opinion that we had of Kadu's countrymen. We found them to be hospitable, good, reserved, and of pleasant manners. They did not have the child-like trust that our good Ualan people had toward us because they have perhaps more experience and have learned from the inhabitants of

1 Ed. note: What a bounty this anchor must have been for the islanders!

2 See Plate 33-e.

3 Coral islands are not always devoid of potable water Captain Beechey, having dug a well on Bow Island (lat. 18°15' S. and long. 140°45' W.), found an abundant source of very good fresh water.

4 See Plate 34-e.

the groups having more frequent contact with Europeans that we cannot be trusted in everything and always, in spite of our civilization. This did not, however, interrupt for one moment the good rapport between us. These people understand what trading is and know how to look after their own interest. Their principle is to receive the most and give the least possible, but to attain such a goal, they never resort to fraud, and least of all theft. During our whole stay there, we did not see one single example of this vice. Nevertheless, by calling them apt traders, I do not mean that they are greedy; they showed themselves to be hospitable and helpful for the sole pleasure of being able to please us, or so it appeared. The young men climbed the coconut trees at the simplest sign, carried our baggage, not asking for anything in return, and they were always satisfied with whatever we gave them. If some of them, even among the most sensible ones, did not fear to beg, the excuse was their extreme poverty and the very natural desire to get objects considered necessary and for which they could not pay.

One of the proofs of a good heart in a man is when he shows affection to another man, expecting reciprocity, and the Lugunor people are this type of people. Each of us had his special friend. Mine was Selen with whom, as a sign of friendship, I had to exchange my name. This custom is as common here as in the other places in Polynesia [sic]. In forming this type of relationship, each takes the hand of the other and pulls hard in an opposite direction as if to tighten the knot of friendship. Their extreme jealousy took away from us the possibility of observing their home life, but they appeared to be very attached to their wives and children; it is possible that care for their safety was the reason why they shut them in. They often asked us for gifts for their wives and children; when they received from us some sweets, like sugar, biscuits, etc., they usually hid these in their belt to take to them.

We did not have the opportunity to learn in detail the basis and the scope of the power of the tamols. My friend Selen made an effort to make me understand that he was the paramount chief over the whole group, that Peseng, Taliaur, and the others, although tamols, were nevertheless his *puik*. It appears that this word means "subordinate" because at Namoluk a tamol asked the officers if they were *puik* with respect to me, as tamol.¹ Nevertheless, nobody showed any respect to Selen, and he did not appear to be richer than the others. The only distinction of the chiefs is that they own many houses; they have one apart for their women, another for their large canoes, etc. In general, we did not notice here signs of an exclusive right over land or its products, as at Ualan. It appeared that everyone had his own property.

The height of the Lugunor people is generally above average. Their body type is strong and well-built. The color of their body is dark brown. Their faces are flat, the noses flat above and the tips turned up, the lips thick, the teeth even and healthy, the eyes large, black, prominent, sometimes agitated but most often expressionless. The beard of some of them is rather long, but sparse. The hair is black, long and thick, a little frizzy, and sometimes gathered as a lump upon the neck and tied with the sling;

1 Ed. note: The word may be the same as "pwug, or *ppwug* which means "offshoot", i.e. "something sprouting," in other words, a dependent.

they insert into this bun a comb with three teeth, at the tip of which two or three feathers of the frigate bird are attached. At other times, the hair is loose and forms a thick wavy mass, as for the inhabitants of New Guinea. Their belt, also called *tol* here, is a piece of cloth about 6 inches in width, passing from behind to the front between the legs, and which differ from that of the Ualan people in that it has no bag. They throw a sort of cloak upon their shoulders, the type we have mentioned before, that looks like the South American poncho or the chasuble of a Catholic priest, similar to that we found at Puinipet. This piece of cloth, usually dyed yellow, is 3 "arshins" in length by 1-1/2 "arshins" in width,¹ sewn in two parts length-wise with a hole left in the center to pass the head. They wear a conical hat made of pandanus leaves upon their heads; they are skilfully made and protect them perfectly from the sun and the rain. It is due to this embryonic form of clothes that we must assign the real pleasure they showed at receiving shirts and wearing them all the time, whereas the Ualan people did not appreciate them.

The tool they use to tattoo themselves is shaped like a small hatchet about 4 inches in length and whose edge is toothed. Plate 30-e. They place it upon the body and hit it gently with a small mallet, until the skin is pierced and then they rub it with the juice of a plant (*cerbera* or *callophyllum*), or with charcoal. The legs and the chest are covered with long straight lines which give the former the appearance of striped stockings. They trace upon the hands many small fishes about one-inch long. It is remarkable that they give the names of various islands to these figures. Peseng had upon his left thigh, above the knee, a certain number of these fishes and hooks representing Lugunor and the neighboring groups; then each line on the leg and hand bore the name of one island, from Faunopei as far as Pelly. When he had enumerated all of these islands, there were a few lines remaining; he named them Manina (Manila), Won (Guam), Saipan, etc. and, as if this demonstration did not suffice, he added laughing: Ingres (England), Rusia, etc. It may be that such a practice has been introduced as a mnemonic device to remember the islands of their archipelago. It is a sort of geographic rosary. Some of us concluded that the islanders have the custom of adding one line for each island they happen to visit, and they then give the name of the island to that line. They assured us that their women tattoo themselves very artistically in the places covered by the *tol*. They wear at the neck necklaces made of coconut fiber, or with small rings of coconut shell or sea shell, and sometimes pieces of turtle shell. They place flowers in the large holes through their earlobes, and sometimes pieces of wood two inches across, painted yellow or black.² A few tamols, following the example of Chinese overlords, let the nails of their thumbs grow long.

They make the naturally-coppertone color of their faces even more unpleasant by rubbing it with an orange-colored powder which they extract from the root of a plant belonging to the genus *Costus*. They use this powder the same way that the Kaloshs use ocher and soot. Some rub it on their foreheads only, while others put it all over their

1 Ed. note: About 2 meters by 1 meter.

2 See Plate 30-e.

face or only on their eyebrows. The tamols rub it on the palms of their hands only. Generally, they have such a quantity of it on their person that after half an hour in their company one's hands and clothes are soiled by it.

One should not expect cleanliness in people who smear their body instead of washing it. Their hair is full of lice. I cannot positively state that they eat them but, judging from certain gestures, I believe that this type of food may not be entirely strange to them, although they may not be as determined a group of phthiropages as the Ualan people.

Their food consists of coconuts and breadfruits, taro roots (*arum*) and fish. They make a sort of mush out of the coconut. From the sap of the coconut tree itself they prepare a very useful drink in the season when fruits are generally scarce. They mix coconut and taro into a sort of tasteless mush. There are many breadfruit trees in the islands, but it appears that the fruits were not ripe during our stay because we received but one cooked breadfruit, and it was small and had seeds. They also preserve these fruits by letting them ferment in some holes. The fermentation process changes them into a foul-smelling paste which they call *puro* or *huro*.¹ I did not see them eat the fruits of the pandanus. They did not eat our salted meat but they relished our pigeons and chicken. There are only wild pigeons on the island but they tame the hens around their houses, although it seems that they do not eat them. We found some dogs and cats among them. They call the latter *cato*,² Hence, it can be said that they either brought them from the Marianas themselves or the Spanish brought them over. They call the dog *kolak*, a word which sounds like *galago*, the Malay [sic] word for it; hence, one must conclude that this animal came from Asia with man, although we saw a large dog that looked like a European breed.³

We did not find any weapon among them other than the sling which they weave neatly with coconut fibers; this is a proof that war visits them but rarely, if at all. We did not see any stone or shell adzes. Iron, obtained by trading with other islands, has replaced this primitive weapon [sic] of savage people. We provided them with the equivalent of many years' supply of iron, which they apparently were short of. One large knife and a few hatchets were all that we saw them use. Islanders who do not have steady relations with Europeans have gained little by replacing stone with iron because, having lost the custom of using one, they do not always have the opportunity to obtain the other, and therefore they are often lacking the most basic tools. They were eagerly taking any iron objects but they preferred axes above all. We provided them with other tools also and showed them how to use them; hopefully, they will not convert them into adzes as Togoja did. Lighters and flintstones, as well as needles, made them very happy.

1 Ed. note: It was called *furo* in Kosrae; the word had obviously a common origin. It is, however, called *maar* in the Central Carolines.

2 Ed. note: From the Spanish word "gato".

3 Ed. note: Dogs could similarly have come from the Marianas, where the Chamorro word for them is also *galago*.

Many were asking for whetting stones, but unfortunately we were out of them. Glass beads and other trifles had almost no value for them.

The loom upon which they weave their cloth with banana and coconut fibers is almost completely similar to that of the Ualan people. The cloth itself is not as refined in design and execution as that of Ualan, and far worse than that of Puinipet. It is normally dyed yellow but the color fades rather fast.

The fishing implements are a credit to their inventive mind. The most important one works on the same principle as our funnel nets in that it lets the fish in but it cannot go out again. It is a cage made of sticks and split bamboo, about two to three feet in length by one and a half to two feet in width.¹ The bottom of the box is flat, and one of the ends of the cover has a sperical bubble about two feet our from its base. The opposite end has an opening about half a foot in width by 9 inches in height, where a tunnel, about a foot in length, projects inward and through which the fish can easily go into the tank. It is then unable to leave, not only because of the difficulty in finding the way out again, but also on account of some small cords stretched across the bottleneck area, placed there to frighten it. These boxes are sunk at sea in 10 to 15 fathoms. They find them again by looking down through the water from their canoes, then they draw them out with special hooks led through some handles on top, and they usually find them more or less full of fish.

They also have nets in the shape of large net bags; also a sort of jug made with branches fitted with a handle which they use to take small fish. They also use lines and they spear the fish with sticks, but they do not have any seines.

[Mortlock Island canoes]

Even though the canoes, upon which the islanders spend half of their lifetime and perform long voyages that even the Phoenicians would not have dared to undertake, did not correspond entirely to the idea of them that we had conceived, based on exaggerated narratives by previous travellers, but we nevertheless found them to be well adapted to their purpose. They naturally main ain the large canoes as if they were precious objects, because they cost them much hard work.² We seldom saw any such craft at sea; most of them are kept inside specially-made sheds.³

The canoe which I examined, not the longest, was 26-foot long, 2- 1/4 wide, and 4-foot deep in the center. Athwart the center of the canoe and 4 feet apart are two parallel poles (*kio*), 10-long , whose tips are fastened to diagonal braces (*masianifengue*) whose inside ends are themselves fastened to the canoe 4 feet from its extremities. A beam, shaped like a canoe *tan*), 10-foot long and 1 square foot in corss- sectional area, is fastened to the end of the outrigger by means of risers *eam*) whose lengths are such that when the canoe is in the water the beam supports the canoe straight and it does

1 See Plate 30-e.

2 See a description of the ceremonies and rites performed on that occasion, in the notices of Dr. Mertens.

3 See Plate 32-e.

not lean on either side. The whole space between the two outrigger poles is covered by thin poles, except for a gap of about two feet close to the canoe in order to permit the use of oars. On the opposite side, there is another small platform, 4-foot square, upon which a roof is placed to provide a shelter for the provisions and baggage. At either ends of the canoe are five small benches that also serve as thwarts. The canoe and the float are made of breadfruit-tree wood. Both ends of the canoes are the same. Its sides, almost flat meet in V-shape at the keel which is about 10 inches in width and rounded at the bottom. Its sideboards consist of a few boards fastened together by cords made of coconut fiber. The joints are solidly caulked with burnt-coral lime. I did not see a single canoe with unequal sides, that is, with one side flat and straight and the other curved and inclined, such as those described by Anson and other navigators.

To serve as a mast, two beams are placed on the bottom of the canoe, almost under the outrigger poles. The bottom end of the mast finds a footing against the rear beam and leans against the forward beam and is secured in that position by two guy ropes on either side. The triangular sail, fastened to two yards, is raised by a rope that passes in an opening at the top of the mast; its yard is fixed to the prow and maneuvered by a rope and a stick that moves the upper end. To change direction, the sail is let down, the mast is inclined toward the other end where the yard is also carried, and the canoe then moves ahead with its other end forward. They steer mostly with an oar, but they have a sort of rudder which I was unable to see up close; they tie this board on the side of one of the canoe ends and can make the canoe turn with it. The pilot, while holding the oar with his hands, moves the rudder board with his leg. By letting down the sail and putting the board crosswise, they achieved a dead stop.

The bottom part of the canoe is painted black, and the top part yellow or red. They place upon the prow a ghostly and variegated figurehead.

The everyday canoes are built the same way but are much smaller. The largest of these are from 15 to 18 feet in length and the smallest can carry only one or two men.

The sails of all of these canoes are made of mats woven with pandanus leaves. The cords are like everywhere made of coconut fibers. The islanders hold them in such high esteem that they refused to give up a piece of rope 10-fathom in length by 2 inches across, unless it were for one axe. Even though they do not last as long as our hemp ropes, they can always be useful for the rigging; that is why one must always use every opportunity to add some to his supply.

The Lugunor islanders are the easternmost of the travelling Carolinians. As for their voyages, the scope of their commerce, and their geographical knowledge by which they distinguish themselves from the other peoples in Oceania, we shall speak of them later when, after having visited many other groups, we will have learned more about these interesting inhabitants. Such voyages naturally lead them to observe the stars, the only means they have to navigate, given the absence of compasses. They have names for all the main stars, for the many phases of the sun each day, for every day of the lunar month.¹ They divide the horizon in 28 points which they name by the names of the stars

1 All these names are listed with the general vocabulary at the end of Chapter XIII.

that rise or set near such points; this is certainly the most natural way of doing it for someone who does not have to make great changes in latitude, and therefore does not see much change in the amplitude of the stars. Such is the case for Carolinians whose archipelago is spread mostly in the direction of the parallels.

We found all of this also in Ualan. This similarity is not due to chance. The Ualan people no longer travel but belong to the same race; when thrown upon a small island far from the others but one that gave them everything they needed to survive, they lost the custom of voyaging to such an extent that they have even forgotten the use of sails. The scope of their intelligence was also more restricted; we could make ourselves understood more easily by the Lugunor people. Taliaur, the Lugunor equivalent of Tycho Brahe,¹ pushed back beyond Pelly the place where one must crawl under the sky to go farther; the Ualan people, at 20 meters from their island, if any of them even went that far, would untie their hair bun out of fear of being hung like Absalon to the corners of a quarter Moon.

The comparison of their languages provides another proof of the common origin of these peoples.² In the small quantity of words that we collected, there are up to 20 expressions, with regards to ordinary things, that are either exactly the same or at least very similar. Half of the main words for the decimal numbering system are the same. It is perhaps more difficult after that to explain the difference between the two languages in the words used for certain numbers, certain stars, the time of day, the sun, the moon, man, woman, most of the body parts, etc.

The language of the Lugunor people is much harder to pronounce than the Ualan language and it is much harsher on the ear. They themselves do not pronounce our words as easily. The grown-ups speak in a low and distinct voice but the youth, as everywhere else, mumbles and grumbles.

Lugunor does not offer any more resources to the navigator than any other low island. The supply of fresh water will always depend on the existence or absence of rains. There is no wood to be had. One may expect to be able to get sufficient coconuts but breadfruits can be had only in season. We traded trifles for 150 chickens and we killed a fair number of pigeons. However, those who would have come immediately after us would not have been so well supplied.

1 Ed. note: Famous Danish astronomer [1546-1601].

2 See the comparative vocabulary at the end of Cahpter XIII.

CHAPTER IX

Continuation of the exploration of the Caroline Archipelago.—To the Mariana Islands.—Stay at the Island of Guahan.—Return to the Caroline Archipelago.—Stay at the Uleai Group.—Final departure from the Caroline Islands.

We had not yet left the lagoon when the lookouts announced that a three-masted ship was in sight. After a stay of four months among savage tribes, where nothing reminded us of Europe, such an unexpected meeting could only be pleasant. Soon the boat of the whaler **Partridge** was alongside and at noon we met with the ship itself. We invited Captain Folger to dinner and we learned from him that he had left England at about the same time as we did, that he had visited the Cape Verde Islands, the Falklands, Galapagos, and having left the latter in mid-May of last year, he had not yet anchored anywhere. He had taken provisions at the Marquesas, the Kingsmills [Gilbert], Rotuma, Solomons, New Britain, and was now northbound. During the elast few years, the number of whaling vessels in the South Seas has increased so much that they are now unable to find enough whales within the tropics, to which they limited themselves previously, and they now must extend their search as far as the coasts of Japan. During the summer, they fish along the very shores of Nippon, and come to the Marianas to make provisions or to the Bonins (which we must find as part of our instructions). The Japanese trade with them without the knowledge of the local authorities. One of the captains tried to go ashore himself to get fresh supplies but he was arrested and had a hard time to win his freedom, after two days. Captain Folger gave us a report about the wild and evil character of the islanders inhabiting the Kingsmill and Bougainville Islands. They attack the whaling boats while the latter are out hunting whales and it often happens that they kill or wound the people, so that one must always be on a war footing with them and ready to defend oneself.

That evening we visited the **Partridge**, eager to see the installations aboard a South Sea whaler. These vessels do not have to go through the same troubles and dangers as the northern whalers in bad weather and ice. That is why it is not considered necessary to have them follow as tight a discipline. It is well known that the vessels dispatched after whales in the North are well supplied with everything, including a good surgeon, a certain number of old versus young sailors, etc. The South Sea whalers almost never have a surgeon, and the **Partridge** did not have any. The crew is not made up of selected men either, and that is why there are many desertions, specially when shaling is not too successful, because they share in the result of the fishery and they are then not fully compensated for their labor. The islands amid the Great Ocean are strewn with such deserters; their number increases day by day, not only to the disadvantage of the natives but often also that of the navigators visiting them. That is why whaling captains hate so much to have to stop anywhere. We have seen that the **Partridge** had been under sail for nine months when we met her. Some time later, we met her again at the Island of Guahan, where Captain Folger said that he would not anchor again for another full year after leaving there.

The means of taking whales in this sea are the same as for the northern whalers. There were seven whaleboats aboard the **Partridge**, always ready for launching. When a whale is sighted, four whaleboats are usually dispatched against him; the captain and all the mates are aboard. The vessel sometimes is left in the care of 5 to 6 sailors. They prefer to harpoon the sperm whales but when the hunt has been bad at the beginning they attack everything they meet with; they do not even limit themselves to whales then, and they take arctic bears and other amphibious animals where they can be found. Captain Folger had taken 85 whales in one year which had given 1,000 barrels of oil, that is about one third of his full load; that is why he had decided to hunt everything in future. The spermaceti [or case oil] that is found inside the head of the sperm whale is simply extracted and put into barrels. Oil is extracted from the blubber right on board. To that effect, a brick oven has been built on deck; it has two cast iron try pots, each containing 20 buckets. The oven lies on top of a wooden box that encloses it and that is filled with water during the operation to prevent fires. The oil is transferred from the boilers to cooling troughs at first, and later to barrels; the latter remain tied on deck for a few days before they are taken down into the hold because oil leaks easily when not completely congealed. In order to save as much wood as possible, they also burn the scum that floats on top of the try pots while the oil is boiling.

As he wished to take the opportunity of sending letters to Europe by way of Kamchatka, Captain Folger accompanied us with his ship until the evening of the next day, following all the maneuvers that we had to do in our survey work. We explored during that time the eastern, southern and western parts of the large group situated SW of Lugunor, which the islanders call Sotoan.¹ It is 17 miles in length from NW to SE, and 12 miles in width. We counted as many as 60 islets. We sighted in two places gaps in the reef through which no doubt it is possible to go into the lagoon. All the islets are covered with wood, but they appear less populated than Lugunor. Only about 3 or 4 small canoes came toward us but we did not communicate with them, either because we could not stop or they were too afraid to come near.

During the night of the 10th, we tacked without reducing the sails in order to get to the lee of a third group, Etal, which is the northernmost. In the morning, we saw islands in the SE which we thought were part of this group; we came close to them and began to survey them, surprised as we were to notice that our gifts had been spread so fast through the groups, because we could see men wearing white shirts. However, when our old friend Selen arrived with a load of coconuts, we discovered that we were in front of Lugunor, and the observations made soon after told us that a strong current had taken us SE.

We were now on the windward side of Etal and we headed for it. Before nightfall, we had surveyed all sides of this group and the northern side of the Sotoan group as well. About a dozen canoes came to us from Etal. The islanders, who probably had already heard about us, came aboard right away; they were gay, sociable, and showed their happiness at receiving gifts by embraces and the repetition of: "*Mamal tamol.*"

1 Ed. note: Written Setoan earlier; the preferred spelling is now Satawan.

They were ready to stay with us a long time but I had to cut short their visit in order to be able to complete the survey of the Mortlocks on that day.

Once that task was completed, we sailed offshore and spent the night under reduced sails. At daybreak on the 11th we headed NW which was the direction, according to the information we got at Lugunor, that the Namoluk Group was located. We could still see the Etal Group from the masthead when these islands did in fact appear straight ahead. We went completely around this small group; it is no more than 6 miles in circumference and consists of 4 islets. We hove to in order to receive our visitors who were already coming in a few canoes. We had, while awaiting the noon hour, about two hours to deal with them. They do differ in nothing from the Lugunor people. They knew Selen and Peseng and they were happy to hear about them. They all asked to come down to visit the inside of the ship, but they went nowhere without permission and refrained, of course, from laying their hands on anything. We could not but find them very pleasant even after having known the Lugunor people. One of the happy ones, named Lugun, exceeded everyone else by the untiring use of his tongue and body. He was dancing all the time. This dance consisted of lowering oneself slightly, adopting the stance of the sitting position, almost touching the ground, with various pantomimes with the hands, accompanied by movements of the middle part of the body that swayed on all sides without the slightest motion of the two ends of the body. An extraordinary suppleness of the limbs is required for this and also great efforts on the part of the muscles of the abdomen. Our dancer, at the end of his dance, was complaining about pains in the belly and sides.

Many of them, not all, were tattooed, and these were not tattooed the same way. They named the lines after different islands, as the Lugunor people. One of them called the lines "Nemmeu-Maik", another "Puluot-Maik", etc.¹

After the noon-time observations, I intended to send our visitors home but the canoes left on their own one after the other and left behind two islanders, including Lugun, and they did not seem to mind. I explained to them that I was about to leave their islands for good; they called after their canoes but their pleas were ignored. We headed NW under full canvas in order to be at the latitude of the northern part of the group by midday. Our guests thought we were leaving for good and they did not appear to be worried; they began to talk between themselves seriously about Luasap and Puluot, probably hoping to be able to go back home from one of these islands. They dined at our table with good appetite and humor, but when they noticed, upon going on deck, that we had tacked back again towards Namoluk, they became ecstatic, which goes to prove that they would have gone on an unexpected trip not too willingly. Lugun was making all kinds of foolish things; he would lend a hand to our sailors and imitate their oh! he! He climbed up to the masthead and from there started shouting like a fool. Soon a few canoes came toward us but they hesitated to come near us; wild minds easily become suspicious. However, the invitations of their countrymen, dressed as they were

1 Ed. note: Tattoo, or drawing (*máák* in the Central Carolines), and the two island groups of Namu and Puluwat, in this example.

with white shirts and axes in their hands, soon had their effect. They came alongside and everything was as before. After an exchange of gifts, we parted company and headed north.

The Namoluk Group is situated 35 miles NW of Lugunor. When we came from the north to the Mortlock Islands, we passed at some 12 miles from it, which proves how easy it is to pass near islands of this type without sighting them.

From here we came back to Latitude 6°10' to continue our search for Quirosa Island. Our search proved that this island does not exist along the 6°10' parallel between the longitudes 205° and 211°. After we had determined where the island was not located, we still had to find out where it was, because there is no doubt that Quirós saw a high island in this area.¹

The question was decided the next day when we explored the high island of Hogleu which Captain Duperrey has described. The similarity in the situation of this island with the description, although very imperfect, made of it by the Spanish navigator, convinced me of the identity of these two lands, as it has been described in detail in the geographical part of this Voyage.

I wished to sight this island to learn its true name from the inhabitants, as Captain Duperrey does not mention it. According to the explanations of the Lugunor people, I supposed that it was their "Roug."²

At daybreak on February 14th, we saw a high land in the north. A peaked mountain appeared in the center, and low islands were right and left of it. When nearing it, we noticed that these islands are inside a very dangerous reef that encircles the high island at a great distance. Soon two canoes came to meet us; they were in all respects similar to those of Lugunor, except that they were better crafted and painted red with black streaks. The only difference in their sails was that they had a sort of lifting rope to raise the lower yard almost perpendicularly and reducing the sail area up above, when they went with the wind behind them; otherwise, their triangular sail would have almost no effect. We hove to and they lowered their sails and stopped at about one cable-length to windward of the corvette. They spoke among themselves for a long time, as if to consult one another as to what to do. Finally, they raised their sails and came towards us. Various iron objects that we displayed caused one of the canoes to grab the line that we threw down at them, but soon it was let go. They were so frightened that while some would paddle forward, the others would paddle backward to hold the canoe in place. One of them, braver than the others, at last decided to come alongside. A few knives and chisels that we threw in it were compensated with a few fishes and coconuts. It appeared that nothing could make them decide to climb aboard, but the sight of an axe soon surmounted all fears as usual. An old Shamol (this is how they pronounce the word here), named Seitip, threw himself into the water and bravely climbed aboard by the poop ladder, although he was lame. One shirt and one axe were the reward for his

1 Ed. note: It is strange that Lütke did not realize that the high that he had just discovered, Pohnpei, must have been the same as Quirosa, which it was.

2 Ed. note: Roug, or Cuuk, under various spellings, mean "mountain" in various Carolinian dialects.

resolve. He even accepted to come down [into the cabin] after having entrested one of the sailors with his precious jewels. His great astonishment at everything he saw showed that it was the first time that he was on board a ship; however, the frequent repetition of the words *shamol ami*¹ showed that they had not yet forgotten their contact with the **Coquille**. Seitip soon went off to his canoe the same way he had come, that is, by swimming. The chief of the other canoe, jealous of his good luck, wanted to get the shirt and a mirror for himself, and a fight could have ensued, had I not made the other understand that he would receive as much if he came aboard; upon which he decided to come right away. Sheup stayed with us much less time than his companion, rushing to go back to his canoe with his treasure before we had the time to repent from our too generous action. After having given us a few more fishes and coconuts, they left us and headed for the island.

These islanders differed slightly from the Lugunor people in their facial features. Their lips were not as thick, the nose straighter and the hair smoother. There was no difference in clothing; it was the same cloak; on the head, they wear the sling around the hair bun or on the forehead. They did not all wear the *tol* but they tied it on when preparing to come to us. It appears that their language is not exactly the same. They did not understand the Lugunor words which we used with them; on the other hand, we could not distinguish their words, in part maybe because they spoke so fast.

Nevertheless, what was more important for me, I convinced myself of the correctness of my assumption that this island was indeed Rough or Toug. Neither here, nor in other places where we took information, did they understand the name Hogoleu.

[Lütke's exploration of the Namonuito lagoon]

We pursued our route northward in order to explore an island called Anonima [i.e. Anonymous] on the charts, a same which does not fit because it is inhabited and therefore must have a name. We sighted it on 16 February. It was a small group consisting of 3 or 4 islets, north of which a few other islets could be seen from the masthead.² There were many people on the beach. Some of them were making signs to us while others were dragging two canoes over the reef and they followed us. We soon were in company with four more canoes. We headed in a direction to round this group on the west side as close to it as possible, but when we turned northward, we saw that in the direction of the reef there was a row of shoals indicated by green water and we decided that sounding was necessary before going that way.

While the boat was thus engaged, we conversed with the islanders who had bravely come along the poop of the corvette, and two had climbed aboard at our first invitation. They nevertheless appeared worried and distrustful, and did not leave the rail willingly, even though we tried hard to calm them down by distributing gifts for which we got some fish in exchange. We had to turn around so as not to get too far from our

1 Ed. note: Literally "chief, friend (in French)."

2 Ed. note: Lütke was then at the east end of Namonuito. Anonima corresponds to Ulul at the opposite, or western, end of this group, as determined from Malaspina's analysis.

boat; those aboard the canoes, thinking no doubt that we were carrying their countrymen away, uttered a terrible cry, and in spite of all that I did to explain to those who were with us that we only wished to go closer to their island, they threw themselves into the water and swam back to their canoes. After that, they always stayed at a certain distance under sail. I managed to find out from them that the largest of the islands in front of us was named Piserarr (the Pisasaras of Chamisso).

The following morning (17th), after having passed through the channel that had been sounded, we found that for a distance of 12 miles, there was a flat bottom at 20 to 23 fathoms, and we then had to the east of us the islets of Unalik [Onari], Amitideu [Amurtride], Pilipal [Behiliper] and Onoup [Ono] which we had previously sighted, and, to the NW, two other islets (Magir and Maguiraririk), which could be seen from the masthead. These three groups were linked by a reef, upon which there were breakers here and there and elsewhere it was indicated by the green color of the water. We found ourselves in a vast lagoon some 25 miles in width at least from north to south, but we did not yet know its width east to west.

We soon were joined by a few canoes. These islanders showed much more trust than those of the previous day; a few came aboard immediately, among them the old Shamol Rekeil, a wise man. They were all asking for "naif," rather "laif," from the English word "knife." Rekeil was the only one who was not bothersome, and, to be truthful, he did not have to because I loaded him with gifts anyhow. These visitors made us see clearly that they were next-door neighbors to Guahan by refusing nails and trifles, and asking only for "laif." They were asking for one knife for a small package of ropes, and they were making fun of me for offering one only in exchange for 5 packages. They were generally gay, pleasant, were answering with pleasure and in detail to our geographical inquiries, and were unhappy only at the fact that we had to leave the lagoon before nightfall and could not stay longer with them. One of the canoes stayed close to us for a long time; we had fun watching the skill with which they were handling it, and they themselves seemed to enjoy the attention. At 4 p.m., we left the lagoon by the south side.

After having tacked all night so as not to lose our position, at daybreak (18th) we headed north under full canvas and at 9 o'clock we were again over a 23-fathom bottom. The currents had carried us so much westward that we no longer saw the islets of the previous day. We went on until noon over the same shoaly waters, meeting with a few small banks now and then but we easily avoided them. Maguir Island started then to be seen on the horizon in the NE and we also saw a line of breakers covering the whole horizon from NE to SW. After going SW for a while, parallel to the breakers, we saw that they extended without a gap as far as Onoun Island which we sighted ahead of us and which appears to form the western corner of this vast lagoon. Fearing that by venturing into this angle to leeward we would be unable to extricate ourselves, we turned to NE in order to go back to the southern side that way, but we soon saw another line of breakers in that direction also and they extended, with the exception of a few gaps, as far as the same island. We would soon have rounded them but at the most

critical moment we had an accident¹ which placed restrictions on our maneuvers and nightfall came before we could come out from between the reefs and the banks. Therefore, we had to anchor between them. If the northeasterly had freshened, as it sometimes does, our situation would have become desperate, but the night passed happily with no more bother than a heavy pitching of the corvette.

At daybreak (19th), we made sail and headed NNW. I did not think that we could leave by that side, on account of the breakers we had seen on the previous day, and I was therefore very surprised when, at about 8 a.m., we could not find bottom at 40 fathoms. We veered to SE and we soon had 23 fathoms again and we saw before us a continuous line of breakers bearing SW-NE, the same no doubt as before. Having thus surveyed the edge of the great shoal on that side, we stayed outside of it and headed towards Onoun Island. At 4 p.m., we were very near it and we soon saw a large crowd of natives on the beach. Most of them were sitting as a group and were looking at us; a few walked back and forth. Among them were some women whom we recognized by their aprons, of a bright color, extending down to below the knees. Others were working at launching some canoes; we could see a large number of them pulled up in a small bay where there was little wave action. The setting sun beamed directly upon this crowd and, through the telescope, as through a camera obscura, I could see a magnificent scene.

We were soon met by 4 to 5 canoes, completely similar to those we had seen before. There were at first only wild shouts by way of an invitation. Finally, a shamol (Sukizeum) who differed a little from the others by his facial characteristics, surprised us by the question: "*Fragata ingles?*" We answered: "*Fragata russiana*" and he repeated our words as if he understood their meaning. When he climbed up by the poop ladder, we welcomed him with the Spanish greeting: "*Buenos días!*" and he answered: "*Sí Seniol.*" He told us immediately that he had come here from Sotoan [Satawal] to trade, that he had already been to Oual [Guahan] and, as a proof of it, he asked for "*cuchillos*" (knives). I asked him if he knew Don Luís de Torres, and he exclaimed with joy: "*Luís! Mariales! Sí Seniol!*" He then asked for "*come*" (to eat). He was given some pie and he ate it with eagerness, while repeating: "*Pan, come, Mariales*" [Bread, eat, Marianas]. Many followed Sukizeum; our deck was covered with visitors for a while. They showed themselves to be as pleasant and as friendly but much more civilized than our previous friends; for the least trifle they wanted to receive a "laif," or at least an iron fishhook; they did not wish even to consider the nails. Everyone, our knowledgeable Sukizeum included, was very inclined to beg for and receive knives, fishhooks, and as much as possible, and give absolutely nothing in return. They were all daubed with the noted yellow powder. Some tied their *tol* lifted up around their waist. AT sunset, they all went away.

We had to stay until the next day to determine the latitude of the island. As early as daybreak (20th), the inhabitants started to come to visit us again and by 9 o'clock there were about 20 canoes around us with at least 100 men. They brought us such a large

1 Teh rigging of the great yard broke...

quantity of fish, specially flying fish, that the whole crew was able to have some. There were fishes of many other kinds, of course, and our gentlemen naturalists found as many as 13 new species which they did not have already. The islanders on this occasion showed themselves to be able traders; they at first asked for one "laif" for each fish, but we too put a limit on our generosity this time, and we established a certain order in our exchanges. We fixed the following prices: for 5 fishes 1 fishhook, and if they wished to add a package of cords to that, then 1 knife. We did not lay to but continued to tack under full sail in order to be by midday as close as possible to the island. This did not, however, stop the trade. The islanders vied with one another to get ahead with an astonishing vigor and skill and they came one by one to tie up at the poop to take their turn at trading. The shouts and the noise were proportional to the degree of impatience that each one had to beat the other to it. The skill with which they handled their canoes was admired by us as much as the agility, ability and liveliness generally seen in this people. We found them to be exactly what we thought the number one navigating people in the world should be.

At about noon, we hove to. The corvette, having stopped suddenly, caused some confusion among the canoes that were following us under sail. Some masts and yards were broken; however, the disorder reached its climax when we let go the poop ladder: everyone wanted to get to it first. Some would walk over the canoes, others would throw themselves into the water to get ahead of the others by swimming. The noise, the shouts, the pushes, the crunching noise of the canoes could have made us believe that they were boarding us [like enemies]. If I had allowed it, the ship would certainly have been full of visitors, but I only invited one old shamol from whom I hoped to get some useful information. He was so weak that he required assistance to climb up the ladder. As long as he remained hanging outside, I feared that he might be thrown off by the others who wished fiercely to come aboard, and who had to be pushed back from the ladder with force. I made a mistake in my expectation; the good old man was so frightened and so stupid that it was only after many efforts that I managed to get his name: Melizeu.¹ After him came Sikizeum who was much more communicative and not at all shy; he joined us at the dinner table and, after having dispatched a plate of peas with a very good appetite, he withdrew bearing a gift aze and other objects. At this time, the canoes left us one after the other and we headed south.

This whole group, as we learned in our second visit to the Caroline Archipelago during the fall of that same year, is called Namonuito by the natives. As a beginning or base for a large group of islands or even one big island that might exist there one day, this place deserves to get special notice. It shows all the signs of an emerging coral atoll. Either because of its late formation or because of its great area, it is behind most atolls in its development as it does not yet form an unbroken line of reef and islands; however, all the elements are there. One finds the bed of the future lagoon (that Mr. Chamisso calls dike), having a flat bottom at about 23 fathoms, and stewn with shallow

1 Ed. note: He could be the same man and the Melisso whose son's funeral had been attended by Don Luùs de Torres in 1804 (see HM17:561).

banks. At the windward boundary of this dike, there are already a few islands linked together by a more or less continuous reef; at the opposite end, one island has been formed. Reefs appear between both ends at a short distance on the edge of the dike; the space between it and the reefs is occupied by submerged banks that are still separated from one another by large gaps. If we admit the currently-favored theory that until millions of microscopic animals work at raising these dikes as far as the surface giving rise to an uninterrupted string of islands and reefs, then the Namonuito Group could in time, over many thousands of years, serve as a measure of the progress of such work. It would constitute a vast experiment because it covers 45 miles in length from east to west. It is situated between 8°33' and 9° lat. and 209°29' and 210°613' long. W.

According to the remarks made by Dr. Chamisso, Don Luis de Torres found, by 8°20' lat. and 211° long., a bank 24 fathoms in depth, upon which he sailed for three continuous days. I now decided to proceed to search for this bank, and having thus reached the indicated latitude, we ran westward until we reached 212° [148° E], often sounding but not finding bottom at 50 or more fathoms. WE learned later from the Onoun islanders that this bank is known to them under the name of Mannaijeu Bank. We then looked for it further east but in vain. I therefore conclude that it is not located west of 210° [150° E]. The search and survey of such a bank were important because it is possible that it will be the basis for an emerging atoll as well.¹

Pursuing our route westward, the next day (22nd) we came to the small islands of Piguella [Pikelot] and Faiou [W. Fayou] that Don Luis de Torres had also seen and called Pigwelao and Faliao. The former had already been seen by Captain Duperrey. They are both very small, not having more than 300 meters in length; they are uninhabited. Piguella Islet is covered by thick brush above which rise about 100 coconut trees. On Faiou there are tall trees among which there could be some breadfruit trees, but we did not see a single coconut tree.

Don Luis de Torres saw between these two islands a bank, called by the natives Oraiti-lipu, similar to the earlier one but smaller and only 12 fathoms in depth. We looked for it very carefully during our crossing from one island to the other, but in vain. We must therefore conclude that it is located outside a straight line joining these two islands.²

From there, I headed directly to the Mariana Islands. I was thus regretfully cutting short our exploration of the Caroline Archipelago, but I needed to go to Guahan for two reasons: for lack of biscuits and other necessary articles that I hoped to get partly from the island and partly from the English and American ships that come there during the season; also, to repeat the experiments with the pendulum in a place where, according to the observations of Captain Freycinet, a great gravitational anomaly existed.

1 Ed. note: Lütke did not find a bank because he happened to visit only the deep-water passage that exists between two very large banks lying north and south of this position: the Mogami or Saijo Bank on the north side and the Gray Feather or Mannaijeu Bank on the south. Mr. Torres and the natives were right.

2 Ed. note: There are shoaly waters to the east of W. Fayou and a depth of 12 fathoms was indeed found there; the bank is slightly north of a straight line joining the two islands in question.

[Guam Island]

Without noticing anything special, we were northbound and, at nightfall on the 26th, we saw the Island of Guahan straight ahead at a distance of about 30 miles. We ran all night under full sail and at daybreak we were 10 miles west of the southern point of the island. Some weak winds and strong currents forced us to tack to reach San Luis de Apra Harbor. Relying on the precision of Captain Freycinet's chart, I decided to cross over the Calalan Bank. While crossing it, we never had less than 7 fathoms under us. We could see every stone distinctly.

We had put up our signal flag for a pilot some time before and we repeated this signal once in the Caldera, but we did not see any pilot. If a schooner flying colors had not been anchored in the inner harbor, we could have thought that the place had been deserted on account of the plague: we could not see any sign of life anywhere. There were no flags above either Fort Santiago or Fort Santa Cruz; a deep silence prevailed all around us. What a contrast with the animated scene at the islands that we had just visited! This comparison made us think about a thousand possibilities... but we did not have time to develop them, forced as we were to tack within a narrow passage. At 9 o'clock we anchored at the entrance of the inner harbor.

I dispatched an officer to find out aboard the schooner, at the fort or ashore, if there were any living souls anywhere, if a pilot could be had to steer us into the inner harbor, any horses to go to Agaña, the capital of Guahan, etc. The boat came back without having gotten the least information. There was only an old mulatto at the fort, a few sailors aboard the schooner, and in the small village at the NE corner of the bay a half-savage population. However, in the meantime, I had already found a way to communicate with the governor; we had been visited by one of the numerous desertors from English ships who now wander around the island. I learned that the present governor was none other than my old acquaintance, the same Medinilla whose hospitality Golovnin, Kotzebue, Chamisso and Freycinet had praised. Nothing could be more pleasant for me than to rush him a letter in which I informed him of my arrival, the purpose of our voyage, and in which I asked permission to set up my observatory ashore and to resupply the corvette with fresh food, etc.

Early the next morning (March 1st), a sergeant came to bring me a letter from the governor, in which he offered his services to me and invited me to visit him in Agaña. In turn, I asked for horses and mules to be sent the next day so that my officers and I could go there to pay our respects.

Our entrance into the inner harbor would have caused us many problems. So, I decided to leave the corvette where she was because in this season and with good anchor chains, there was no danger to fear.

After having examined various places around the bay, I chose, as the most convenient place for an observatory, the Sumay farm belonging to Major Torres, second only to the Governor of the Mariana Islands. Among other places, I visited Fort Santa Cruz located on an islet. It is square in shape, 20 paces on all sides, and raised about 8 feet above the water. WE found there a garrison consisting of one mulatto and four un-

mounted guns; however, even if they were armed, a good brig, in one single blast, could silence them. What is even stranger is the fact that its embrasures face north and west only, whereas it is meant to defend the whole anchorage, and on the side facing the Orote Peninsula, where it is accessible through fordable shoals, even at high tide, it is completely defenceless. There was that day a flag flying at the top of a pole but it was not a military flag.

The next morning (2nd), a large party of us went to the landing at Piti, in the NE corner of the bay, where some mules were already waiting for us. The road to Agaña is very pleasant; it follows mostly the shoreline, but in some places it is necessary to go around headlands. The road goes through alleys shaded by tropical vegetation, or through rice fields or villages, the largest of which is the town of Agaña itself; it is very similar to the other villages except in size, a certain orderliness and also by the fact that not all the houses are built upon piles.

As we arrived at the Palace (there is always a "palacio" in the most insignificant places in the Spanish colonies), the whole governor's staff, in uniform, came to meet us, and he himself welcomed us at the top of the stairs. After having thus followed the dictates of etiquette, Don José begged us to make ourselves at home. He asked that some light Manila jackets be brought in and each of us willingly exchanged our heavy uniform tunics for these. The business for which I had come was soon taken care of; the Governor answered as we had expected from the hospitable Pineda and he asked us to rely on him completely for everything.

After a breakfast that differed from a dinner only in that tea was served, I paid a visit to Don Luís de Torres, a respectable and jovial old man, who not only permitted me to establish myself on his land, but he told me that I should not beg but order everything I needed. His interesting journal, whose substance is contained in the remarks of Dr. Chamisso, was very useful to me in order to clarify certain doubts in my own surveys. Don Luís has not returned since to the Carolines, but he has remained, as before, the friend and protector of the Carolinians who come to Guahan. He has tried to find out, from all those who have visited him over the past 10 years, what happened to Kadu, but not one of them had heard of the existence of a man by that name. We shall see later that our own inquiries into the matter were also in vain.¹

After dinner, we witnessed a cockfight. Such a spectacle normally takes place every Sunday in front of the palace, and the Spanish colonists as well as the native inhabitants are very fond of it. A large crowd formed a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A policeman, stick in hand, made sure that no-one crossed the marked line. While the bets are being arranged, the cocks designated for the fight are being fitted with 2-inch spurs tied to their right leg. Before the fight starts, the cocks are excited by giving each a chance to peck the other in order to make them angry, and then they are let go. The spectators show the most lively interest during the fight, encouraging either one combatant or the other.

1 Ed. note: Kotzebue had already said that Kadu had chosen to stay forever in the Marshall Islands.

Shouts of "bravo blanco!" [Hurrah for the white one!] and "bravo colorado!" [Hurrah for the red one] come from all directions until finally one of the adversaries, either wounded or out of cowardice, tries to save itself by running away. The owner of the vanquished animal often kills it on the spot out of anger. We also made bets from the balcony of the palace and, as if the fights were fixed, we always won but, given that our bets were only for small amounts, the general cheerfulness was enhanced by it. The noise and the laughing were at their highest when, all of a sudden, this crowd appeared to be petrified as by a shock from an electric machine and stopped to look at the church. The bell, and at the same time the drum from the palace, were announcing the evening Angelus. Our host who, one moment before, had been very gay was now immobile, head bent and hands joined, reciting his prayer with a soft voice. Soon the hurried knocks of the bell announced the end of the prayer and everyone wished everyone else a good night. This crowd, so noisy a few moments before, was now dispersing quietly in various directions, and I myself left, leaving behind most of the members of our party to sleep at Agaña.

As of the next day (3rd), I set up my camp at the Sumay farm. From that time onwards, according to my habit, I busied myself exclusively, except for receiving very few persons, with my observations and experiments until they were completely finished. These tasks lasted until March 13th. They would have been completed sooner, had one of my assistants not been so zealous at trying to prevent the original copybooks containing the observations from getting wet, and placing them inside a lantern containing a lighted candle, thus setting fire to them and almost setting the whole place on fire. Nevertheless, I was happy that such a mistake could be repaired by the work of two or three additional nights.

This accident was like the forerunner of another, much more serious. I was in the habit, at the end of my work, to go hunting with a few companions, more to relax and breathe fresh air than out of passion for such a sport. This time my excursion cost me dearly. On account of I do not know what neglect on my part, my gun fired and I received the blow in my right hand, just below the wrist. This accident made me unable to use my hand and, for a month and a half, I could not make any observations. This negative portion of my life will always cause the worst remembrances in my memory. The physical pain was nothing compared with my moral anguish, seeing myself forced into inaction, at a time when a pile of work awaited my attention. I would have suffered then times more if only my suffering could have been used to hasten the progress of the expedition, and to remove from the journals many gaps that I had to fill up later from memory.

Meanwhile, on board the corvette, every effort was being made to make her ready for sea once again. We had much work to perform here. As a result of the high temperatures, the rigging and the hull of the ship required big repairs in order to prepare them for the bad weather we would have to face when leaving the tropics during the period of the monsoon, according to our calculations. Almost all the pulleys had to be overhauled, the boats re-caulked, many iron and copper objects repaired or replaced; wood

had to be cut, and this is no mean work in a climate so hot as this and with hard and heavy wood; provisions had to be made; watering also. We decided to go south to Umata Bay for watering because the water in the port is bad and the work to get it so difficult; two boats working one full day could only bring out 10 barrels of it. We were frustrated in our hopes to get supplies from shaling ships, as we met only two here, one of them being our acquaintance Folger, and they were able to provide us with very few things, mostly articles of not much use. On the 17th of March, our business was completed.

I intended, after having completed my tasks at the observatory, to go to Agaña to stay with our good friends, and perhaps to collect some interesting information. However, I now had to give this plan up. I was not even in a condition to officially invite the Governor aboard the corvette, and I only invited him for breakfast. I had supposed that it would be for him an opportunity to present us with a bill for the provisions that we had taken on board, but Don Jos declared, not only that he could not accept anything for them, but also that, if we needed money, he was ready on behalf of his government to provide whatever amount was needed, on our word only, without any paperwork. We had no decent means to respond adequately to the extraordinary hospitality and attention of this governor and had to limit ourselves, like our predecessors, to solemnly declare our gratitude.

When the Governor departed, we gave him the appropriate gun salute, then we made ready for sea immediately. The next morning (19th), we crossed over to Umata Bay.

The old *alcalde administrador*, for whom we had an open order from the Governor to supply us with live animals and fruits, not only carried it out immediately but also made all kinds of things not belonging to the Governor available to us. He received and entertained in his home, as best he could, all those of us who went ashore, and he did it without any profit motive. We tried to respond in kind to the hospitality of this good old man with something we thought would be useful to him.

The small bay of Umata presents a scenery much more interesting than the Caldera of Apra. Overthere, sterility reigns supreme; on the south side, a mass of coral covered with wild plants and some dry rocks make up the Orote Peninsula; on the east side, a thick and green mangrove swamp skirts the shoreline which rises gradually to some unwooded crests burnt by the sun; in the north, the low coral island of Apapa can be confused with the sea, itself much more productive; not one single shack to liven up the scenery.¹ The deserted forts of Santiago and Santa Cruz, without a flag, add to the sadness. Here though, up from the sandy shore the houses of the rather large village of of Umata can be seen among the coconut and banana trees. The stone government house (also named "palacio", naturally), and also a stone church add variety. Upon the crest of an isolated rock, Fort Santo Angel at least gives the impression of order by having a flag waving above its walls. Two other forts upon hills complete the view to the north and south. A plentiful supply of the best of water flows through the village. After having filled all our barrels with it, we sailed away on the evening of March 20th.

1 The Sumay farm cannot be seen from the mouth of the Caldera.

Even if my occupations at the beginning of our stay here and the accident I suffered at the end had not removed the possibility of gathering information about the state of the Mariana Islands, I could not have added much to the detailed description made of them, only 10 years before our visit, by an observer as thorough as Captain Freycinet who spent two months in the house of the Governor himself.

Things have not changed much in the Mariana Islands since then. The appointment as governor, entirely dependent on the Captain-General of the Philippines, is as always a means of getting rich provided by the latter to an officer under his protection. This means consists of exercising a monopoly control over everything. The Governor is the sole trader in the islands. He owns a store in Agaña where all the European and Chinese goods are sold rather expensively. His only means of communications with the islands to the north is through the Carolinians (called here "Carolinas") and their canoes, a certain number of which always stay at the Marianas. The means to retain them here are not always honest; they are those used by capitalists everywhere to keep the workers as subjects. For example, Tamol Oralitau, from the Elato Group, wished to leave with me but could not because 20 of his men were at Saipan Island. They carry from Rota, Tinian and Saipan to Guahan the articles that the latter gets from there; the main ones are: live pigs, yams, *gagao* (arrow-root, *tacca pinatifida*). They also collect holothurians or *bêche-de-mer* [sea cucumbers] which are not the least important items of commerce for the Governor. He owns a sailing vessel for that purpose that goes to the Carolines to collect *bêche-de-mer*. The Carolinians are often made use of as divers. For instance, when a ship of the Philippine Company sank over a 15-fathom bank at the entrance of Port San Luis, out of the large sum of pesos that she carried, only 1,800 were not salvaged and because they were not in bags. After having known these good people in their native country, I could not but pity them here. They do not go naked, it is true; they wear red shirts and straw hats. They say "Adios!" and "Sí, Señor." They have learned to say hello but with all this "civilization," they are in comparison with their free brothers what a parrot in a cage is to those magnificent flocks that charm the traveller in the forests. They completely lose their national identity. There is no longer even the shadow of frank gaiety; it is replaced by a certain sadness in a forced smile, a look so unnatural that it is as frightening as the laugh of a fool or that of a crazy woman. "Capitan Luis" (Mr. Torres) is their constant and faithful protector. When they see him, their face brightens up. A certain special manner that he has with them and some knowledge of their language make them trust him and he has never betrayed this trust.

Since the whalers have begun to visit Guahan, the governor has more frequent means to communicate with the northern part of his government. They sometimes bring him what he needs, and take a share of it. So it is that while we were there, Captain Folger brought him 400 young pigs, and a rather large quantity of coconuts, root plants, etc. It is almost unbelievable that the governor of an isolated archipelago is reduced to the necessity of having to rely on such unreliable resources. It is even harder to believe that he is forced to do so when he has his own vessels in port. During our stay, he dispatched a schooner to the island of Saipan but she came back after a few days, unable

to tack all the way there! This is what has happened to those who used to be Magellan's fellow navigators.

The whaling ships have brought to the inhabitants of Guahan and those of many islands in the South Seas a new calamity which they did not know before: deserting European sailors. Aboard a regular ship, it is only through fatigue and hard work that a decent living can be made; aboard a whaler, a man has to be lucky as well. When it happens that whale hunting is unsuccessful, the suffering and work are of no use. That is why the men aboard whalers are much inclined to desert, above all at Guahan where the beauty of the climate, requiring little effort to provide for the necessities of man, gives them an opportunity to live in idleness and debauchery. The vagabonds, already in large numbers, mix in with families, and on account of their knowledge of European languages and customs have attracted most of the business into their own hands. They have become general traders, just like the Jews in our Lithuanian provinces. Such an incursion kills the industry of the poor, good and peaceful people of the Marianas.

When the corvette **Kamchatka** came here 10 years ago, under the same governor, there was a rather large quantity of cattle. There is very little left now. The decrease in wealth, in this respect and in others, was attributed by Don José to the bad actions taken by his successor and predecessor. In its present state, the Island of Guahan, except for irregular provisioning, cannot be of much help to navigators. Fresh meat is scarce and expensive. It is only through the Governor that live pigs can be obtained, and not all the time. The inhabitants have but few of them and give them up only for a high price. Before, there used to be many wild deer available, but so many have been killed these last few years that they have become scarce. Chicken can be had in sufficient quantities but they are not cheap. There was no beef available from butchers; the Governor, despite his hospitality, was able to send us some only once, and little of it. Fruits and vegetables are plentiful but they are also more expensive than before. Everything is very expensive when paid for with money, because money is almost valueless here. Powder is what they ask for most of the time, also clothing and cloth; all such things are sold here at a high price.

It was not yet time for us to go back north; that is why, when leaving the Island of Guahan, we went back to the Caroline Archipelago to continue our exploration. In order to do so, I headed toward the islands that Wilson called Swede's Islands,¹ because a sailor aboard his ship, born in Sweden, left the ship there. We sailed without noticing anything of value until the 25th, when we passed at a distance of about 7 miles from W. Fayo which we had surveyed before. On the evening of the same day, we saw Swede's Islands to the west.

We came close to them at daybreak on the 26th and a few islanders came to us in their canoes. They told us that the easternmost of the three separate groups that form these islands are called Namurrek (or Namutte); the westernmost group, Elato, and the southernmost one, Namoliaur.²

1 Ed. note: Lamaotrek and Elato.

2 Ed. note: Rather Lamolior.

These islanders appeared to us to be better built than their eastern neighbors. There are no differences in facial appearance. Their tattoos are more regular, more beautiful, and traced with much more symmetry. The canoes are built exactly the same way. Before everything and more than anything, they begged us for something to eat. They were all shouting "comi, comi" (the Spanish word "come") while pointing at their empty belly. They ate everything we gave them, not only with pleasure but almost with eagerness, even our biscuit that was full of worms. Everything pointed at the fact that a great famine was prevailing.

As soon as they learned that we were going to Elato, about a dozen of them volunteered to come with us. I did not object to this, although I had no intention to stop there, as I knew that we were bound to meet with canoes that would take them on board.

After having observed the latitude between the Elato and Namurrek Groups, situated almost on the same parallel, we went over to the west side of the former group. This side consists of a reef barrier, with a few islets, one of which is called Falipi. One can see on Cantova's map, at about this place, the Falipi Bank. Could it be that what was a bank 100 years ago has now become an island? There is a port in the Elato Group; the vessels sent from the Marianas to collect *bêche-de-mer* always stop here. However, we were unable to find out where the entrance into the lagoon was located but it is, according to what we were told, accessible on the eastern side, contrary to the general rule for coral atolls that normally have their openings through the reef on the lee side.

To our great surprise, no-one came to meet us here as at the other places. There was only one canoe at sea and it did not seem to be interested in us. When we hove to, it tacked leisurely around us at a fair distance, ignoring our invitations. As for our passengers, loaded as they were with gifts and biscuits, they were so happy with their lot that they paid little attention to the canoe. Fearing that they would cause me some delay, I decided to tell them about my problem, telling them that I was going right away to Uleai, and that they had to come with me there if the canoe did not take them. This announcement had its effect and their insistent solicitations had also an effect on the canoe which finally came alongside. There was the *tamol* of the group on board, a tall and fat man, knowing a few Spanish words. I hastened to give him some presents in an effort to get rid of him because I wanted to complete the survey of these groups before nightfall. At last, after many difficulties, he took the whole band with him; they had a hard time to find a place on board.

As our work was completed by nightfall, we headed north in search of the Farroilap (or Fattoilap) Group [Faraulep], seen previously by Mr. Torres. By following his indications and those of the Carolinians, we found this small group on the morning of March 28th. It is no more than 4 miles around and consists of 3 islets, with a lagoon in the center. After going around it, we hove to in the lee of it. The islanders lost no time in coming to us. One of them who did not look any different from the others in appearance surprised us by his European manners, even more so when he came aboard and he started to speak very good Spanish. He was Chief Alberto; this name does not sound at all like a Carolinian name and may have been given to him at Guahan. He had spent

two years in the Mariana Islands, where he had learned the Spanish language so well that whenever we could not communicate perfectly, it was our fault rather than his. His proper and polite manners made him extremely interesting. He told us that his native country was the most miserable place in the world, producing only fish and coconuts for food, and even for drink, when there was no rain. We already knew how to receive our visitors and, before giving them anything else, we offered them a lunch of biscuit and fruits from Guahan; such food gave them as much pleasure as the knives and chisels.

They stayed with us until the evening. Alberto dined with me in my cabin, and not only did he know how to eat in our manner but he surprisingly showed all the attentions that might be of assistance to me, unable as I was to use my arm, and he did so with great ease. I would have paid dearly to have had this man with me from the beginning of my exploration of the Caroline Islands. He could still be of much use to us, and I proposed to him that he should come with us to Uleai. He answered that his wife would miss him. When I offered to bring her along, he shrugged his shoulders and said that it was better to stay at Farroilap, even though life was hard there.

I gave him all that I judged would be useful to him; among other things, a barrel to preserve water, and a pocket compass whose purpose he understood instantly, and he kept it in his hands like a treasure.

According to the information that we had obtained from our previous visitors, I was supposing that we would find the small group of Olimarao near Farroilap but we learned that it was closer to Elato and therefore very far to windward of us by now. However unpleasant it was to tack back with our heavy vessel, we had better sacrifice a few days than leave an unexplored point in that direction. It was only on April 1st that we saw the group in question at about the place where Alberto said it was. It consists only of two small islets, and is not 4 miles in circumference. Even though the slack winds and a heavy sea did not allow us to get closer than 5 to 6 miles from it, a small canoe with three men came to us in the evening. One of them climbed aboard the corvette, asked to eat, but in spite of our welcome, kind as usual, and the gifts also, he could not conquer his fear and refused categorically to go down into the cabin; soon, he was gone.

We ran south to 7°20' of latitude, then we headed due west. It is on this parallel that Wilson's Two Islands were located, and we no longer doubted that we would identify them with the Ifaluk Group, and we were right in our conjecture. We surveyed it on April 3rd. It consists of not two but four islands, viz: Ifaluk, Moai, Ella and Fararik, situated as usual on a reef that encircles a lagoon with a circumference of about 5 miles.¹

¹ Ed. note: Lütke named the islets counterclockwise, and skipped Fallap; Fararik is the name of the village on Ifaluk Island. Also the typhoon of 1907 has now linked Moai with another tiny islet to form what is now called Elanelap. Wilson did see only two land masses from a distance: Ifaluk and Fallap are so close together that they appear as one island from afar, whereas the only other significant islet is Ella.

This group is, relatively speaking, heavily populated. While we were in the lee of it, waiting to make noon-time observations, we were surrounded by 25 canoes manned by at least 100 islanders who differed not at all from the other Carolinians whom we had met before, in their exterior, at least by their shouting mood. They all wanted to come aboard so that they had to be forcibly restrained. They all asked for something to eat. Everyone offered to sell some shells, pieces of cloth, and even canoes, and they knew very well how to act to their own advantage. Finally, they showed one equality that Wilson and a few shalers had warned us about, and for which we were already prepared. A bold one, grabbing an iron belaying pin, threw himself into the water and swam away with it. The main chief of the group was at that time on board; I declared to him that he would be kept prisoner on board if the stolen object was not returned. The old man was very frightened, but all the others stayed calm and assured us that the pin would soon be turned over. Indeed, one of the chiefs recovered it from one of the canoes, brought it back and, of course, asked for an axe in return for the service. While this was going on, and I was trying to reassure the old chief by gifts, another man repeated the same exploit and threw himself into the sea from the top of the poop; however, after a few moments, through the intervention of the same chiefs, he had to re-appear with his booty. I was tempted to make an example of him, by ordering a few blows from a cord whip. The poor devil, however, was in such a shock that I let him go, and he fled quickly in his canoe, fearing that I would change my mind about it.

[Stay at Woleai Atoll]

We had a hard time, as usual, to send back our visitors. After getting rid of them, we sailed westward towards the Ulea, or Uleai Group (Wilson's Thirteen Islands), that we sighted that evening. A few canoes already came to meet us; two or three came near us in the darkness while we were tacking under reduced canvas, shouted a little, but did not want to come alongside. During the night, we saw many fires indicating where the islanders were fishing.

I had decided to stop a few days at Uleai in order to carry out some astronomical and magnetic observations. So, the next morning, I headed for the SE corner of the group and sent Lieutenant Zavalishin to look for an anchorage among the islands.

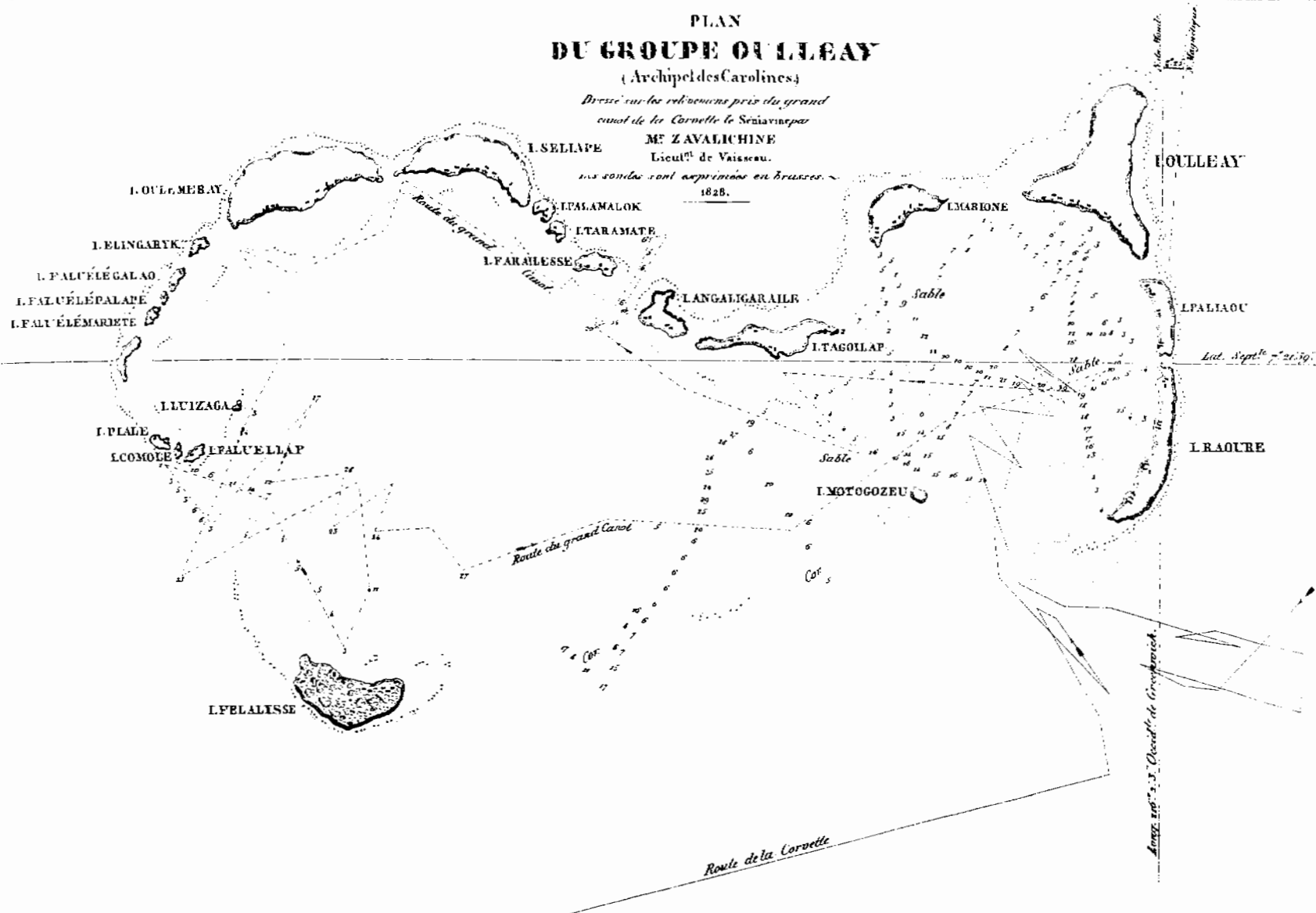
We had up to 70 canoes around us while we hove to. I gave the order not to let anyone aboard yet because these men were in the way of operations. Finally, one of them, pointing at himself, started shouting "piloto." I did not expect much from this man as a pilot but I thought that he might know a little Spanish and therefore could be of some use to us. I invited him to come aboard but it turned out that, apart from the word "piloto," he did not know any other word in Spanish. Soon he pointed out a man wearing a shirt with sleeves, holding a package in his hands, saying that he was also a pilot. I had him come up. He handed over two facetious letters carefully wrapped in an old English newspaper, one addressed to the previous Governor of the Marianas, the other to Mr. Torres, by whaling captains who had passed here the previous year. In one of these letters, the bearer, named Tapeligar, was entitled second governor. Tapeligar had

PLAN
DU GROUPE OULLEAY
(Archipel des Carolines)

Dressé sur les relevemens pris du grand
canot de la Corvette le Sévastre par

ME ZAVALICHINE
Lieut^{nt} de Vaisseau.

ses sondes sont exprimées en brasses.
1828.



Echelle de mille marine.

received these letters to forward them to Guahan by the first opportunity, but he kept them by way of letters of recommendation. We received an explanation for the use of the word "piloto" when we learned that here the words Pilot, Captain, and Tamol are synonymous, so that we found only chiefs among those whom we had supposed to be pilots.

When Mr. Zavalishin returned to say that he had found an appropriate anchorage, we entered into the lagoon, and after a few tacks anchored at about noon in front of the northern point of Raur Island.

I went ashore that very day to look for a convenient spot for our astronomical observations. Mr. Semenov [the chief pilot] was then completely in charge of this task. We crossed over to the eastern side of the island, and walked around its northern tip. We were accompanied by a very happy troop, but when we came near the places where the women were in hiding, the atrocious "*farak! farak!*" came to annoy us, just as at Lugunor. On the windward side, we had fun watching the dexterity and bravery with which the young people would run into the breakers themselves and come up with huge starfishes. Doctor Mertens received a large quantity of them here, whereas in Guahan the Governor had given him only a few needles from this animal as a curiosity.

We did not find here the same hospitality as at Lugunor: there, the owner of each household would invite us to sit down and enjoy some coconuts; here, we had to ask for them, and even many times. It appeared to us that they are not as abundant here as at Lugunor, although the wood was entirely bounded with coconut trees. The inhabitants of Uleai showed themselves as prone to begging as the Lugunor people, above all the young boys who, having noticed that Dr. Mertens collected shells, etc., were bringing him all kinds of bad ones that they refused to hand over for nothing, and that they threw down on the ground when they did not receive what they asked for.

There are 4 to 5 artificial ports on the western side of Raur Island; we had never seen this on any of the other Carolinian islands. A jetty made of large stones projects into the sea from the shore as far as about 20 meters, and from the tip of this, on both sides, there extends a line of stones forming a 60° angle, so that the whole construction is in the shape of an anchor. There is no construction of this type at the other islands of this group, the probable reason for this being that the waves blown by the westerlies hit mainly Raur Island.

The next day (5th), each of us carried on with our respective tasks. The inhabitants, far from hindering us in the least, helped us as much as they could. The only thing they disliked was the shooting of our hunters. At the beginning, they trembled and shouted at every shot, even when fired at a distance, and begged us to stop that noise; soon though, they got used to it and at the end they only shouted their usual *uai* at every shot.

On April 6th, it was Easter, and the whole crew was relieved from work. We were surrounded all day by a crowd of islanders in their canoes; they traded gaily and honestly, although very noisily, with us, some fish, shells, but few fruits, all of them coconuts. The chiefs would bring us some as presents, not by the canoeful as at Lugunor, but by small bunches of half a dozen nuts, and they did not fail to ask for knives and

axes in exchange. There were plenty of fish, of various species. They wanted to sell very dearly the cords that I wished to buy a good supply of, but strangely they were offering the canoes, the things that cost them the most labor and the basis of their wealth, for very little in comparison. I bought one small canoe for one axe, and one of the largest with all its accessories for three axes, two of which will certainly be worn out in the construction of a new canoe. It is perhaps because they have many that they are not worth much. We could see a few almost in front of every house, and a large number of them were being built. A large number of these are taken to Guahan and exchanged for iron.

I went to visit the main island, called Uleai Island, whose chief is Tapeligar, one of our frequent visitors. I found him sitting upon his canoe inside its shelter. It appears that, ashore as at sea, their canoes are used as their thrones. It was rare for us to see the chiefs other than sitting on their canoes. Tapeligar would, when aboard ship, behave as if he was at home, but he was not disposed to return the favor ashore. After having ordered a few coconuts to be brought, he lost no time in proposing that I return to my boat, and seemed vexed when I proposed instead that he should accompany me on a tour of his island.

On April 8th, we were hit by a heat wave. The tradewind stopped completely; a few puffs blew from time to time from the SE, sometimes accompanied with rain. WE were, as usual, surrounded by almost the whole male population of the group but at oast a few women made their appearanfce among them. A few canoes that were full of them sailed around the corvette, making more noise than all the others together. They did not ask to come aboard, awaiting maybe an invitation to do so, but no-one on board throught of doing so. I do not know if this was due to the fact that all of them, without any exception, were horribly ugly. It seems unlikely that all the local women were that way; perhaps jealousy prevented the good-looking ones from leaving their homes.

During the evening, we received the visit of the main chief of the whole group, Roua, made known to us by the REMarks of Dr. Chamisso. I had asked Lieutenant Zavalishin, when he would stop at his home island of Ulemarai [Otagal] while surveying the western part of the group, to make him presents and show him much attention. It had taken much effort to make him understand who was sending all such treasures, and why such luck suddenly had come to him, but when he understood, he insisted upon coming in person to see me, in spite of the paralysis that had made him unable to use his arms and legs. I would have liked to have received on board this very old man who could hardly breathe, but he almost fell into the water when he tried to get up, and took a long time to regain his composure. Our meeting therefore had to take place aboard his canoe. I gave him, as well as his wife, a little younger than he, all that I could imagine. The tamols who were aboard the corvette made me understand that he could be lifted on board with a chair but it appeared to me dangerous to expose him to such an ordeal, and we parted company after having paid him all due respects, on his territory.

Lieutenant Zavalishin came back that evening, after having completed the survey of the group. We took the boat in right away and made ready to weigh anchor at day-break.

The Uleai Group is 15 miles in circumference; it was shown on old charts as 20, even 30 times larger. It consists of 22 islands, whose names are given accurately by Mr. Chamisso and by Captain Freycinet's chart. According to our observations, the southern point of Raur Island, the easternmost of the group, is situated at $7^{\circ}20'7''$ lat. N. and $216^{\circ}3'$ long. W. [144° E].

The tiring uniformity of the coral islands has at least the advantage that it is unnecessary for the traveller to describe in detail the form of each group. After having seen one, one has seen them all. We have already mentioned how they appear from seaward. They all show, when seen from the lagoon side, a circular borderline of sand, covered by thick wood, and cut at intervals by breakers that nevertheless do not hide the view of the far horizon.

However, the Uleai Group differ from the others because its shape is very irregular: it presents two sharp angles on the north side with a bend between them. According to the theory about the formation of coral islands, one can explain this figure only by supposing that two independent groups arose at the same time in this place. The 12-meter channel between the islands of Angaligarail [Jalanagigereil] and Faraailes appears to mark their separation. The reef that goes from that point to the SE is linked, through Motogosu [Motegpsu] I., to the reef that leaves from Raur Island and thus completes the eastern group. On the other hand, a 5-fathom shoal and the reef that leaves Felalis [Falais] I. towards the E and NE indicates which way the future reef will develop and link up with Faraailes I. in due course, thus making a separate western group. Ed. note: Once there existed a sand islet south of Tagaulap, called Met; a new sand islet has reappeared in the same area during the typhoon of 1907. In due course, the western group might link up with Tagaulap instead of Faraailes.

The island properly-called Uleai is different from the others in this group and all the other groups we have seen so far. Its southern shore is not blocked by the usual shoals that make the others hard to approach; the water deepens rapidly to a flat, clean and sandy bottom, and through calm and clear water one can see every grain of sand to a depth of many fathoms. The interior of the island is pleasant; it is a grove cut in all directions by footpaths, with clearings here and there for isolated houses. Coral islands are generally in the shape of a horseshoe that the sea is always ready to invade; one needs only to walk a few steps away from one shore to arrive at the other. Uleai Island, to the contrary, occupies a rather large area inside which the beautiful breadfruit trees had enough space to form a kind of park.

The houses of the chiefs are better and cleaner here than at Lugunor. The walls are made of wide breadfruit-tree boards that take on a beautiful red stain when polished and make the houses appear neat; one would look in vain to find something like it in the Carolinian villages, even elsewhere in the whole South Sea. They are real jewels. It appears that they use only the boards that come from the trunk near the roots for this

purpose, because they are worthless for building canoes; that is why the boards used in the walls have the shape of wide rectangles. All the pieces are fastened together with cords. We found no differences in their furnishings with the houses of Lugunor.

The graves of the chiefs here are exactly like those of Lugunor, but some are much bigger. I saw upon one of them a canoe that had been laid diagonally with its keel up.

The inhabitants of this group, in their exterior and their character, differ little from the Lugunor people, even though their frequent contacts with Guahan should have had some influence upon them. There are some differences in customs; for instance, Chief Aman, by choosing Mr. Mertens as his friend, showed the truth of what Mr. Chamisso said about the reciprocal obligation between friends in this group. The men make little use of the yellow powder, but women, on the other hand, use it more.

The language is not exactly the same as at Lugunor, either on account of the real difference in speech and pronunciation or maybe because they mix in Chamorro and Spanish words and use them instead of their own, for instance, *maulik* (good), *piguilili* (children) from the Spanish "pequenini" [sic]. *Lios* (Dios) is, it appears, in use among them to designate divinity, or heaven in the religious sense. It appears that they do not all understand that there is a difference in substance between the Chamorro and the Spanish languages, because the former is the language of the people at Guahan, but it is spoken by all Spaniards, even those of the higher class.

The Uleai Group, about which we already had some previous information has now been made better known thanks to the chance meeting of Captain Kotzebue with Kadu, who was born here. I tried by every means to learn if the Uleai people remembered this countryman of theirs. I showed his portrait from the Voyage of the Rurik to all. I even succeeded in telling some of them everything that I knew about him. Mr. Zavalishin asked about him at Ulemarai [Otatal], the island where he was born, but all was in vain; nobody had ever heard of Kadu. Therefore, I am inclined to think that he was known here by another name and he would have received a new name at Radak; he would then have forgotten to tell Mr. Chamisso about it. I cannot explain another way how the memory of a man, whom many here must have known, could have been erased so completely in a period of less than 15 years. By the way, we have previously seen examples of the proverb: "Those who are absent are always wrong" in effect, much more meaningful among the people of the South Sea with their frivolous minds than with us. When Cook came back to Tahiti, no-one asked him for news of Tupaia, whereas he was asked about him even in New Zealand. It often happens that a man who goes out fishing or travels to another island disappears without a trace. Kadu was one of those; they waited for him in vain, he was believed lost, and he was forgotten, as usual, like the others. No-one could possibly imagine that a strange coincidence would bring him into contact with some white men. If one day Kadu came back to his native land, this new Ulysses would not resemble Homer's hero for having wandered the high seas but rather because he would not recognize his country and his country would no longer recognize him.

We sailed off in the morning of April 9th. After having surveyed the southern side of the Uleai "Group with the corvette, we turned south in search of the Euripig [Eauripik] Group about which I had collected information at Uleai. Following these indications, we found this small group on the 12th. It consists of two islands. When we passed along its northern side, we saw men ashore who, regretfully, did not think about putting out to see in their canoes that we could see sitting high on the beach. We could not see any canoes on the lagoon either. We were thus left ignorant of the names of the individual islands of this group.

The time had now come for us to bid adieu to the Caroline Islands and hasten north. I had intended to spend two or three days to search for Feis [Fais] Island along the way, and I had presumed that, in accordance with the information gathered at many places, it was located near 9°10' lat. and 177°30' long., and therefore along our route itself. However, some strong currents from the south pushed us half a degree too far north and, on April 15th, without having seen Feis Island, we finally pursued our voyage northward.¹

1 Ed. note: If Lütke had been but 2 degrees further west, he would have been on top of Fais at the time that he abandoned the search. The corvette went to the Bonin Islands from here, then to Kamchatka. During the summer of 1828, the expedition visited various places in the Behring Sea, and was back in the Carolines the following November (see part 2 of the Lütke expedition in Doc. 1828N).

Document 1827E

**The Lütke Expedition—The historical atlas,
with sketches by Postels and Kittlitz**

Source: Voyage autour du Monde fait par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur Nicolas Ier. sur la Corvette Le Séniavine, pendant les années 1826, 1827, 1828 & 1829, Sous le Commandement de Frédéric Lütke, Capitaine de la Marine Impériale de Russie, Aide de Camp de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, Commandant de l'Expédition.—Partie Historique: Atlas. Lithographié d'après les dessins originaux d'Alexandre Postels, Professeur Adjoint de l'Université Impériale de St. Petersbourg, et du Baron Kittlitz. Paris. Lithographie de Engelmann et Compagnie, Cité Bergère, N° 1, [Paris]. Reprinted by Nico Israel, Amsterdam, 1971.

Explanations of the sketches contained in the atlas.

Editor's notes: This atlas was engraved and produced in France by the Thierry Brothers, successors of Engelmann & Co. The two authors of the original sketches were not too happy with the quality of the engravings and resulting plates: Professor Alexander Postels came from the University of St-Petersburg; Baron Kittlitz was a retired Captain of the Prussian Navy. Consequently, Kittlitz went on to produce his own narrative and revised plates (see next document).

...

Plate 17.
Inhabitants of Ualan [Kosrae] Island.
(Caroline Islands)

We subscribe to the opinion of Messieurs Blumenbach and Desmoulins, who place the Ualan people, as well as all the inhabitants of the Caroline Archipelago, among the Malay race that inhabits Oceania. Their bodies are well built, but not athletic, and most of the inhabitants of Ualan Island have frail bodies. The men are of average size, rarely more than 5 feet; however, the strength of their muscles is extraordinary. Although their features and their eyes are devoid of expression, they nevertheless show a certain calm which is perfectly in tune with their peaceful customs. The women are generally not pretty; their features stay regular and pleasing, their eyes are bright and full of a simple gaiety only until they reach a marriageable age. The men are usually completely naked and wear only a narrow belt with a small bag that satisfy the minimum requirement for decency. The women, instead of this belt, wear a strip of the same cloth, but one that is from 8 to 12 inches in width. The men gather their hair behind their neck, where they tie it by making a knot. Their beard is short and sparse; that is why a few pull it off, whereas others leave it in its natural state. The women let their hair fall freely upon their shoulders, or else they tie it into a bundle behind their left ear. The Ualan people made use of few ornaments; the most common among both sexes is one flower, or one small leaf, planted in their hair bun or in a hole pierced in one ear. When they wear no ornament in their ear, they place the end of the ear through a hole that has been pierced in the ear lobe itself. The cartilage of the nose is also pierced, but it is a rare occasion when they place any ornament there. The most important luxury of this country is a big necklace made up of a large number of coconut cordlets; it is never removed. The islanders have the habit of rubbing their body with coconut oil. Some individuals of both sexes are tattooed with quaint designs. Most such tattoos consist of lines that follow the arms and the legs and are united by short horizontal lines.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: The names of the natives of Kosrae portrayed in this plate are: Kat (woman, top left); Nāna (man, top right); Aur (man, center); Delbok (woman, bottom left); and [Chief] Kake (bottom, right). Engraved by Pannelier.

Plate 18.
Houses seen at Ualan Island.
(Caroline Islands).

This plate shows houses belonging to Chief Sipe and also the type of houses in this country. The space in front of the houses is covered with mats made of pandanus leaves, and one can see two groups of islanders there, one of which, the right-hand one, is a group of women. The posture of these women is truly remarkable: from their childhood they are used to fold their legs, upon sitting down, in such a way that the calf of the leg touches the thigh; their limbs remain supple until they reach a very old age. Thus, the posture adopted by Sipe's daughter, on the right-hand side of this group, is not exaggerated in the sketch, as some people might think. (However, the heads of some figures are shown a little too big).

There are two small boys dancing in front of one of the houses. On the left can be seen a wall of basalt, behind which there is a group of children of both sexes, hands extended to receive the gifts distributed to them by the leader of the expedition. Behind the houses can be seen some banana trees and in the background some coconut palms and other trees.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Villeneuve, except for the figures which were engraved by Wattier.

Plate 19b.

View of the Lual River in Ualan Island.

The scenery shown is that of the river near the village of Lual. The houses of this village are hidden by thick bushes that occupy, though very near the foreground, the background of this scenery; however, the vicinity of the houses is shown by the garden walls that are seen here. The approach is through this part of the sea that advances into the forest of Rhizophores; it remains fordable, except at high tide. The real edge of the island begins only in the background of the scenery and becomes rather steep almost right away. Everywhere the eye can reach, one sees cultivated land planted with numerous banaba trees, many species of *Arum*, sugarcane and breadfruit trees. However, this type of culture does not change in the least the wooded aspect of this country, because all of these useful plants, thanks to the climate and a fertile soil, can easily reach the height and thickness that give the countryside its primeval look.

KITTLITZ.¹

¹ Ed. note: Engraved by Bichebo.

Plate 19b.

View of the Lual River in Ualan Island.

The scenery shown is that of the river near the village of Lual. The houses of this village are hidden by thick bushes that occupy, though very near the foreground, the background of this scenery; however, the vicinity of the houses is shown by the garden walls that are seen here. The approach is through this part of the sea that advances into the forest of Rhizophores; it remains fordable, except at high tide. The real edge of the island begins only in the background of the scenery and becomes rather steep almost right away. Everywhere the eye can reach, one sees cultivated land planted with numerous banaba trees, many species of *Arum*, sugarcane and breadfruit trees. However, this type of culture does not change in the least the wooded aspect of this country, because all of these useful plants, thanks to the climate and a fertile soil, can easily reach the height and thickness that give the countryside its primeval look.

KITTLITZ.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Bichebo.

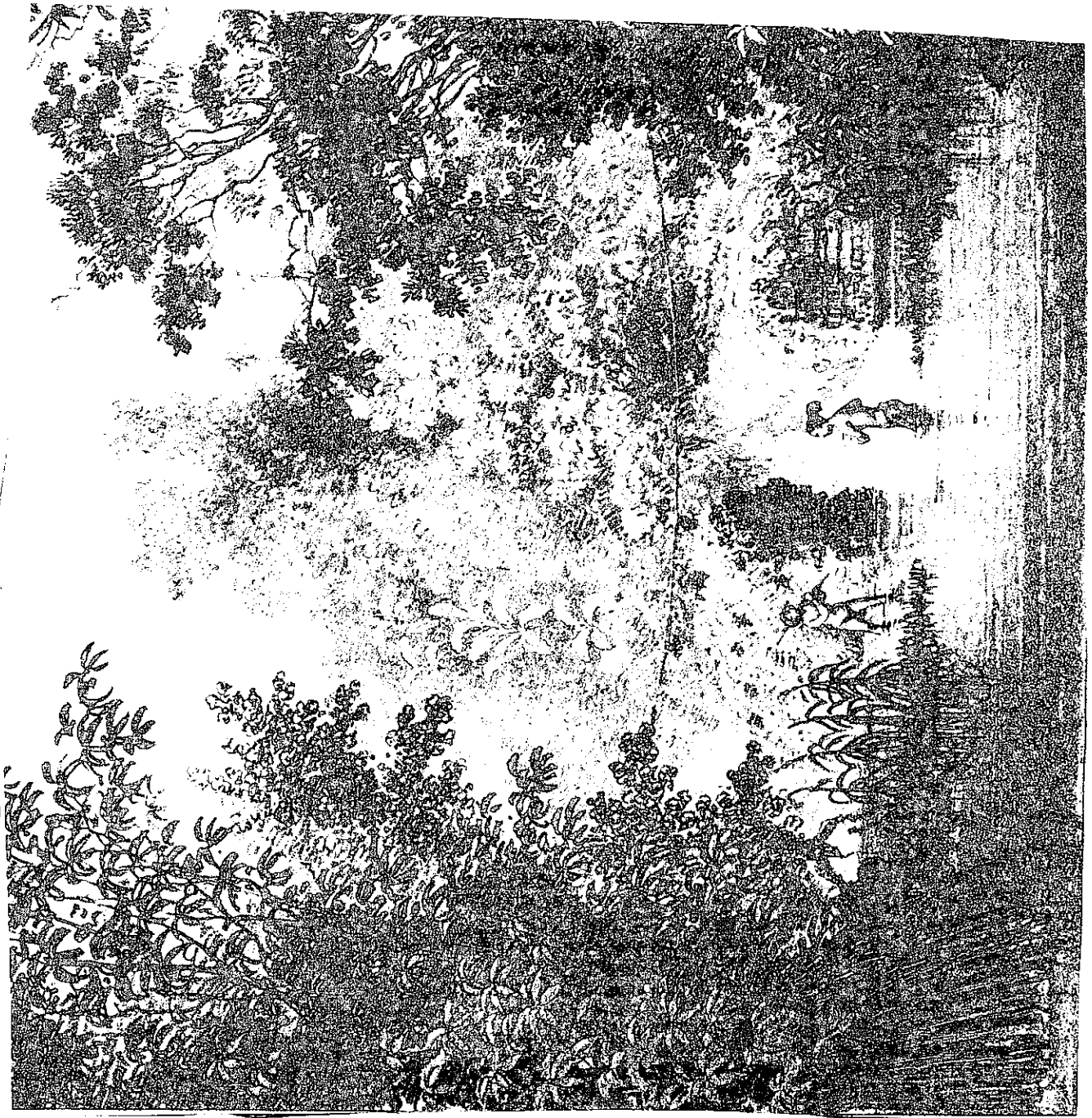


Plate 20. View in Ualan Island. (Caroline Islands).

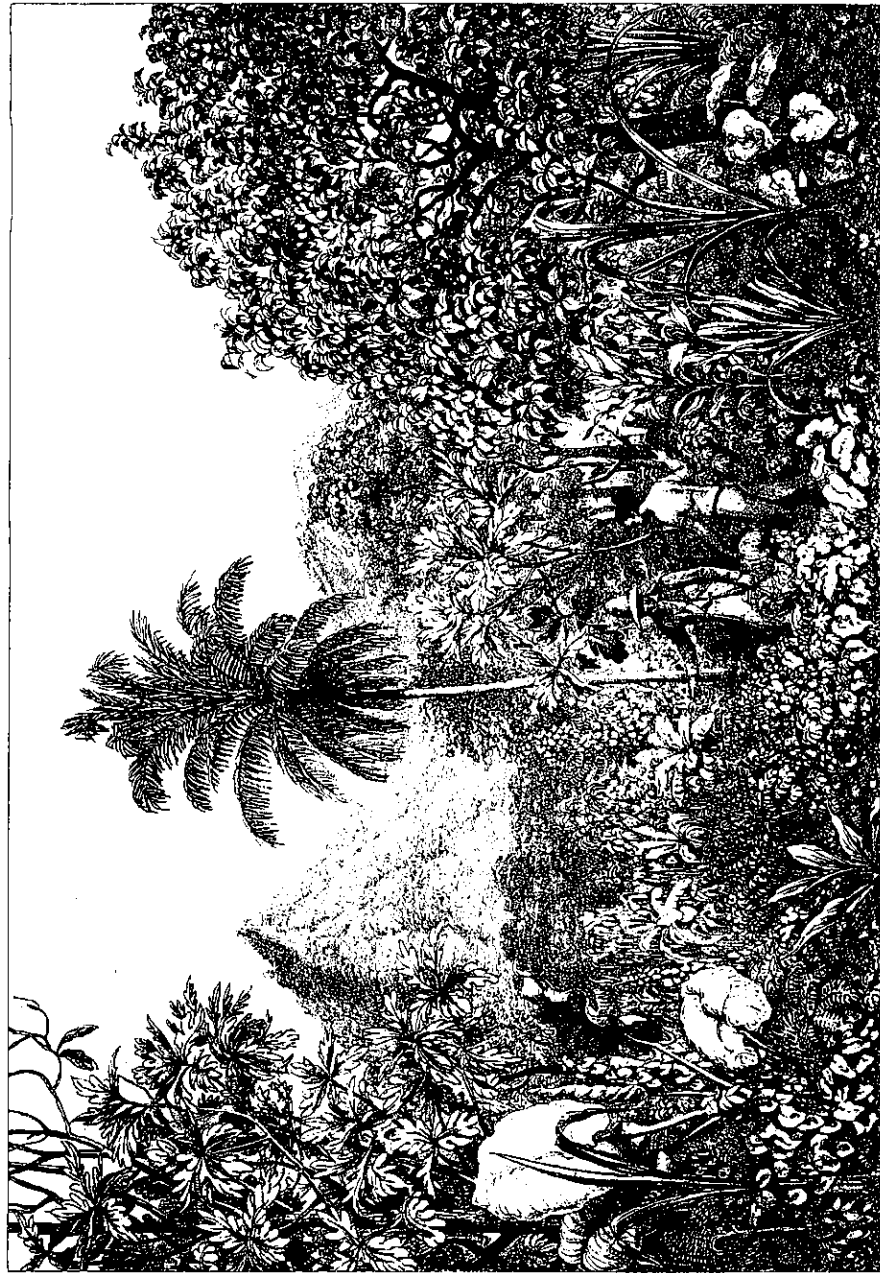
The scenery in this plate has been taken from a hillock that is located in the background of the previous plate, 19b. Here the view expands to reveal a large vale that is crossed by the Wegat [Okat] River that cannot be seen on account of the high trees. Firstly, one meets with a field planted with banana trees, sugarcane, breadfruit trees, and the giant *Arum*, such a useful plant for man. This field, cultivated in the local style, belongs to the village of Lual. The hut, that remains hidden amid this variegated vegetation, is one of those that they usually build in sugarcane fields; they mostly serve to provide a shelter to the workers against the heavy rains that are quite common year round in this country.

The view is stopped by the mountains whose sides are steep, covered all the way to the top by a beautiful stand of tall trees and clumps made up of areca palm trees. One of those mountains is the peak, made noteworthy by the hardness of its stone, which Captain Lütke has named Mertens Monument on his special map of Ualan Island. Among the plants in foreground, one can easily recognize the breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus incisa*) by its big leaves with deep cuts; on the right, one can see the *Morinda citrifolia* and among the shorter plants are the *Dracænea terminalis*, the *Arum esculentum* and another taller type that is related to the *Arum macrorhizon*, although one recognizes essential differences upon closer inspection. The coconut palm that stands alone in the center of the plate belongs to the small number of those that have been planted here and that is cultivated with much care. As far as the human figures are concerned, they were originally meant to represent Doctor Mertens, as he was normally seen collecting plants, and Chief Kake whose name has been frequently mentioned in the narrative of our stay at Ualan.

KITTLITZ.¹

¹ Ed. note: Engraved by Villeneuve, except for the figures which were engraved by J. David.

Pl. 20.



Pl. 20. Pays des Philippines, Province de Mindanao, 1827. D'Urville, Voyage, Pl. 20.

1^{re} Edition
VUE DANS LE JOURNAL
DES EXPÉDITIONS

Plate 21.
View of the Lual River in Ualan Island.
(Caroline Islands)

This plate belongs to the category of those about which we have said earlier that the original sketch were to have been revised before being engraved. The very peculiar vegetation that distinguishes similar spots in the island, where fresh water meets the salt water of the lagoons, is hardly made obvious. However, the manner with which this sketch has been engraved deserves praise; there is no mistakes made in the representation of the typical look of the country, except one detail, an unimportant one, with respect to the water in foreground; it appears that the current is rapid, but this does not match the fact that the vegetation is that of a low and swampy area.

The shoots growing from the Nipa palms, in the foreground, represent the beginning of the bushes that often cover a large area of ground, and that usually are formed by this plant which grows in family groups here. Next to it can be seen the strange formation of the roots of a very beautiful tree; it is a sort of *Balenopteris* which the natives call *Luni*. Some parasitic plants belonging to the fern family cover and beautify almost all of the old tree trunks. The background is filled with some *Sonneratia*, *Rhizophora* and *Bruguiera* that grow in groups; they are prominent in the swampy fringe that surrounds the island.

KITTLITZ.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Villeneuve.



Plate 22.

Departure for an outing in Ualan Island. (Caroline Islands).

Although certain descriptions by modern travellers are full of useless details, one must not forget that a journal, in order to fulfill its purpose, must, so to speak, force the reader to participate in the adventure in question; certain details and certain descriptions cannot be avoided, and sometimes they must be mentioned, though they are apparently futile in nature. It is for this reason that we have included this plate among our collection, although it represents just one aspect of our stay at Ualan Island. The scene represented here is that when Captain Lütke, accompanied by Messieurs Ratnanov, Krusenstern, Mertens, Postels and others, is about to leave for an outing to Lela Island, an outing which has been described in his narrative of the voyage.

At the same time, Lieutenant Zavalishin and the author of this sketch are about to leave for the southern part of Ualan. The zealous islanders readily offer their canoes and lend a hand whenever the need arises.

The arrival of the Captain, aboard a three-man *baidara* crewed by two Aleuts, marks the signal of departure for everyone. All those who have not been able to find a place aboard the canoes have to ford the lagoons whose waters are not deep.

On the islet, behind which the **Seniavin** is anchored and whose masts are visible, one can see the small encampment that the Captain had established there for scientific observations. One of the tents making up this camp had already been taken back to the vessel, including the pendulum apparatus that it had sheltered; the remaining tents are constantly kept under guard; they have been fortified by a stone wall, a boarding net, and a small swiveling stone; the area has also been cleared of the bushes that blocked the view of the neighborhood from the camp.

KITTLITZ.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Bichebois, except for the figures which were engraved by Wattier.



Plate 23.
View of Coquille Harbor at Ualan Island.
(Caroline Islands).

Coquille Harbor, situated on the western side of the island, is formed by a reef against which the sea breaks violently. Nevertheless, the water inside the bay is generally calm, and the peaceful islanders who live on that coast rarely leave this basin, never use sails, a unique circumstance in the whole of Oceania. The design of their canoes reflects the extent of their navigation. They are made out of a single dugout, and wood from the breadfruit tree is preferred for that purpose; a thin beam is tied at the end of two light cross-beams, and parallel to the canoe, to maintain the latter afloat. Such boats are always crafted very carefully and painted with red clay. Rowing is done with oars but, in swampy areas, some poles are used to push. Generally, these boats are very light; that is why they can easily be carried by hand, wherever the water is not deep enough. They are usually built in two sizes: those that belong to the chiefs are from 25 to 50 feet in length; the ordinary ones are but 6 feet or more.

Within the confines of the bay are to be found two islets: Matanial and Sahuenziak; the **Seniavin** has set up its observatory on the former, during our stay in that neighborhood.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Sabatier, except for the figures which were engraved by Wattier.



Small Boat, with crew, at Pagan, 1829
1st Edition
Small Boat, with crew, at Pagan, 1829

Plate 24.

Inhabitants of Puinipet Island with their canoes. (Caroline Islands).

Puinipet Island, which is the main island in the Seniavin Islands, is about 50 miles in circumference. Its greatest elevation is Monte Santo which is 458 *toises* (2,550 English feet) in height. The view has been taken on the south side of the island where there is a basalt rock in the shape of a sentry box.

The inhabitants of Puinipet have very different features from the inhabitants of Ualan and other Caroline Islands (see Plate 31). They look much more like the natives of Papua. Like them, they have round faces, big and flat noses, very thick lips, and some of them have frizzy hair; their eyes express roughness and mistrust; they have well-built and strong bodies, and are above average in size; the color of their skin is olive-brown; their legs and arms are tattooed with long lines and strange figures. The ornaments that they wear around their neck and in their ears are the same as those found among the other peoples of Oceania; they are flowers, sea shells, wooden objects (see Plate 31-3), turtle shells, and threads from coconut fibers wrapped in a cloth made from the *Aleurites triloba* tree (see Plate 31-2). All such ornaments are worn in the ear whose lobe has been cut for that purpose. As far as the hair is concerned, it is worn either loose or tied with their long sling, about 4 feet in length, leaving the loose ends float freely. Their clothing consists of an apron hanging down to about the middle of the thighs, and made either with the bark of the banana tree split into thin strips or with grasses. Above that they wear a *tol*, a cloth made of woven banana fibers (see Plate 32-1). On their shoulders they wear a square piece of cloth, cut in the middle, or else a mat made with the bark of the *Morus papyrifera*, cut in strips and dyed either yellow or red. The weapons of the inhabitants of this island are: a spear armed with a fish bone at the tip (see Plate 31-5). [Ed. comment: The sling is missing here]. Their canoes are made with a single dugout, with an outrigger and built in such a way that it can be sailed in either direction. A circumstance worthy of special mention, one that is rare in this archipelago, is that their canoes have sails but no masts. These canoes are made in various sizes; some can carry as many as 14 men. The natives are very skilled at maneuvering these boats. Upon coming close to our corvette, they began to shout, sing with discordant voices, dance by shaking their hands around their heads and moving their arms which produce a noise that came from the coconut leaflets that they had tied to their fingers, which acted like an extension of their fingernails. The dance of these islanders express a continuous interior turmoil; while it is going on, a few member of the troupe grab an oar (see Plate 31-4) and twirl it around with a surprising skill. All of this takes place aboard a canoe that is sailing rapidly, pushed by a brisk wind.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Sabatier, except for the figures which were engraved by V. Adam.

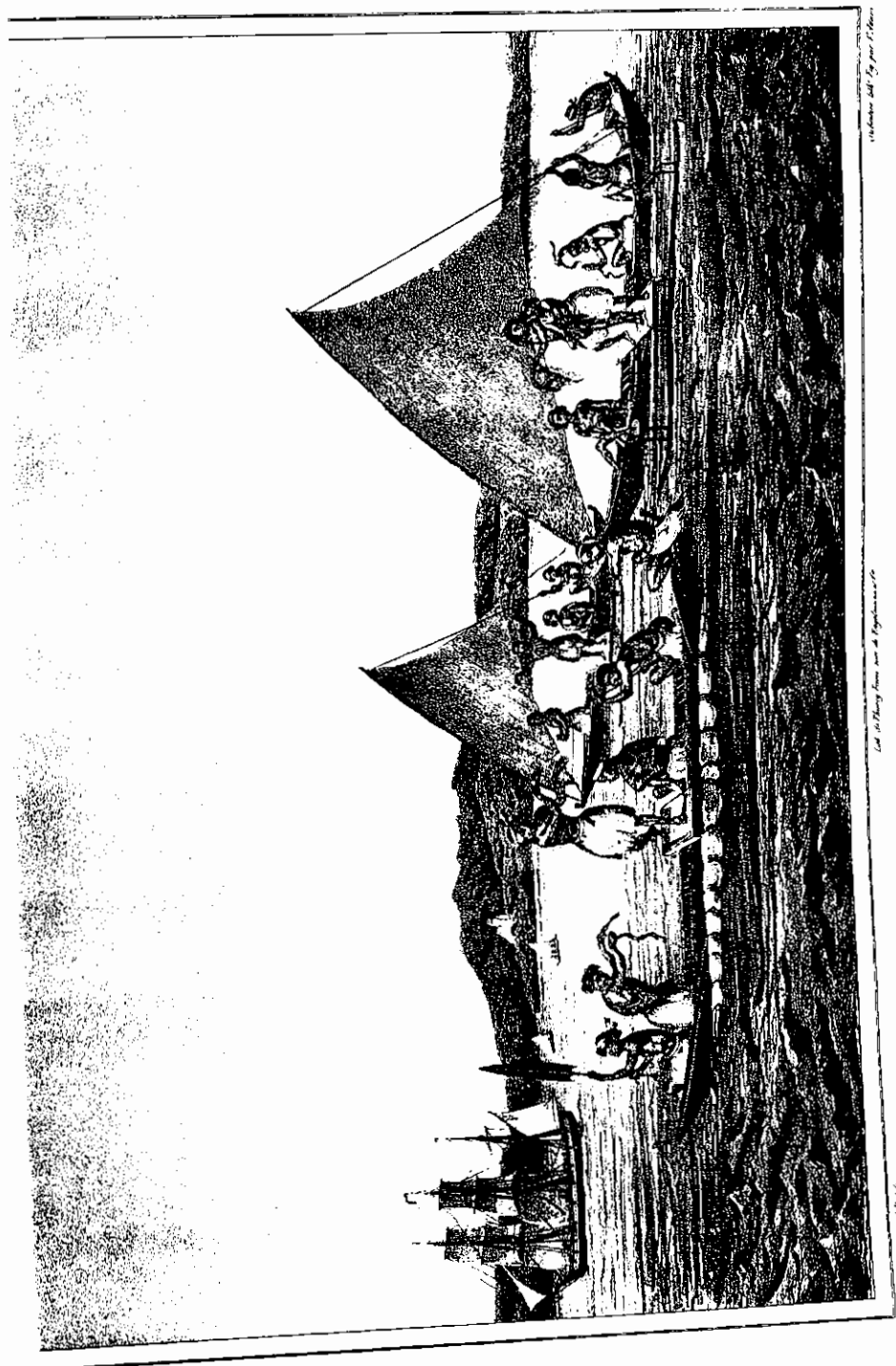


Illustration after the original drawing

See the History of the Pacific Ocean, page 100

THE SHIP OF THE LÜTKE EXPEDITION AT SEA
1819

Plates 25, 26, 27 and 28. Inhabitants of the low Caroline Islands.

In accordance with the reasons that have been mentioned in Chapter XIII, we have classified all the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands in one and the same race, that is, the Malay race. The individuals appearing in these four plates have been taken in many islands of the low Caroline islands, but mostly in the Lukunor Group where we have stopped for a longer time and where we were able to carry out this art work without interference. The inhabitants of this group may be used to represent all the other islanders, because the exceptions that we have seen are few in number and must be considered anomalies that are met with among all races.

The Carolinians are above average in height, robust and well-built; their skin is brown, their face flat, the forehead sometimes receding but usually straight, the nose a little upturned and flattened, the mouth big, the lips big and strongly accentuated, the teeth healthy and regular, the eyes big, black and almost protruding, but devoid of expression, the beard rarely long and thick, the hair black, long, always thick, sometimes frizzy; the hair is sometimes worn knotted on the head or falling loosely on the shoulders, or even tied up in a tuft with a sling. The women are small and the lack of expression in their features made them look supremely ugly to us. As they were always trying to hide from us, we were unable to draw a single sketch of one of them. The Carolinians have the habit of tattooing their bodies with various designs, all more or less complicated and strange, and with figures, some of which mean something. For instance, they may represent on their arms and legs various fishes, each bearing the name of an island; others draw on their feet, hands and chest long strips loaded with drawings; the strips that cover the chest are made wider and their ends diverge like forks towards the shoulder bones; the shoulder area is covered with horizontal curves that diverge to form right angles. From the armpits emerge other figures, narrow at first, then widening as they snake down on their way to the middle of the thigh where they end up in the shape of an axe. These islanders wear wooden combs in their hair that are 5 inches in length, and have from three to sixteen very long teeth (see Plate 30-9 and 30-10). A belt made with a strong and beautiful cloth surrounds the body, and they cover their shoulders with a cloth of the same stuff that is about 8-foot long by 4-foot wide. This mantle is made up of two pieces of cloth partly sewn together, in such a way that there remains a hole to pass the head; it is usually dyed orange. The head is covered with a big hat made with pandanus leaves, pointed at the top (Plate 35). In their ears, usually pierced, the Carolinians place flowers, shells or wooden ornaments (Plate 30-11). The neck is often ornamented with necklaces loaded with shells. The women also wear flowers in their ears, but their necklaces are made of shells or wooden rings threaded on a cordlet (Plate 30-1 to -5); as bracelets the women wear pieces of turtle shell, or mother-of-pearl (Plate 30-6 to -8).

POSTELS.



Plate 25: The Carolinians portrayed here are: Rolun (Lukunor man, top left), Taliaur (Lukunor man, top right); Tymai (Fais man, bottom left), and Picène [i.e. Pisen] (Namonuito man, bottom right). Engraved by Vigneron.

PL. 26.



SAMUL.



ROMOLUL.

(GROUPE SUD-OCCIDENTAL.)



ROCUS.



ALEUN.

(GROUPE OULUTHY.)

From the Journal of Cook.

Vol. 2, Thirty-Six days of Voyages, p. 177.

Engr. Am.

1^{re} Edition.

HABITANTS DES ÎLES CAROLINIENNES BASSIN.

Plate 26: The Carolinians portrayed here are: Samul (Lukunor man, top left); Romolul (Lukunor man, top right); Rocus (Ulithi man, bottom left); and Aleun (Ulithi man, bottom right). Engraved by Roedler.

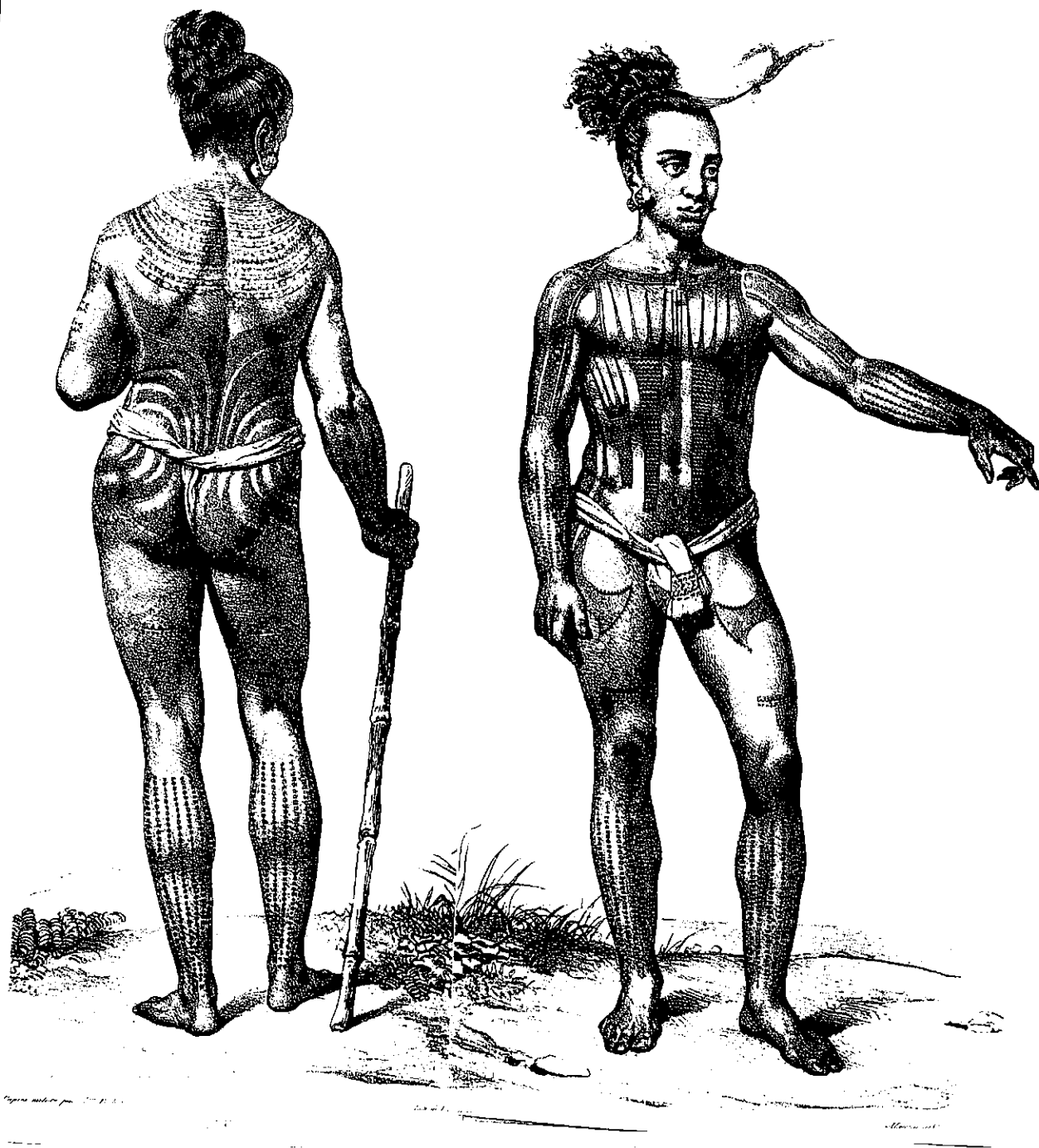


Plate 28: Carolinian native named Abien, shown here in front view and rear view.
Engraved by Maurin.

Plate 29.

Tools employed by the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands.

N° 1, 2 & 3. **Adzes** made of shells, with wooden handles; the cutting part is fixed to the handle with cords made of coconut fiber.

N° 4 & 5. **Tools to kill the fish:** both are made of wood, but the former has points made of fish bones, whereas the latter has a row of shark teeth placed in holes made into the handle and fastened tightly to it with cords of coconut fiber.

N° 6. **Fishing line.** It is made with coral or mother-of-pearl with a hook made with a shell or of iron. The line itself is of coconut fiber.

N° 7. **Fishing basket** made of thin branches of the *Volkameria* woven together.¹

N° 8. **Fishing net** made of coconut fiber.

N° 9. **Fish trap**, made with branches of the *Volkameria*.

N° 10. **Pestle** to prepare *seka*, an intoxicating beverage made with the *Piper methysticum*. A simple stone can also be used, for the same purpose.

N° 11. **Wooden bailer** to get water out of the canoes.

N° 12 to 15. **Various vessels** to prepare and serve food.

N° 16. **Wooden box**, about 2-1/2 feet in length and 1-foot wide, to contain various small objects. The bottom part has a dowel at each end that serves as a lock. After a cover has been fitted to its respective box, the two parts are tied with cordlets. This box is usually painted orange.

N° 17. **Tool to recover a fish trap.** It is a net of coconut fibers, oval in shape, filled with coral stones and transpierced longitudinally with a wooden stick with a fork at each end. This tool is lowered in the water with a line, the hooks get entangled in the fish trap and the trap is lifted out, without the fish being able to get out.

N° 18. **Coconut vessel** to carry and preserve drinking water. After a coconut has been hollowed out, it is wrapped with a net of coconut fibers, the better to hang it or carry it more easily. It is used to preserve drinking water, specially for long trips.

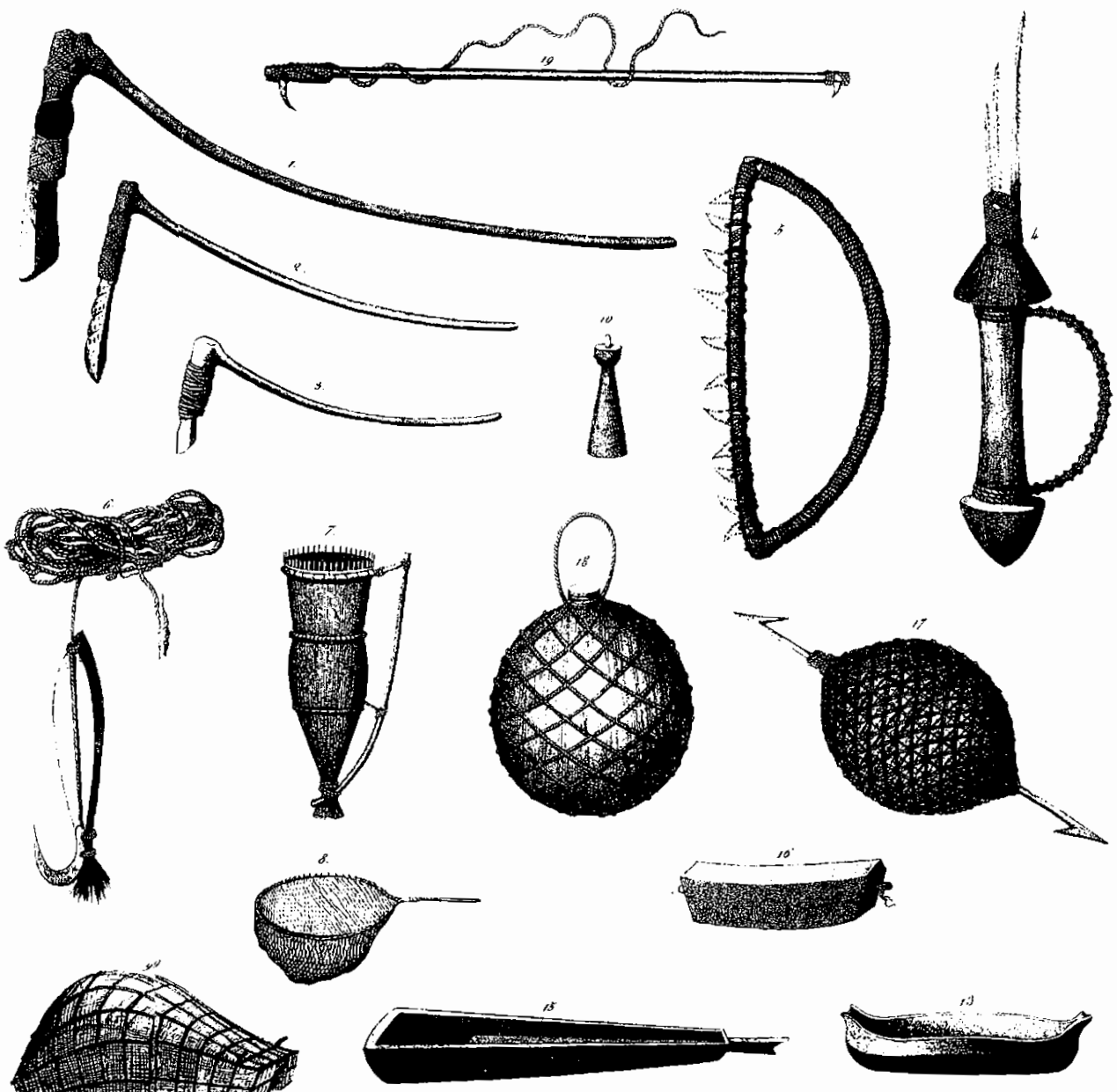
N° 19. **Bleeding tool.** Two thorns to be found in the tail of the *Aspisurus* fish are tied securely at the ends of a stick from 4 to 5 inches in length. The Carolinians use this tool to bleed, as well as for acupuncture, against tumors in the joints, an illness they call *Mak*.² The point is applied to the sick part of the body and the stick is tapped lightly to make the point pierce the skin.

POSTELS.³

1 Ed. note: See Dr. Mertens' Paper, HM18:662.

2 Ed. note: Gout, as described by Floyd in Dr. Mertens' Paper, see HM18:676.

3 Ed. note: Engraved by Lehnert.



- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Hachis | 11. Arme de main pour vider le poisson |
| 2. Instrument à piquer | 12. Arme de main |
| 3. Instrument pour étrangler le poisson | 13. Arme de main |
| 4. Arme à piquer | 14. Arme de main |
| 5. Arme à piquer | 15. Arme de main |
| 6. Arme à piquer | 16. Arme de main |
| 7. Arme à piquer | 17. Arme de main |
| 8. Arme à piquer | 18. Arme de main |
| 9. Arme de main | 19. Instrument à piquer |
| 10. Arme pour presser la tête (Améric.) | 20. Arme de main |
| | 21. Arme de main |

Plate 30.

Ornaments and tools of the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands.

N° 1 to 5. **Necklaces.** The first two are made of wooden beads, and all the others are of coral or shell beads.

N° 6 to 8. **Bracelets.** N° 7 is made of turtle shell, and the other two are of mother-of-pearl.

N° 9 & 10. **Combs** made of wood painted orange. One is decorated with the feathers from a rooster, and the other has a ball made with banana fibers, decorated with various shells and pieces of coral.

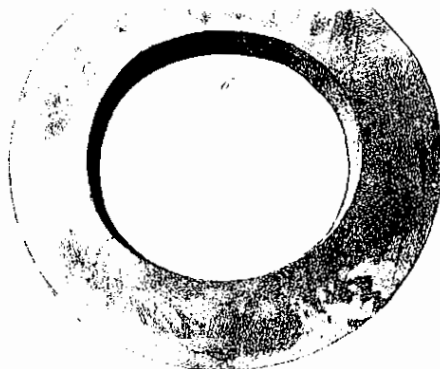
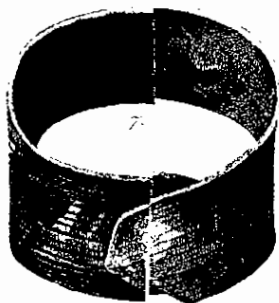
N° 11. **Ornament for the ears.** It is made of wood, painted orange, with various figures and lines painted black.

N° 12 (a & b). **Tattooing tool.** (a) Sort of small axe, about 3 inches in length, whose cutting edge is made of a piece of broken shell, and a wooden handle. (b) Wooden rod, from 6 to 8 inches in length. It is used in the following manner: (a) is applied to the skin and hit lightly with the big end of (b), until it has pierced the skin; then the spot is rubbed with the sap of the *Cerbera* or *Calophyllum* plant, or else with the charcoal of the *Hibiscus* mixed with coconut oil.

N° 13. **Conch shell used as a horn, a type of Triton shell.** After a hole has been made in the upper part, it is used as a trumpet.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Lehnert.



offens.



bracelets



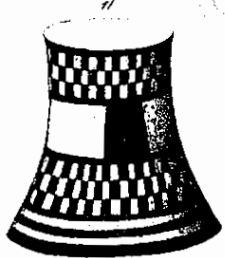
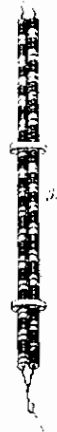
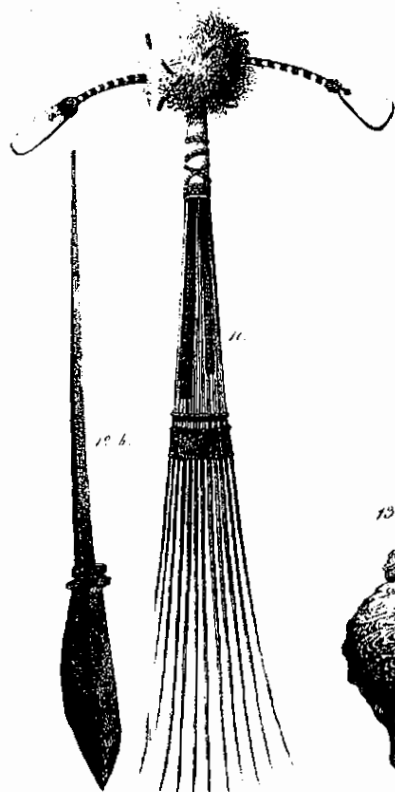
lignes

servent pour la voile.

4. Instruments pour l'usage

usage de la voile.

5. grand bracelet.



Lutke & Thury fecerunt
1^{re} Edition.

APPAREILS ET INSTRUMENTS

Plate 31.
Inhabitants of the Seniavin Islands,¹
discovered by Captain Lütke, in the Caroline archipelago.

Given that the inhospitable reception by the inhabitants of the Seniavin Islands did not permit us to go ashore, we have not been able to take advantage of what we saw during their short visits aboard the corvette. Every object that attracts attention and the mind for the first time must necessarily require some time before it can be well represented. Given that the scene was in continuous movement, we were able to collect but a few of the objects represented on this plate, as follows:

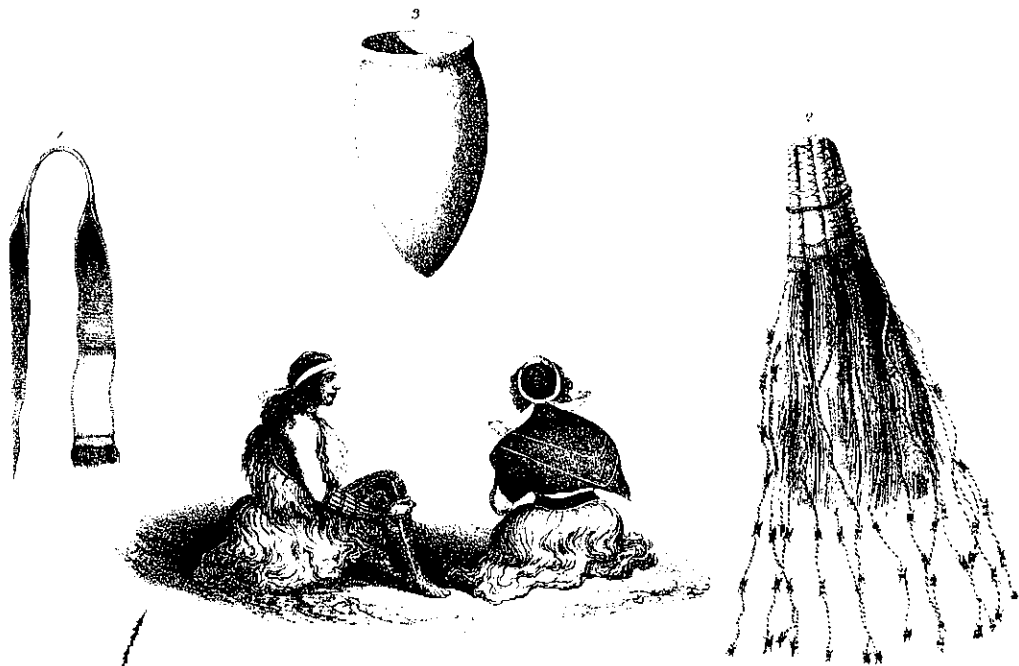
1. A *tol* (belt).
- 2 & 3. Ornaments for the ears (full-size).
4. Oar.
5. Spear.

And a few sketches of the savages who visited the corvette.

For more details, the reader should refer to Plate 24, and the narrative of the Voyage.
POSTELS.²

1 Ed. note: Pohnpei Island, plus Ant and Pakin atolls.

2 Ed. note: Engraved by Lehnert.



Marchés de la capitale de l'île de l'archipel.



elles (grandes)

*Ed. de Thierry, fauteur successeur de Englemann & Co
1^{re} Edition.*

l'archipel

Plate 32. Houses. Low Caroline Islands.

This view was taken on the northern side of Lukunor Island which is the eastern-most of the group of the same name. This part of the island, the most fertile in food plants, is also the part that is more populated. The plantations are spread all around and into the woods. The vegetation that adorns the shoreline is the same one that covers all of the islands in the Pacific Ocean; it is made up mostly of coconut trees, pandanus trees, and bushes of hibiscus. The lack of soft water can be felt here, as in all the [low] islands of this archipelago. The only water comes from the rain, and that is collected in natural depression in the soil, or in holes made into had coral stones, or else into the trunks of coconut trees that are slightly inclined, like the specimen seen on the left-hand side of this scenery. The design of the houses is extremely simple: one would think that the roofs of some houses had been placed on the ground, except that the shingles or thatch have been replaced here by pandanus or coconut leaves. The two ends, usually orientated NE-SW, are enclosed with mats of coconut leaves and two small doors. The interior of the hut is divided by low partitions into many appartments, some of which being completely walled in with just one opening, so low that one must crawl to get into them. The various tools of the savage owner are either piled in the corners or hanging from the walls with coconut-fiber cords. The sheds to protect the canoes are similarly made, except that they are open on all four sides. Every time we visited such huts, we found the inhabitants sitting in front of the doors and completely idle; some had gone out to collect coconuts.

Unfortunately, we are not completely satisfied with this plate: the engravers probably found that the original posture of the savage sitting on the tree trunk was not gracious enough; they changed it completely, with the result that they have portrayed him with feet [rather legs] that are too long. Also, the edge of the palm-tree forest should have been made to appear thicker.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Ed. Hostein, except for the figures which were engraved by V. Adam.



Del. par M. Moitteux. Gravé par J. Moitteux.

Gravé par J. Moitteux.

HA B I T A C I O N E S,
DES HABITANS DE LA

Gravé par J. Moitteux.

Plate 33.
View in Lukunor Island.
Low Caroline Islands.

This scenery shows most of the useful plants of the inhabitants of the low islands. There are: in foreground, young bushes, some ferns and herbs among which some have just lost their leaves, while others lie dried up on the ground; on the left, a young Pandanus tree with large leaves; behind it, the beautiful *Calophyllum* with climbing plants creeping up its trunk, and the branches of a young *Barringtonia speciosa*; in the center of the scenery, many *Arum* with big leaves; to the left, another Pandanus rising in spirals; at the same distance, another coconut tree, and between these two, a banana tree. Other trees can be seen in the background, where the coconut tree is prevalent.

The islander who appears in the center of the scene, carries some coconuts in his right hand, and some bananas on his left shoulder. The other man is getting ready to gather some fruits from the breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus incisa*), by means of a forked stick that he is holding in his hands.

See Dr. Mertens' Paper on the Caroline Islands.¹
POSTELS.²

1 Ed. note: HM18:646.

2 Ed. note: Engraved by Bichebois, except for the figures which were engraved by Wattier.



Titel zur Reise nach Ostindien

Titel zur Reise nach Ostindien

Titel zur Reise nach Ostindien

YUK DANKS ELLE TIDSDUND
Hes Carolines brasses

Plate 34.

View taken in the interior of the low Caroline Islands.

The remark that we have made previously with respect to Plate 21, as a warning to the reader, applies here as well. However, here the natural appearance of the vegetation has not been well preserved by the engraver; for instance, the leaves of the tall breadfruit tree, on the right of the scenery, is represented very inaccurately. Many varieties of this tree are to be found here, and the variety that was supposed to have been shown here has very deeply-indented leaves, and therefore, lighter ones; nevertheless, the type of this tree can still be recognized. As far as the other, larger, leaves of the pandanus, coconut and *Barringtonia speciosa* in the shape of a bush, which, with the others, are to be seen on the left of the scenery, they all have an important defect; indeed, they seem to have been crumpled and have lost their natural shape whose characteristic, to the contrary, is a certain hardness, a certain polish.

In the middle of the plants in foreground can be clearly seen the flower of the *Tacca pinnatifida* whose root plays a great role among the starchy roots used for food purposes; it is generally known as the Arrow-root or *Gaugau*.¹

KITTLITZ.

¹ Ed. note: Error: it is known as *gaugau* only in the Marianas, and known as *mogmog* throughout the Carolines. Engraved by Bichebois.

Plate 35.
Navigation.
Low Caroline Islands (Lukunor Group).

See the narrative of the Voyage, pp. 93-94 and 488-489.

POSTELS.¹

¹ Ed. note: Engraved by Sabatier, except by the figures which were engraved by V. Adam.



Dessiné par M. D'Urville

Gravé par M. L. L. L.

NAVIGATION.
Mlle Caroline Bessier,
(Groupe de Louverture.)

Plate 36.
Deer hunting in the Marianas.
(Guam Island).

The small deer with short legs that has just been killed is a young specimen, still without antlers; it appears to belong to the exact same species that inhabit the mountains of Luzon Island that are covered with tall grass. So, it seems probable that such a species has been transported from there to Guahan.¹ There are many of such deer in the latter island inhabiting the inland savannas, where the higher ground and the flat-topped hills are covered with the tall grasses, whose growth in the vallies is interrupted by pretty bushes or by hills that are mostly devoid of vegetation, except for a few isolated bushes, and whose appearance, during the dry season, brought to mind the vicinity of Valparaiso. A type of *Casuarina*, some *Cicas* that are to be found throughout the island, and a type of *Pandanus* with narrow leaves, are the most noteworthy plants of this specific vegetation.

KITTLITZ.²

-
- 1 Ed. note: It was indeed originally from the Philippines, and was brought to Guam by former Governor Tobias.
 - 2 Ed. note: Engraved by Villeneuve, except for the figures which were engraved by Wattier.

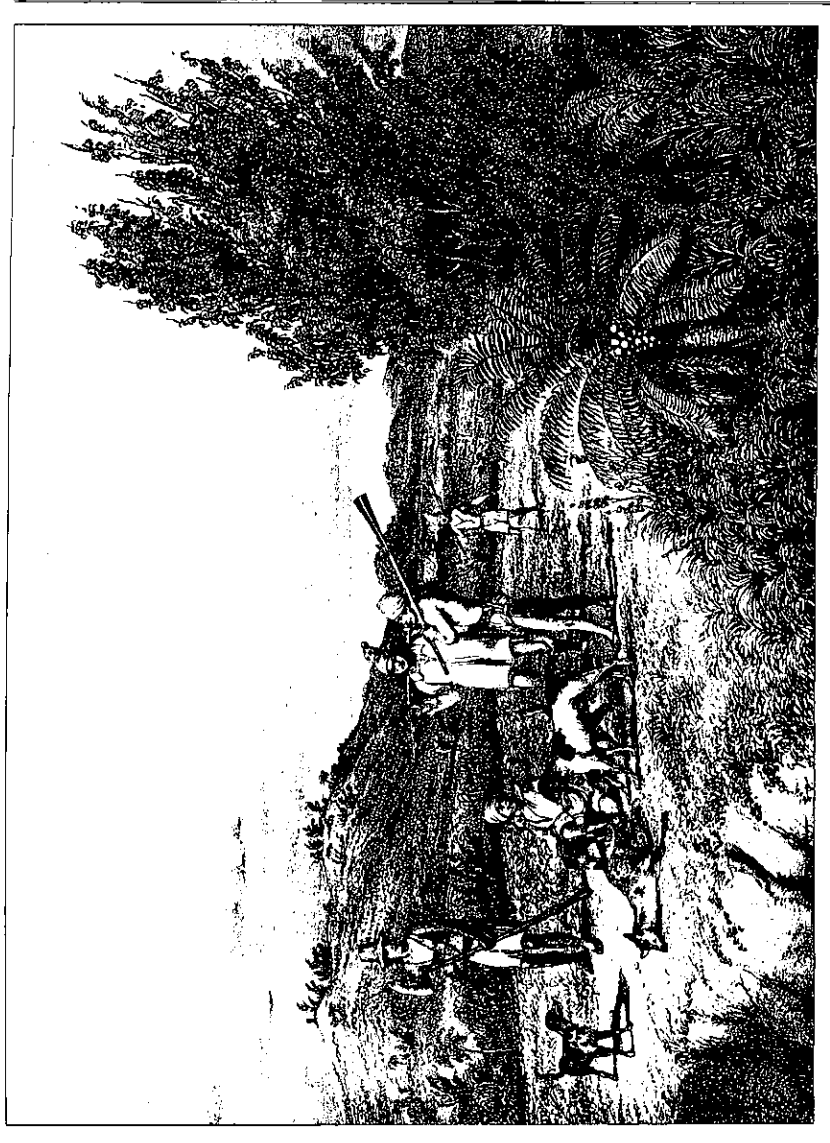


Illustration d'après une gravure de l'époque.

Année de l'expédition de la Recherche et de la Découverte.

Paris chez les Citoyens, 1800.

Pl. 11.

CHASSE AU CHERF DES MARIANNES.
(M. Goussier.)

Plate 37.
View taken in the woods.
Guahan Island (Marianas).

There is a great difference in the vegetation of this island, between that growing near the shore and that of the mountains. The former is much denser and is distinguished by trees that often reach a prodigious height; among those can be seen the *Scævola*, the *Barringtonia*, the *Pandanus*, the *Celtis*, some fig trees, the *Hibiscus populneus*, the *Hernandia*, the *Cerbera*, the *Calophyllum*, the *Casuarina*; besides those, a few local species, such as bushes that look like the Myrtle, bushes of the *Limonia trifoliata* and various species of bindweeds.

As far as the mountain vegetation is concerned, it is, with rare exceptions found in a few deep valleys, very poor in plants; most of the summits are in fact completely bare, with just a few bunches of grasses, some small ferns, and some isolated *Casuarina* trees to break the monotony of the landscape.

The present view was taken at some distance from the shore. On the beach, there can be found a species of *Pandanus* that grows very strangely; no sooner has it appeared above the surface that it grows horizontally, curving along the ground, throwing vertical shoots here and there, which are like so many trunks all sharing a common root. At first, we thought that it might have been a caprice of nature, and we attributed this phenomenon to a hurricane that had swept the island in recent times, but we soon realized that it was a very common phenomenon, one that had permanent causes, and therefore, it was a characteristic of this species of *Pandanus*. On the right can be seen a beautiful *Barringtonia speciosa* with a fern at its feet and, on the left, a breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus incisa*). In the background can be seen a clump of sago palms, *Cycas revoluta*, and a thick wood made up of various trees. During our outings, we were continuously in sight of large lizards.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Joly.



Plate 38.
View taken in the forests of the Island of Guahan.
(Mariana Islands).

In foreground can be seen a giant fig tree whose circumference was measured by Dr. Mertens. Amid its branches there is a strong liana that tightens its grip upon the trunk of a *Guetterda*, thus preventing the free circulation of its sap, resulting in its branches becoming weak and even dried up. Other climbing lianas, that resemble so many ropes, have established themselves among the branches of the fig tree. One such branch has been brought down almost to the ground; swept by the wind, it was waving back and forth like a pendulum. On the right, there is a breadfruit tree whose branches are mixed up above with those of the fig tree. Between these two tall trees can be seen a grove of sago palms (*Cycas*). On the right of the fig tree and above the *Cycas*, there arises a *Pandanus* growing tall and carrying three heads. The background is full of coconut trees, some cabbage trees and a mixture of various other trees.

The circumference of the trunk of the fig tree is 50 feet. The bigger lianas have a diameter of 12 inches.

POSTELS.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Joly.

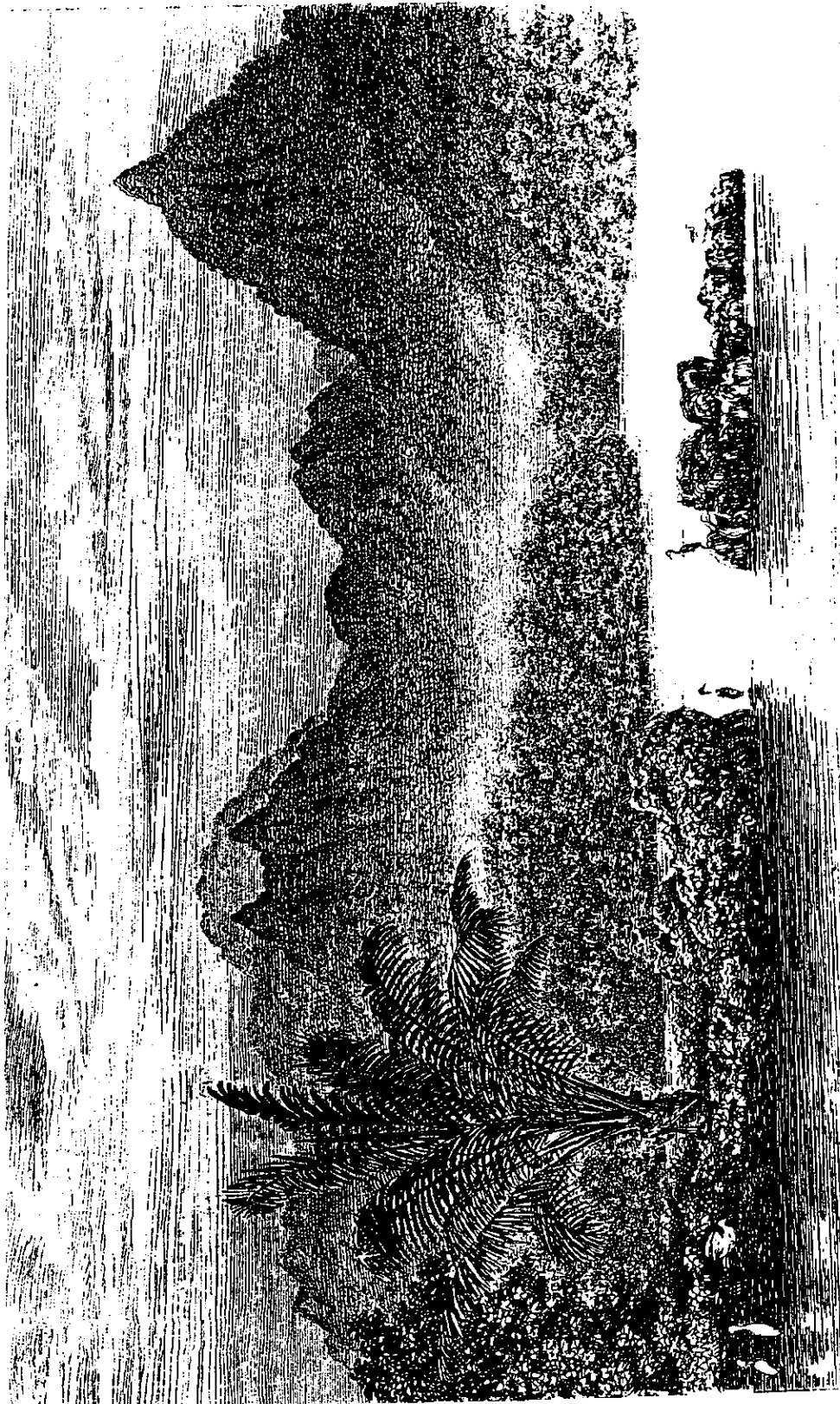


Plate 39. House of Guahan (Mariana Islands).

The architecture of this country house is typical of the Island of Guahan, and appears to be an imitation of those bamboo huts that are built in the Philippines upon higher piles, and give the appearance of cages. Frequent floods affecting most of the houses seem to have been at the origin of this type of architecture. Moreover, such houses offer the advantage of a continuous draft of air, given that the floor and the walls have cracks everywhere. The only thing required to make it perfectly dry and well aerated is a solid roof. The vicinity of such houses, which are distributed without any sense of order, are very picturesque on the Island of Guahan; there are small and large fields full of corn, cotton, the *Arum esculentum*, banana trees and potatoes, amid groves of breadfruit trees, some *Tamarins*, *Morinda*, *Pandanus* of various species, a few *Carica papaya* and orange trees, whereas some forest-type trees also grow nearby and contribute to the beauty of the landscape., among them the *Barringtonia speciosa*, many *Cordia* and the giant type of fig tree. During our stay at Guahan (month of March), the weather was very warm, without rain; consequently, most of the countryside was suffering from drought and appeared much less charming. Nevertheless, although some trees had lost their leaves, the shady character of the forests made a favorable impression upon us.

The fig trees in this view show, as well as could be drawn, the type of living conditions affecting a local family during this hot season. In the shade of the trees surrounding the house, some mats have been placed, as we would place some chairs in Europe. The clothing worn by the women does not differ much from the clothing worn by the women of Luzon Island, except that it is usually simpler, in that it consists of only two pieces, one of which is a short, loose-fitting shirt, like the one that can be seen in this view; during the hot season, it is usually dispensed with, when at home. The engraver made a mistake in representing the woman sitting in the center of the view, showing a shirt tied with a cordon; it is something that is never done with this piece of clothing. The clothes worn by the men during the hot season consist of diving shorts with a belt from which they hang their machete, or [large] knife. They sometimes wrap a cotton kerchief around their head. Shirts and trousers are rather rare. The hats in this country are made of straw; most of them are dyed black. All the individuals of both sexes wear a small cross hanging from their neck; it is held by a cord along which some glass beads have been threaded. Such necklaces are even placed around the neck of children who are otherwise completely naked. The long bamboo cane, seen on the right in foreground, is a type of tool used used to carry drinking water from some springs, that are sometimes located quite far, and also to preserve this water in the houses.¹

1 Ed. note: Engraved by Bichebois, except for the figures which were engraved by V. Adam.



Documents 1827F

**The Lütke expedition—Narrative and sketches
of the naturalist Kittlitz****Introductory note.**

This nobleman was born in Prussia in 1799. At an early age, he became interested in natural history, and painting. After retiring from the Prussian Navy with the rank of Captain, he was on a trip to St. Peterburg, when he heard of a scientific voyage being planned. With the help of Dr. Mertens, another German, he managed to join the crew of the *Seniavin*.

His book of sketches was published before his narrative, but their logical order has been restored here. His narrative, however, is much too technical when dealing with animals and plants; it is not translated here, although all the original figures are reproduced. A synopsis of this book has, however, been made in English and is to be found in HRAF (see, for instance, LC MCF Division, OR series, under the names of the various island groups: Kusaie, Ponape, etc.). The Kosrae portion has been partly translated by Philip Ritter.

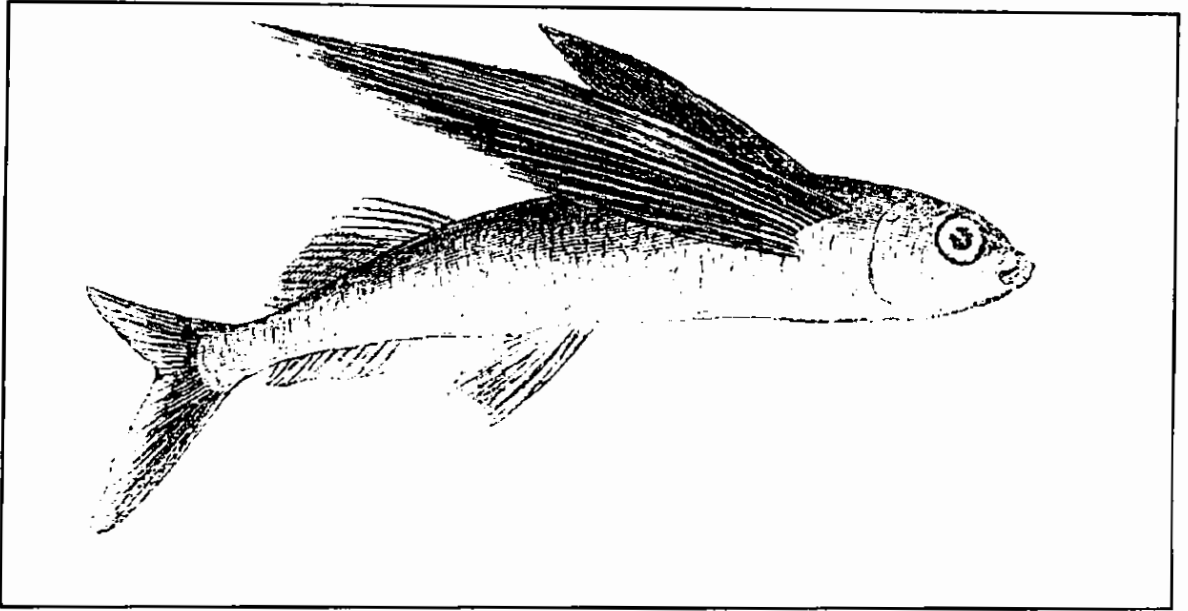
Kittlitz' name has been given to some fish that he first described; for instance, see Amesbury and Myers' *Guide to the Coastal Resources of Guam*, vol. 1, page 111.

F1. The narrative of Baron Kittlitz

Source: Freidrich Heinrich, Freiherr von Kittlitz. Denkwürdigkeiten einer Reise nach dem russischen Amerika, nach Mikronesien und durch Kamtschatka [Reminiscences of a Voyage to Russian America, Micronesia and towards Kamchatka] (Gotha, Perthes, 1858).

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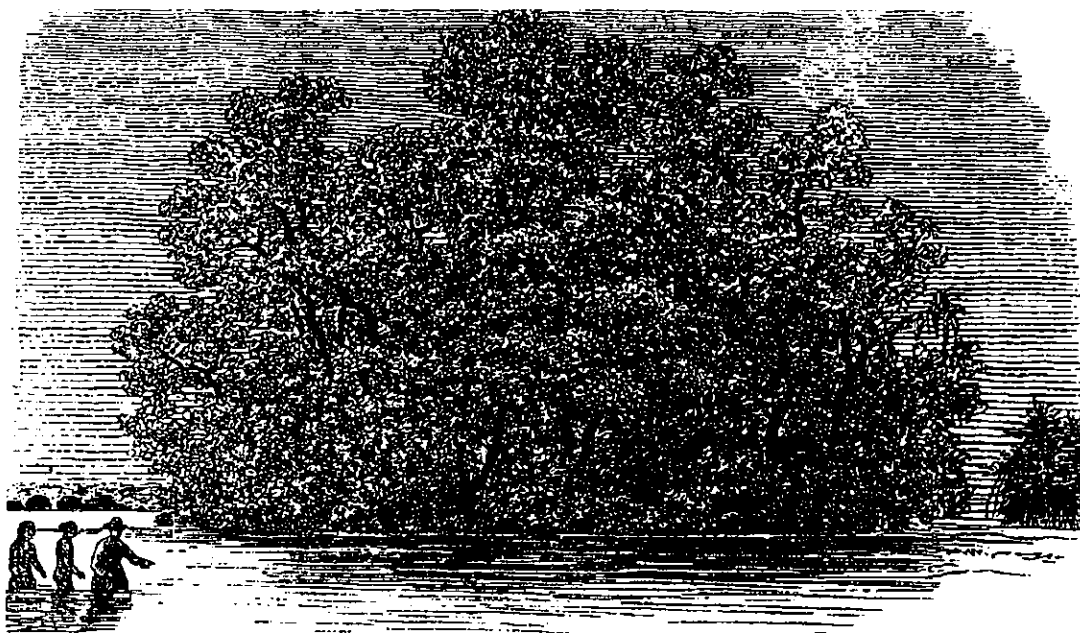
(Facing page:) **View of Ualan Island in the vicinity of Coquille Harbor.**



Flying-fish (*Exocætus exiliens*). *There are seven known species in Guam waters alone (ref. Amesbury & Myers).*



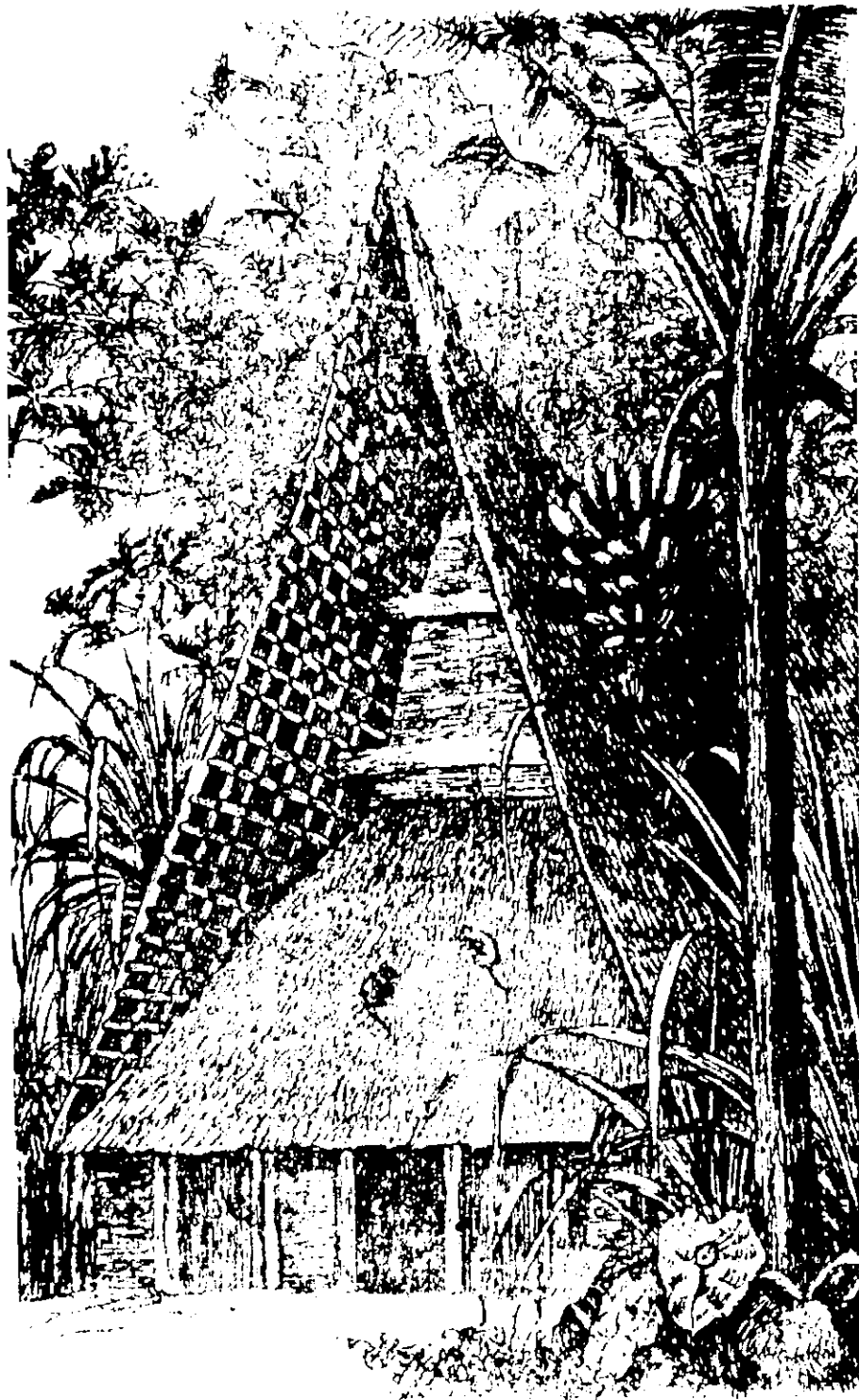
Canoe of Kosrae Island.



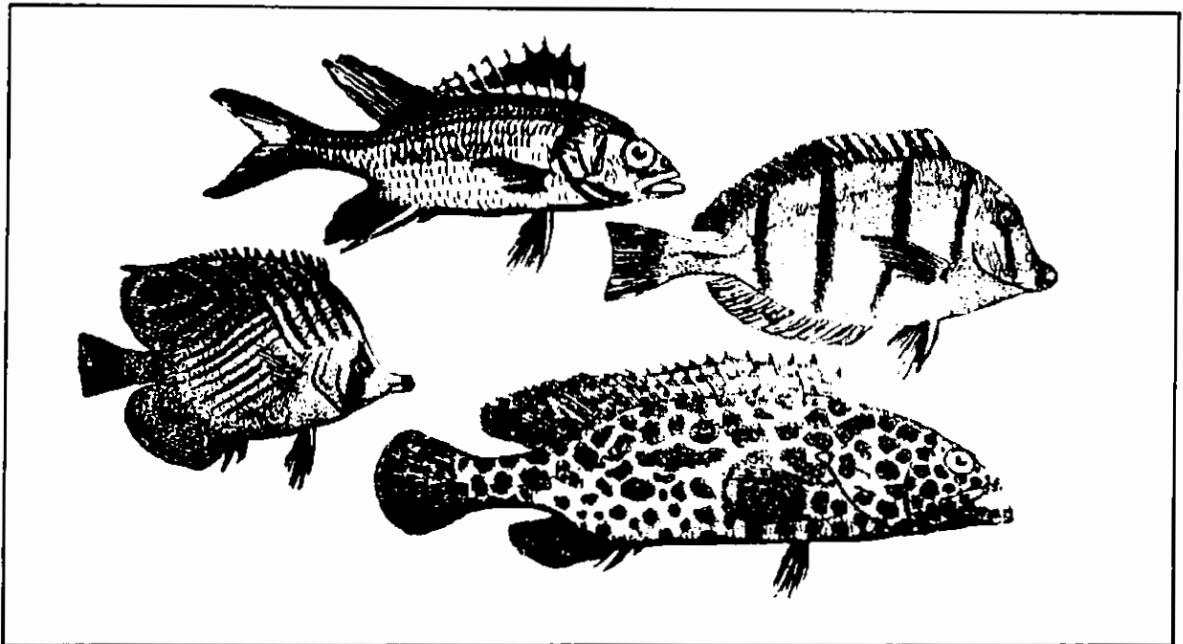
Sonneratia trees seen at Kosrae Island.



Women of Kosrae Island, with their peculiar way of sitting.

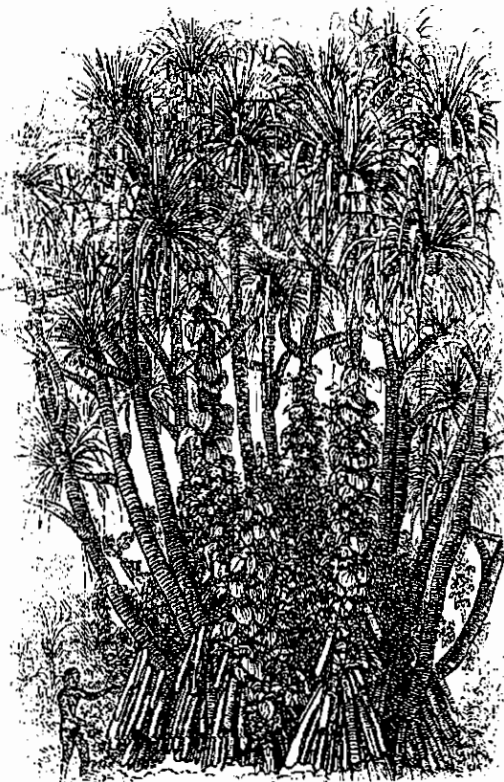


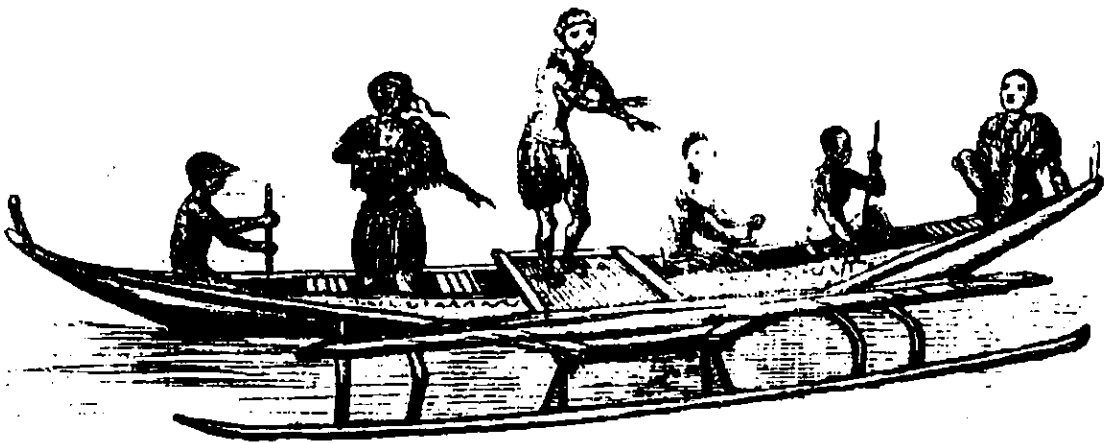
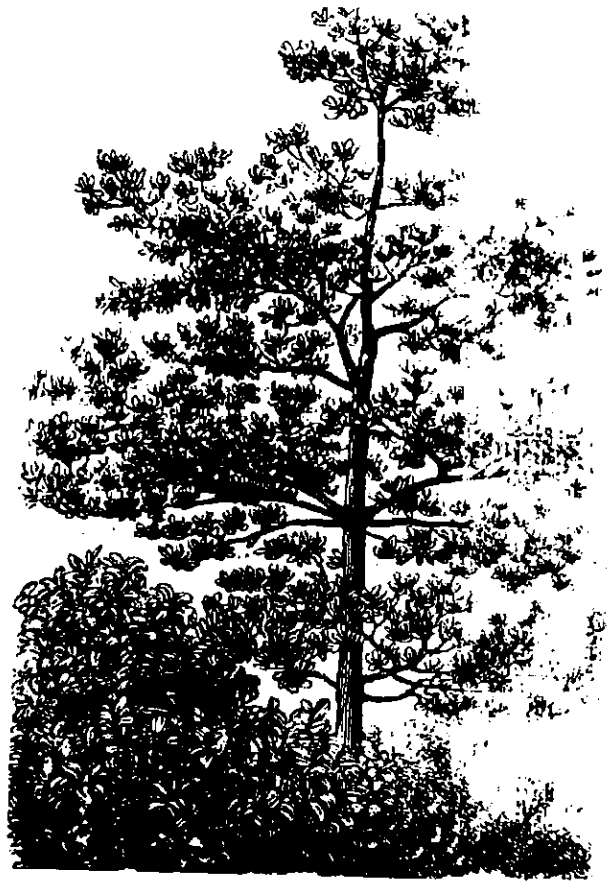
House at Lela Island, Kosrae. *Note the presence of rats on the inner roof.*

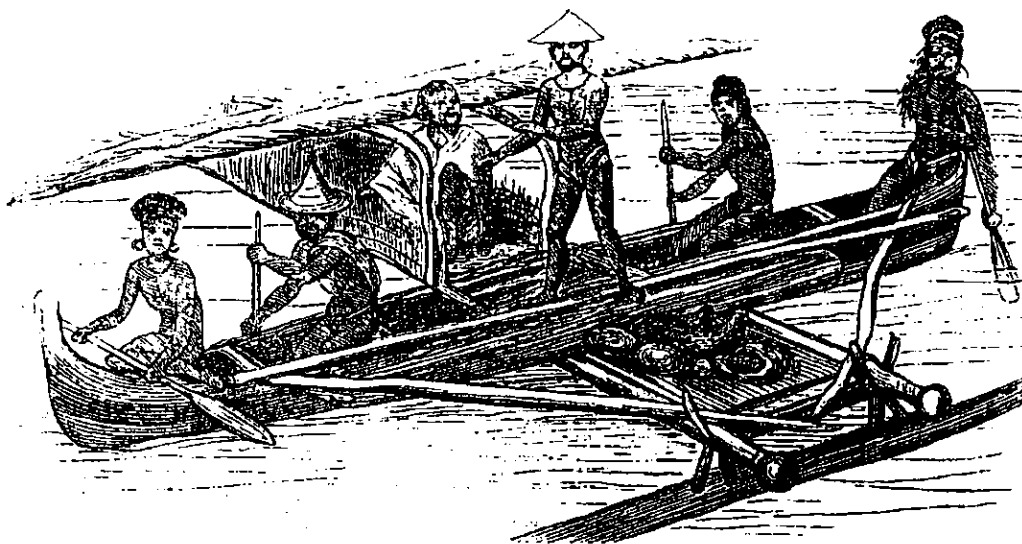


Fishes of Kosrae Island. They are: a Butterflyfish on the left (*Chætodon Auriga*), a Squirrelfish, top left (*Holocentrus Sammara*), a Grouper, bottom (*Serranus Merra*), and a Squirrelfish, top right (*Acanthurus Zebra*).

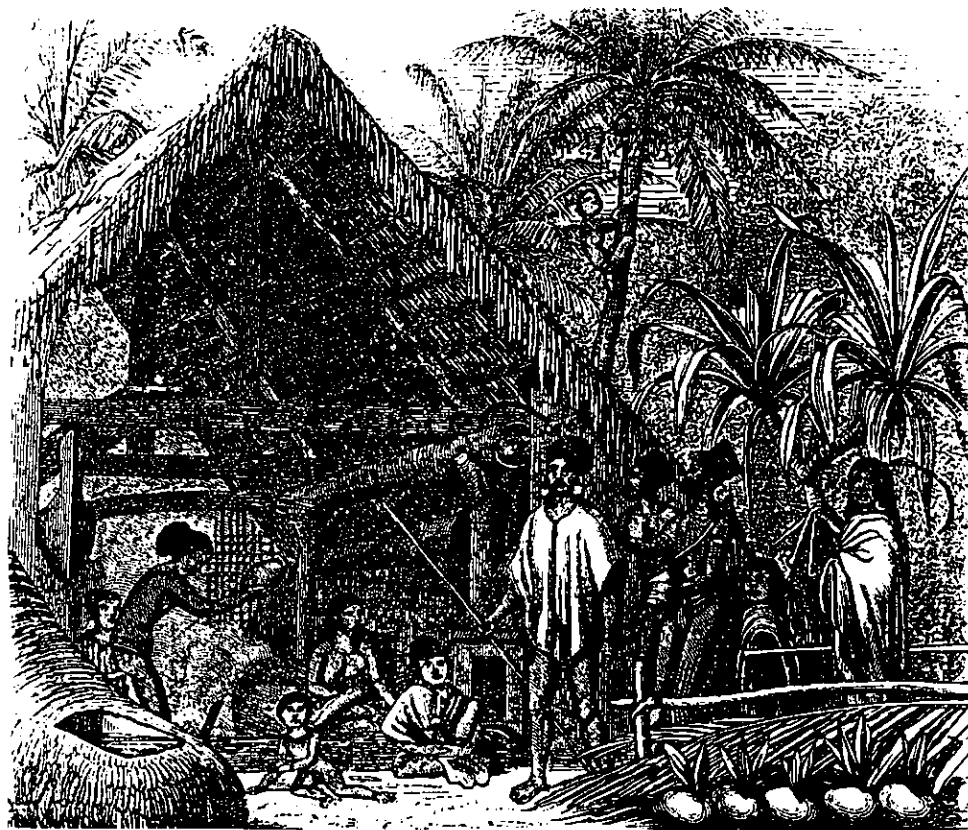
***Pandanus odorantissimus*, seen
on Kosrae Island.**



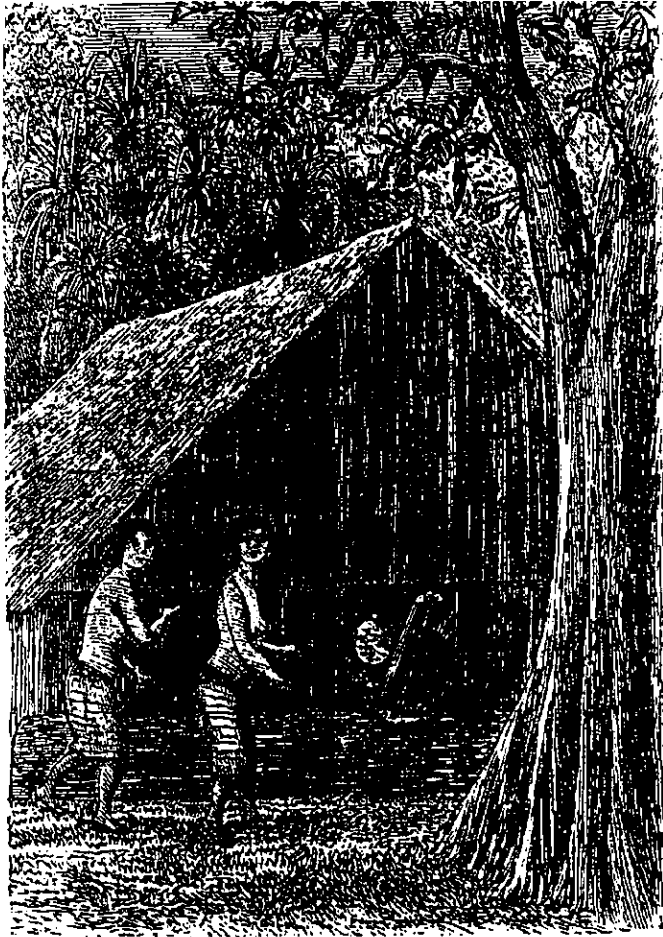
Terminalia Catappa.**Natives and canoe of Pohnpei Island (1828).**



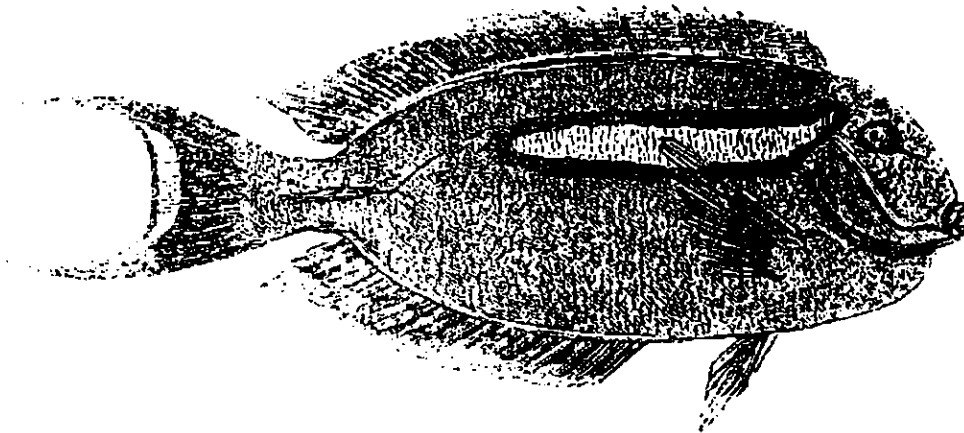
Natives and canoe of Lukunor atoll (Mortlocks).



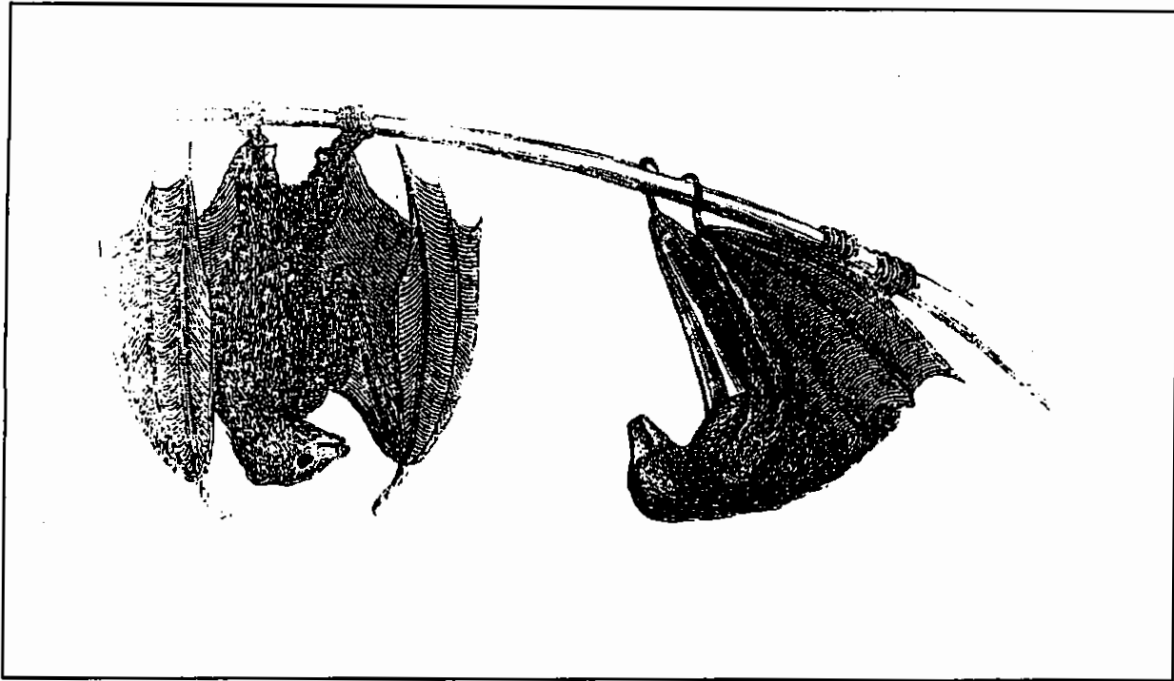
Canoe shed at Lukunor atoll (Mortlocks).



**House for women at
Lukunor atoll (Mortlocks).**



Type of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus humeralis*, Cuvier).



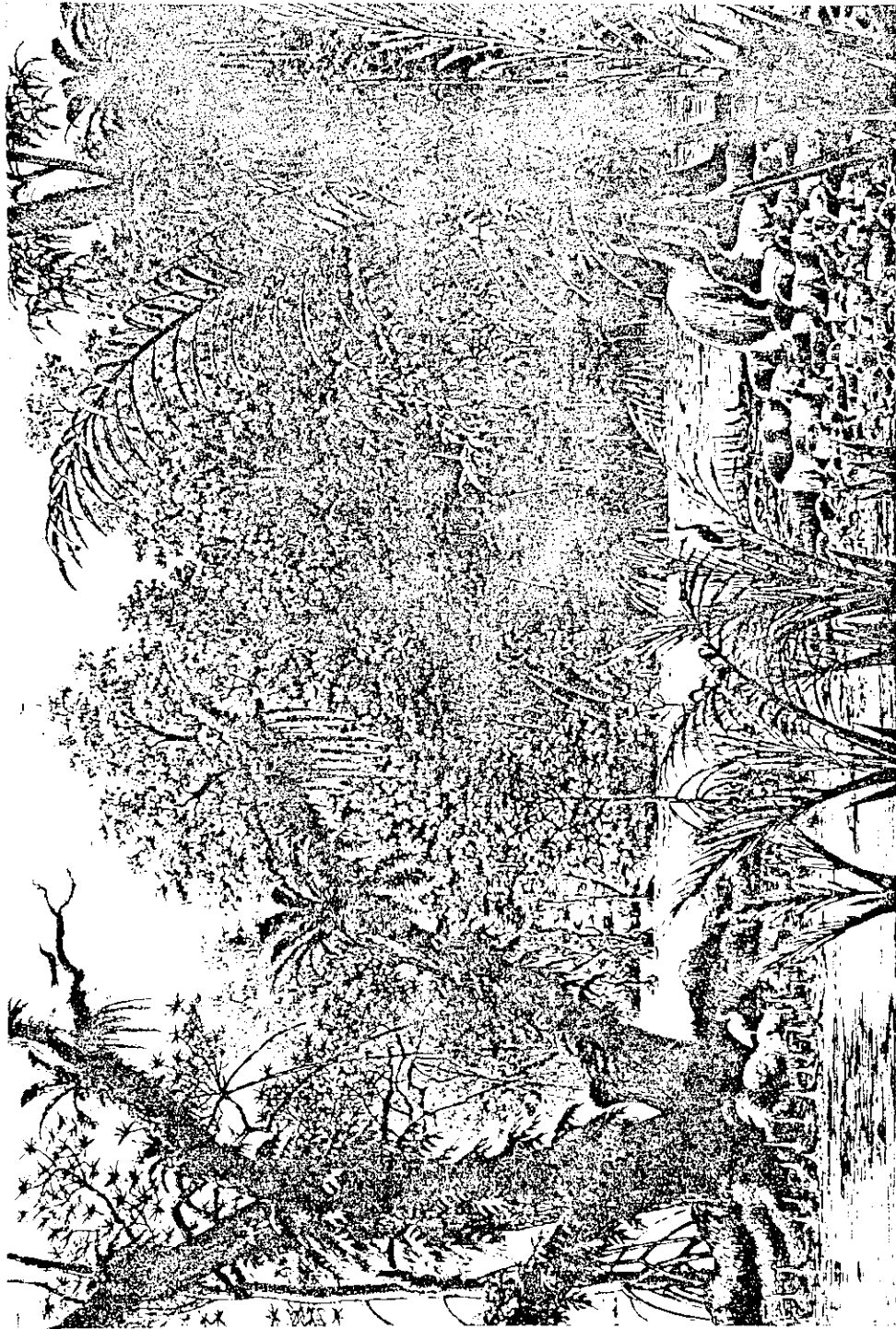
Bats seen on Guam Island (*Pteropus ursinus*).

Postscript note by A. Postels.

Source: Foreword to Vol. 3 of Lütke's Narrative (op. cit.).

...

Baron Kittlitz was in charge of ornithology. His descriptions of the birds collected and sketched by him have already been published for the most part in the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. See "Papers presented to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg by various scientists:" ... 4) Vol. II, 1833, pp. 1-11: "Über einige noch unbeschriebene Vogel von der Insel Luzon, den Carolinen und den Marianen (with 10 color plates)."



F2. The sketches of Baron Kittlitz

Source: Friedrich Heinrich, Freiherr von Kittlitz. Twenty-Four Views of the Vegetation of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific. With explanatory descriptions taken during the exploring voyage of the Russian corvette "Seniavin," under the command of Capt. Lütke, in the years 1827, 1828, & 182 (London, Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861).

Note: This book was translated from the German and edited by Berthold Carl Seemann, Ph.D., F.L.S. However, (most of) his comments have been omitted here. Regarding the season during which the plants were observed, it was December for Kosrae, February for Lukunor, and March for Guam.

PLATE V.

ISLAND OF UALAN, CAROLINE ARCHIPELAGO.

MANGROVES.

On the characteristic forms of the mangroves we met fine specimens in this island, lat. 5° N. This kind of forest covers the shores of the tropics as reeds and bulrushes do the margins of our island lakes. In this climate, whenever the shores are formed by swamps, i.e. principally at the mouths of rivers and rivulets, and at the same time protected from the surf, this form of vegetation may be expected. It appears to attain its perfection and show its peculiarities most nearest to the equator, but every continent (or every one of those large longitudinal sections) possesses its own species to form these groves. They are composed, generally speaking, of the genera *Rhizophora* and *Bruigiera*, trees of indifferent height, growing upon a soil which, as a rule, is at least during high tide covered with salt water, and throwing out numerous aerial roots. On the Indian coast are associated with them species of *Sonneratia* and the stemless Nipa palm (*Nipa fruticans*, Thunb.), which exercises a marked influence on the physiognomy. All these plants exhibit a decided tendency towards grerariousness, quite contrary to the common character of the tropical forests. These groves are also, it would seem, destitute of the numerous creepers seen in their immediate neighbourhood. In Ualan, and, as far as we could judge from a distance, in the larger island of Funopet, it is not so much the true mangrove trees (*Rhyzophora* and *Bruigiera*) which impart to the forests their physiognomic character, but rather a species of *Sonneratia*. While those form only low woods, this beautiful tree attains as considerable a height as most of the forest trees of the neighbourhood, spreading out the more stately as it does not form a regular stem, sympathizing as it were n a neighbourly way with the Nipa palm; from its root rise several equally strong and diverging stems, the lower branches of which, with their dense foliage, almost touch the water, and the whole, so to speak, represents a huge shrub. The dark bark of these colossal masses of wood forms a fine contrast with the pale green foliage, the almost circular leaves of which have an especially cheerful look. As long as these trees are in full vigour they are only here and there covered with patches of dark green moss, an ornament rather in contradiction with all other features as reminging us of our northern forests (7c). But, as soon as they begin to die, their trunks are covered

with a number of fine epiphytical ferns (3b). Another singular feature of these trees are the wooden pegs which, covered with a dark brown bark, rise to the height of about one foot, wherever the ground is not under water. We have not been able to discover the significance of these excrescences, which everywhere appeared to have the same form and look; they seemed to be connected with the deeper lying roots of the *Sonneratia*, of which we could not observe any other stage of development. The stems of the *Rhizophora* of this place generally grow quite erect, upon a scaffold of aerial roots, almost as in some species of *Pandanus* (1-2d; 9- 10d). Just above this scaffolding the branches diverge, mostly in a horizontal direction, sending roots downwards, which are covered with the same kind of bark as the branches themselves. These roots look like turned pipe-stems, never have any excrescences or irregular bents, and firmly establish themselves as soon as they reach the ground, but they never form new stems, as is the case with the great fig-trees; their object seems simply to assist propping up the tree. The *Bruigiera* (also, as far as I know, where only represented by one species) is less social, and attains for the most part a much greater height than the *Rhizophora*, with which, however, it otherwise completely corresponds in the shape of the leaf and in the formation of the smaller branches. But, on the whole, its growth is more irregular and more resembles that of the common deciduous trees; its aerial roots also are less numerous and grow differently (5e-f). Such groves encircle, with a few interruptions, the shore of the island of Ualan, just above the surface of the water. Where the coral reef surrounding the whole island is so low as to permit the waves to strike the land, a sandy beach is formed, with a vegetation resembling that of the coral islands; but where, as is the case in most places, there is between the reef and the shore an extensive sheet of shoal water to protect the land from the surf, the mangrove forests are far advanced into the salt water. They are crossed by river-like channels, serving as highways for boats, and as footpaths for pedestrians. Imagine the centre of our picture to be one of these channels, and the foreground the mouth of a little river. The occurrence of the plants here shown favours this conception, for they are more in need of fresh water than is the *Sonneratia*, which often forms at a considerable distance from the shore, quite surrounded by salt water, isolated, highly picturesque groups. In the foreground will be observed a tree, the curiously-shaped and widely-spread roots of which indicate the banks of such rivers as terminate in the sea (13k). It is a species of *Balanopteris*, and similarly formed ridges of roots have been observed by us also in other islands, especially in Luzon, but nowhere else of such height and dimensions. This peculiar labyrinth, formed of walls of gradually decreasing height, surrounds every tree. The comparatively thin walls consist of a tough kind of wood, covered with a soft, smooth, greyish-brown bark. By striking one of them, a hollow drum-like sound is produced, audible at some distance. The foliage of the tree is of a greyish-green colour, often covered with little epiphytes (*Jungermannia?*), while the smaller branches are clad with lichens and mosses, and the larger, as well as the stems, with fine ferns, so common about here. Among the latter the well-known *Asplenium Nidus* is conspicuous on account of its crown-like growth (5-6c-d). Here it represents physiognomically, as in the

greater part of Polynesia, the numerous *Bromeliaceæ*, which decorate in a similar manner the trees of tropical America. The *Tillandsias* of that country find their representatives in the riband-like drooping ferns, which form as it were long waving veils. Extreme elegance of form in these epiphytes makes up for (what the American possess) want of gay flowers and variety. They are always of a fresh lively green, darker or lighter, while those of the New Worlds often have a bluish-grey tinge, which renders the *Tillandsias* so much like our northern *Usneas*. Altogether there are among the epiphytes of this island very few phanerogamic plants. In conclusion, we must cast a glance at the beautiful Nipa palm, which, at least above the ground, never exhibits a trunk.¹ The few young plants can give only a poor conception of the stately appearance of the fully grown ones occupying exclusively entire districts. The only fully developed specimen, which space would permit me to introduce, exhibits the peculiar formation of the spakix, so closely resembling that of most species of *Pandanus*; it is quite woody, and of a rusty-brown colour, while the flowers, appearing simultaneously, incline towards a reddish-yellow tinge (14-151).

1 Ed. note: The real trunk creeps horizontally in the mud; what is seen shooting up are actually branches.

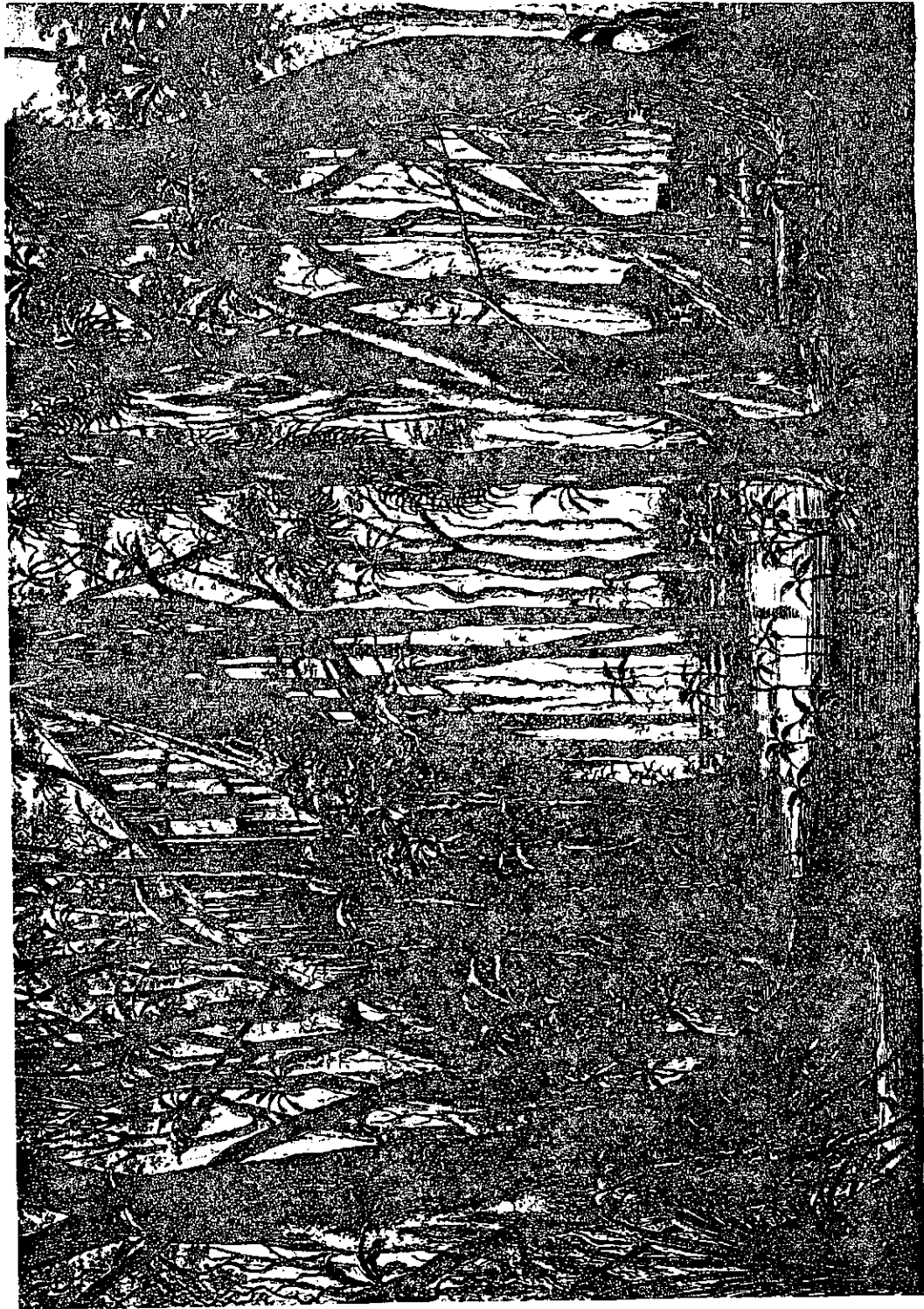


PLATE VI.

PLATE VI.

UALAN.

SWAMPY FOREST, WITH BANYAN TREES.

Immediately adjoining the mangroves is a description of forest peculiar to the tropics. The adjacent ground, just above high-water mark, becomes inundated in consequence of the high tide forcing back the water about to be discharged by rivers and rivulets. A soil thus periodically submerged, of course, never becomes dry, and only somewhat firm by the gigantic roots of the trees occupying it. In Ualan, these swampy forests have a twofold character. Where the underwood consists of the creeping *Hibiscus populneus*, they are almost impenetrable; where this is wanting, there is, under the huge bower formed by the crown of large trees, a wider prospect. The underwood is composed of numerous small trees, the crowns of which have not been able to attain the height of the larger trees, and therefore remained undeveloped. The greater number of them belong to *Barringtonia acutangula*; the fine drooping bunches of flowers were often seen on the ground. The stems are decorated with epiphytical ferns; among them most prominent, *Asplenium Nidus*. It is seen everywhere at a greater or lesser height, and imparts a striking character to the landscape. No less elegant ornaments are the isolated *Freycinetias*, which in Ualan are mostly growing epiphytically, and replace by their long stems the great orchids of the West Indies. They are shown quite in the foreground of the picture (10-11i-k). On the left is a large *Cordia*, of which, however, only the stem, surrounded by the smaller ones of *Barringtonia acutangula*, is visible. The principal figures are several gigantic fig-trees, such as are often met with in these forests. Those here illustrated may be assumed as having established, above the heads of other trees, a connection with each other by means of their branches, as is common in this kind of plants throughout India, where they form entire forests, the stems of which are connected. These are the well-known banyan trees, regarded as sacred in some places. Among the wonderful phenomena of the vegetable kingdom, as displayed in the tropics, they occupy the foremost place, and the botanist pauses before them, as the geologist does before some rocks, in order to decipher the hieroglyphics of their formation. The most striking peculiarity of these trees is their aerial roots, which, springing from the bark, grow downwards, often from a considerable height, but as soon as they touch the ground they enter it and form a new stem. They also have, in a prominent degree, a tendency of growing together as soon as their different parts come in contact with each other (as is the case in other plants, especially some creepers), which causes that extremely fantastic shape generally observed in these trees. The present species differs from other kinds of banyan with which we became acquainted, not only in its astonishing height (our illustration shows only the lower parts of the stems), but especially by its drooping aerial roots appearing in bundles of tender, originally disconnected fibres, which gradually grow together, and, after reaching the ground, increase

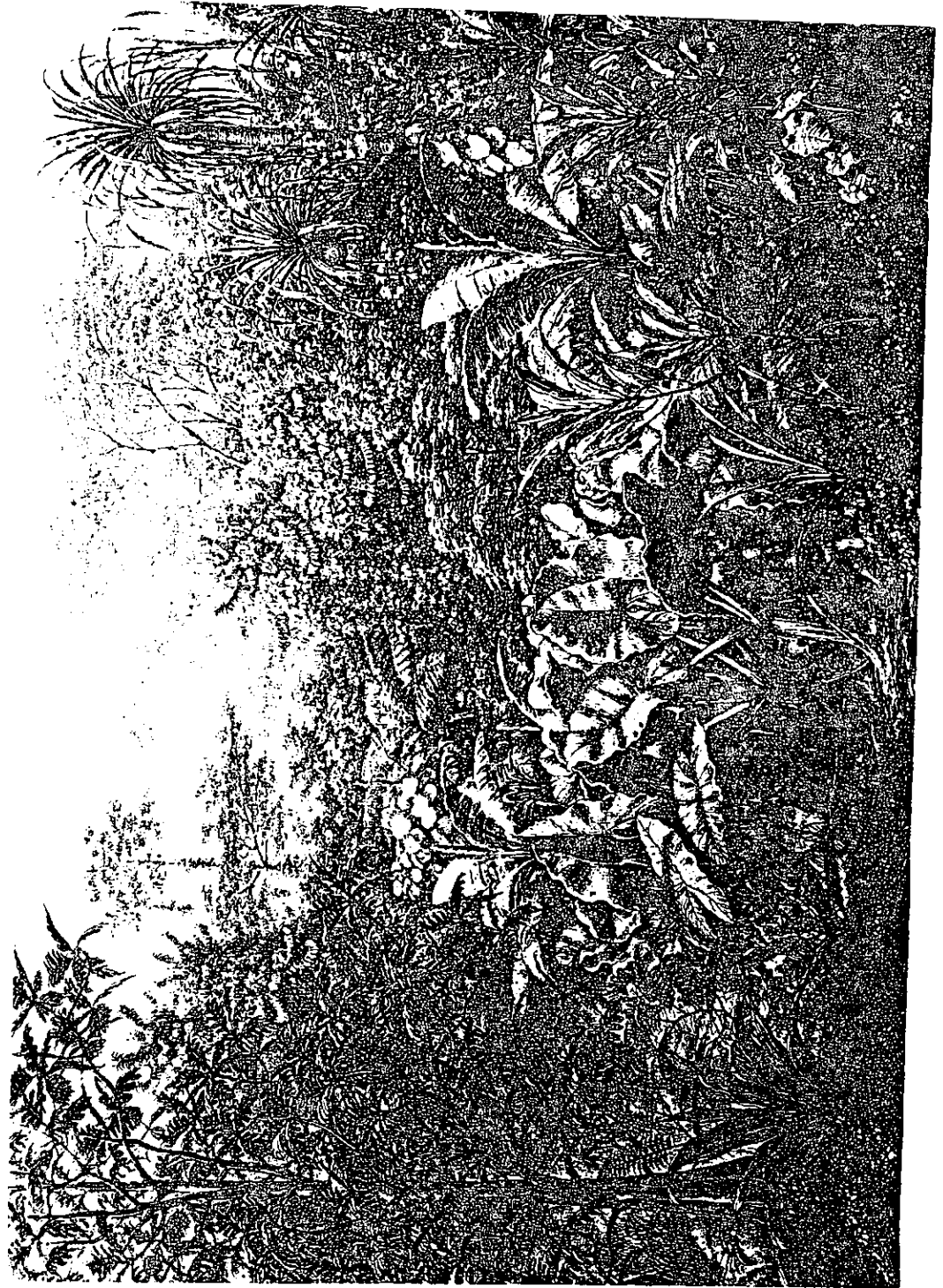
in thickness, by which the new stem soon loses, more or less, all traces of its original formation. The height of the whole is so considerable that the crowns reach above that of other trees, and here and there form as it were a forest above a forest, often visible from some distance. The spectator, standing below, soon loses sight of the upper parts of the tree, and only notices accidentally the connection existing among trees which at first view would seem to be perfectly unconnected. In vain I attempted to introduce in the original drawing something of the foliage of this tree;¹ of the crown little was visible, and the leaves appeared to be comparatively small and of roundish shape. All the young saplings growing about here, and bearing leaves, were those of the *Barringtonia acutangula*, which does not disdain to assume an epiphytical character on these large masses of wood. The often-mentioned ferns here abound. The bark of this colossal tree is very soft, and of a brownish-yellow colour, while the young roots, as long as they are not metamorphosed, are more of a rusty brown. There is also a strong, spiny reed, which at first sight was thought to be a Pandanus, but which belonged to the *Cyperaceæ* (1-2g-h). It grows here gregariously, but isolated, in the higher parts of the island, especially on rivulets in forests.

1 It will be necessary to add that the stem was even more densely covered with *Barringtonias* than could be shown without rendering the drawing unintelligible.

PLATE VII.

UALAN.VEGETATION OF A VALLEY, AND OUTSKIRTS OF
FOREST.

In ascending another step, where there are no longer any periodical inundations, the vegetation assumes a new feature. The level land of the valleys has been brought into a certain state of cultivation, being planted, without previous labour, with those products of the island which principally furnish food to man. These plantations are so much favoured by the extreme fertility of the heavy soil, for the irrigation of which Nature so liberally provides, that they interfere little with the original aspect of the island. Bread-fruit trees, bananas, two gigantic species of *Caladium*, and the Tahitian sugar-cane, grow here so intermingled that there is some difficulty in determining whether there has been an arbitrary transplantation or not, especially as most of these plants readily propagate themselves by suckers, it being generally quite sufficient to put a slip, just torn off the parent plant, into the fertile ground, in order to propagate it. We observed only in one kind of plantation a certain arrangement, properly defined field, and on the whole a greater amount of care; it being that of the above-mentioned sugar-cane, which, however, is seen in great abundance, perhaps naturalized, among other plants. The cocoa-nut palm deserves particular mention, although not very common, and to all appearance not indigenous in the island, but introduced by man, and still kept in a state of culture. One would be inclined to suppose the same with regard to the bread-fruit trees, abundant though they be, as we did not see among the numerous fruits a single one having properly developed seeds. This seems to point to a change brought about by cultivation; but the irregular manner in which the trees occur in the forests looks as if they had been dispersed by Nature's hand, and argues against the supposition. Is the fruit of the wild trees really furnished with seeds, and is it only eaten when necessity demands? We did not remain long enough in the island to gather information on this point. We only noticed two equally common varieties of the fruit, the one being oblong, almost the shape of a pumpkin, the other rather smaller and nearly spherical. The two are not produced on one and the same tree; the round one has a rather more solid fibre: otherwise we could not perceive any difference either in the look or taste of the fruits,



or in the shape of the leaves. The tree here illustrated (2a) is quite a young specimen, just beginning to bear fruit.

The bananas of this place belong to four varieties, the specific type of which are *Musa paradisiaca* and *Musa Sapientum*, the one having noddling, the other erect heads of fruit.¹ The large variety of the former (6e) is called "Ush," plural "Ushua;" it is the best-flavoured of all. The smaller is termed "Kirreh," and its fruit is preferred when baked. The larger variety of the second species (13n; 15n), having a soft, pulpy flesh, of poor flavour, is known by the name of "Kalash," and the smaller "Kalanton"[sic]. All four differ, as far as I could make out, only in the shape and nature of their fruit.²

Of the two larger *Caladiums* (8f;9f) it is principally a species allied to the well-known *Caladium macrorrhizum*, the root of which furnishes a nutritious and palatable article of food. Still more nutritious and palatable is that of a third (14- 15p-q), which we could take for nothing else than the widely diffused *Caladium esculentum*. Its leaves have a bluish tinge, while those of the larger species are of a fine green. All, but principally the first mentioned, exhibit, when closely examined, a great elegance in the texture of the leaves. Although the smaller species ("Katak") is highly esteemed as an article of food, it is nevertheless nowhere planted in greater masses, probably because it grows wild in sufficient abundance.³ As far as we could see, all three species occur in forests of the uninhabited parts of the island, on the banks of rivulets, and not gregariously, and therefore do not seem to have been introduced. The larger species, with rounded leaves, often forms a trunk, but that with pointed leaves (*Caladium sagittifolium*) (6f) does not; in the former the spadix is erect, and shorter than the spathe, while in the other it is nodding, as is the peduncle supporting it.

Pandanus odoratissimus (14-15k), as a highly characteristic figure, can as little be dispensed with in this picture as the bread-fruit tree. One would think that the reason why it principally occurs and flourishes near human habitations, may be sought in its claiming a place among the useful plants of this place, perhaps on account of its leaves being indispensable for thatch and matting. But also its fruit, though its nutritious qualities are slight, seems to be much esteemed in Ualan, as was evident from the importance attached to those presented to us. This fruit, or rather head of fruits, has, when ripe, a very fine appearance; it is larger than a man's head, round, and of a splendid orange colour, each drupe being pale green at the point. This tinge, and the crown of leaves, recall to mind the pine-apple.

1 This is evidently a mistake. The *Musa* with erect bunches of fruit has nothing to do with either *M. paradisiaca* or *Sapientum*, but is the well-known *Musa Trogoditarum* of Linnæus, of which the *Musa textilis* (of which the delicate Manila handkerchiefs are made) may be a variety... Our author also uses the term "bananas" collectively for all the species, while it is more generally restricted to those kinds which may be eaten raw, and that of "plantain" to those which require to undergo some process of cooking before they can be eaten.—*Berthold Seemann*.

2 Ed. note: The modern spellings given to these bananas are: *Usr, Kihriyac, Kuhlahr, Lakatan*.

3 Ed. note: Modern spelling: *Kuhtak*.

Close by will be seen the *Morinda citrifolia* (12-13m), abounding in these valleys; it does not grow much higher than the specimen here shown. The fruit ripens about this season; it is of a whitish colour and a poor flavour, while the foliage is distinguished by a pale green. A kind of orange tree (8-9e) is generally associated with it; attaining only a limited height; it has, unlike most of the trees, a thick bushy crown; the colour of the foliage is a dark green. The same tint was common to its fruit, much esteemed by the natives, but about this season scarcely ripe.

To the most prominent plants of this island belongs the widely diffused *Dracæna terminalis* (12o; 15o), commonly used for hedges, and imparting to the dwellings a picturesque appearance, which the variegated tint of the leaves greatly contributes to increase, it being a faint bluish green, and at the points of the blade pink and pale yellow.

A fine *Crinum* (3g), with massive leaves, grows isolated about the outskirts of the forests, but I do not remember having seen it in bloom.

A *Morinda* (5-6g), growing gregariously, abounds. Its bracts are of a dark rose colour, and the flowers small and yellow. In company with it is often found a highly characteristic plant, of which, unfortunately, I do not possess a representation, but which I cannot pass over without mentioning. It is the *Piper methysticum*, so frequently described, a perennial with huge roundish leaves, from the root of which a liquor, here called "*Seka*," and evidently of a religious import, is prepared.¹

The background exhibits another characteristic feature of tropical vegetation, viz. the outskirts of a wood as seen from without. Such outskirts are generally formed by low trees and by shrubs, and show a greater variety of forms than even the interior of the forest itself. Here in this island, so widely separated from other countries, it is principally the gregariously growing *Hibiscus populneus* which, chiefly constituting the underwood, combines with the dwarfish stems of a new and very common *Myristica* (4b) in forming the scaffolding for the impenetrable curtain of creepers of which these outskirts chiefly consist. In the valleys of the higher mountains this *Myristica* ("*Nuhn*") is generally a stately forest tree of first magnitude;² here, as shown in our illustration, it is too much checked in growth by a surrounding web of creepers, out of which it stretches its branches like arms, to attain any considerable dimensions. The most elegant festoons formed by these creepers are about this time decorated with the dark blue flowers of a *Convolvulus* common about here, and forming a charming contrast with the pale yellow ones of the *Hibiscus populneus*, closely resembling the mallows of our gardens.

Above this drapery towers a tree principally belonging to the outskirts, the widely diffused *Terminalia Catappa*, or at least a species closely allied to it (6b). Its horizontal branches form distinctly marked stories around the erect stems, importing to the tree, and by means of it to the landscape, a very peculiar feature. We never found this

1 This beverage is termed Kava or Ava in most islands of Polynesia; in Fiji it is known as Yaqona.—*Berthold Seemann*.

2 Ed. note: Modern spelling: *Nunu*.

characteristic growth better developed than in this island. The leaves are of a dark green (In guaham we saw them assume a red colour, in consequence of the dry season).

The top of a tree projecting on the right-hand side of the background may perhaps belong to the same kind of *Cordia* of which the stem is seen in our last view.

A fine specimen of tree fern, in which this island is eminently rich, is ornamenting the outskirts of the forest (7-8d). This form becomes more abundant on the slopes of the countains; especially on the steep edges of them may be seen, even from a distance, their palm-like crowns rising above low brushwood. Still more abundant, and especially rich in species, is a form of colossal ferns, which, though making regular corowns, does not have a genuine trunk. Those are also more numerous in the forests of the higher mountains, and more isolated on the outskirts of the lower. The largest of the two kinds here illustrated is distinguished by its highly elegant fan-shaped leaves, and termed "*Payoa*" by the natives (3-4f-g).

The turf seen in the foreground is formed principally by a few creepers, among which a species of *Cucumis* is the most common, the round fruits of which, pickled in vinegar, we took a long way to sea with us. Its small yellow flowers are about this season seen everywhere on the ground. Together with it is commonly found a small species of *Piper* with pointed leaves, which also climbs up the trees and contributes towards the formation of the above-mentioned festoons. A variety of smaller ferns are decorating this turf.



PLATE VIII.

UALAN.

WOODY MOUNTAINS.

The last plate represented the outskirts of a forest seen from without; this will exhibit them as seen from within. It has at the same time the character of a somewhat higher mountain district, which, however, as has already been stated, does not differ materially from the thickets common on the sea-shores, as the island is but of limited extent. The prevailing wood is the creeping *Hibiscus populneus*, the peculiar growth of which arrests attention. Most of the horizontally directed stems send up branches having the shape of straight poles, gathered by the natives for a variety of purposes. Fantastically curved branches and branchlets are, as the illustration shows, never wanting, especially such as have the form of a hook, and they seem to serve as pegs for the support of the numerous creepers flourishing in these thickets. These little excrescences are without leaves, and differ from the principal branches by having a dark and rough instead of a pale yellow bark. In these thickets the screw-pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*, Linn.), is occasionally seen isolated as underwood of considerable height. The higher the ground the more abundant and prevalent become the larger ferns, the coowns of which are not inferior to those of tree ferns, though they have no trunk, properly speaking, as for instance the genus *Marattia* (13-14m-n). The ground is besides covered with various herbaceous creepers, the dead stems of which, forming dense curtains, are hanging down from the trees. But those rich festoons, which we have already seen in our last view, generally consist of the above-mentioned *Convolvulus*, intermingled with a species of *Stizolobium* and *Piper*.

The woody creepers, the stems of which are sometimes an inch thick, nowhere show, at least about this season, leaves or branches, but run through the whole forests like so many ropes; they are especially attached to the crown of old trees, and quite tight, as in a well-trimmed ship. Highly picturesque are their numerous twists, and the chains and plaitings which they form among themselves. All these leafless creepers, as far as we could see, were of a dark chocolate or dusky colour, generally full of sap, and extremely tough and flexible.

Among the forest trees the already mentioned *Nuhn* (*Muristica sp. nov.*) occupies a prominent place, and, on account of the peculiar formation of the branches, its foliage arrests attention (15k-j).

A fine *Eugenia*, the flowers of which (here ripe fruit) grow out of the stem, belongs to the characteristic plants of this upper region. In that below, near the sea, it occurs but rarely, and is of diminutive dimensions. Unfortunately I had no time to draw a fully developed specimen, and have therefore been obliged to content myself with introducing a rather weak one; the plant attains much greater height and thickness. The fruits, either isolated or picturesquely grouped, look somewhat like cherries, but are larger and either white or red. They are fleshy, but hard and inedible.

Two monocotyledons, already incorporated in the last view, could not have been left out here: *Dracæna terminalis* (10- 11m-n) growing in small groups among the creepers, and a *Maranta* (14-15 p-q). Close by the latter generally flourishes a species of *Costus* (4h).

The slender palm (13-14k) is apparently a young specimen of a very fine species, rather common, though isolated, in the higher mountain regions of this island. Its very straight trunk attains a considerable height, enabling one from the sea to distinguish their crowns above the general level of the forests in the mountains. Want of time prevented us from forcing our way through the jungle as far as that locality, but lower down this splendid plant, termed "*Kutuar*" by the natives, does not seem to be found. I remember having only been near it when, led by native guides, we were on a trail, steep and difficult to trace, which led through the interior of the island to the Bay of Lāla. The first specimen met with on that mountain trail is the one introduced; I have drawn it as carefully as time would permit. A second and much finer one was encountered after having descended the other side of the mountains. It bore fine white flowers. Its crown seemed to be considerably denser and rounder than that of the young specimen, and the general habit that of the *Areca* palm. Unfortunately it was already too late, and the haste of our guides to reach Lāla too great, to allow of my making a drawing of this plant, which stood upon such inaccessible ground that an attempt to fell it and gather its flowers would be required still more time. Of course this leaves it somewhat doubtful whether the one here represented is only a young state of it, or quite a different species.

PLATE IX.

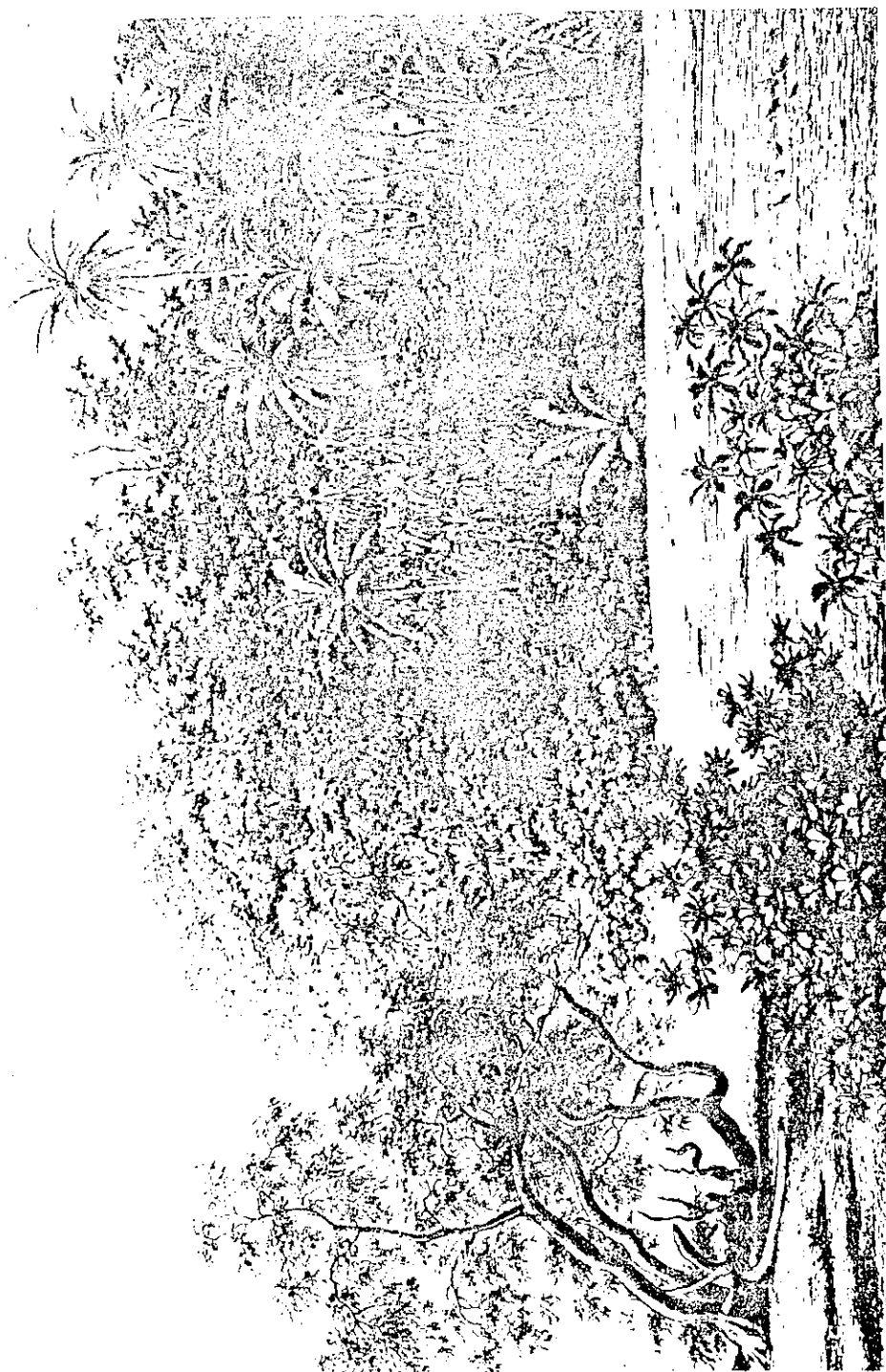
CORAL REEF OF LUGUNOR, CAROLINE ISLANDS

WOODY CORAL ISLAND, SEEN FROM WITHOUT.

Imagine a generally hoeshoe-like chain of comparatively long, narrow sand-banks, hardly elevated above the level of the ocean, sheltered against the waves by a coral reef surrounding the whole. Everywhere within the latter the water is shallow; the bottom, consisting of coral sand, is evidently rising and gradually becoming dry land, so that the open narrow channels crossing the long ridge of land, and dividing it into several islands, still in time disappear. The present view represents one of these channels. Standing at the extremity of one island, we look across upon the other; on the right we have an expanded view of the reef, distant about 200 paces, and behind it the surf of the ocean; on the left we behold the basin of unequal depth, surrounded by the horseshoe-like chain, where the prospect is closed by a few islets of this self-same chain. Such coral islands, but recently risen above the surface of the ocean, exhibit of course no trace of the vegetation which establishes itself on the older ones. The first green appearing on the hitherto naked sand, we found to be invariably the shrubby *Scævola* with small white flowers, which afterwards forms also the principal brushwood of the shores; a specimen of it is represented in the centre of the foreground (6g), and there is no difficulty in recognising it by its habit in the more distant groups of bushes. The rich juicy foliage of this plant may be well suited to the formation of vegetable mould, in which a more diversified vegetation finds a home. Next follows a *Tournefortia*, common in all the islands of these seas visited by us, which assumes more the look of a small tree, and has a less bushy habit; the silvery grey colour of its leaves forms a strong contrast with the fresh light green of the *Scævola*. A young specimen of this exclusively littoral plant is seen on the right-hand side of the foreground (11p-q), and an older one more in the distance (13n-o).¹ Close by will be noticed the delicate foliage of another shrub, peculiar to the outskirts of these forests, which, according to Dr. Mertens, probably belongs to a new genus of *Myrtaceæ*; an old fully grown specimen of it is seen in the foreground to the left F(2-3d-e). In the outskirts of the forest at a distance are found, besides the exclusively littoral plants, other half-shrubby trees. Two specimens of *Pandanus odoratissimus*, so common in all these islands, will easily be recognised by their peculiar habit. Their trunks here exhibit numerous crowns.

On the right-hand side of the smaller specimen to the left are seen, besides the low *Scævola* and that undetermined *Myrtacea*, a species of *Hibiscus* with cordate leaves and dark carmine-coloured flowers, which either occurs as a shrub or small tree (708e-

1 Doubtless *Tournefortia argentea*.—Berthold Seemann.



ñ), and above it a *Calophyllum*¹ (8e) which in other places becomes a stately forest tree, and has a dark green foliage.

Immediately behind it rises an isolated cocoa-palm, and more to the right (12n) a young specimen of *Barringtonia speciosa*, one of the most elegant trees of this region, but which grows less freely in these coral islands. Groups of cocoa-nut palms, which suffer little underwood to spring up, show themselves here, and through these may be seen the other end of the forest, a proof of the limited extent of such an island as this. In its centre, where the accumulation of vegetable mould has been going on the longest, two stately forest trees have already found a home. I only distinguished two species, which probably may be the most common and conspicuous. The first, a specimen of which closes a group of trees, is a large *Eugenia* with lanceolate leaves, about nine inches long, and fruits of about the size of a large plum, of a pale green colour tinged with red, of a sweet, insipid, yet refreshing taste, and very much esteemed by the natives.

Several bread-fruit trees (*Artocarpus incisa*), of considerable height, follow. Here may be found the true type of a tree in a state of cultivation in most of the larger islands, all the fruits having fully developed seeds of the size of chestnuts, and a similar skin. Roasted, they are eaten, possessing very much the taste of chestnuts. There are besides several varieties of the bread-fruit, principally distinguished by the shape of their leaves, as we shall have an opportunity of learning on noticing the succeeding view.

1 Probably *Calophyllum inophyllum*.—*Berthold Seemann*.



ring insolated in Ualan, generally is common in the coral islands; it differs from *Pandanus odoratissimus* not only by a more elegant growth of its broader leaves, but also by its fruit, which, when ripe, is whitish, and has very hard though edible drupes; its round heads of fruit, attached to longer stalks than these of *Pandanus odoratissimus*, are generally drooping (12l-m). A young shrubby specimen of *Barringtonia speciosa* grows close to the above-mentioned cocoa-nut palm (5-6e-f). A species of *Guattarda* forms middle-sized trees; we see a fully-grown specimen of it (9m), and more in front a young one (12n). At the foot of the former, several delicate creepers form a rather rich curtain. Among the finest flowers of this season rank the dark blossoms of a species of *Crinum* (2f), with which the inhabitants ornament their hair and ears. *Tacca pinnatifida* (11p-q) grows plentifully, though ungregariouly, on the outskirts of the woods.

PLATE XI.

GUAHAM, ONE OF THE MARIANA ISLANDS.

FOREST IN THE PLAINS OF MADREPORE, OROTE PENINSULA.

As far as the Marianas are represented by Guaham, the most extensive and southernmost of these islands, they are at once distinguished from the more southern Caroline group by their dry climate, which imparts to the whole country the look of a steppe. The month of March, in which our visit fell, is evidently the dry season of these regions; everywhere is aridity, very few trees with fresh foliage are seen in the forest, and perhaps the third part of all is quite leafless. The sea-shores are either kept supplied with moisture by rivulets from the interior, and then overgrown with *Bruigiera* and other mangroves, or they are sandy, and in the latter case distinguished by two forms very characteristic of this island,—*Cycas revoluta* (10-11o-p), very common hereabouts, and a shrubby pyramidal *Casuarina*, which is again met with in the upper steppes of the interior, through wanting in the intermediate forest district. Banks of coral surround the shores on all sides, making this larger island, as the high Carolines, appear like mountains risen in the centre of extensive coral plains. Here and there considerable districts of these plains have been lifted by plutonic agency high above the sea level; the Orote peninsula, confining the south-west side of the basin of Caldera de Apra, is one of these. The low, sandy shores are evidently later diluvial deposits; a few steps from the water's edge the walls of very ancient madreporite rocks rise perpendicularly, the surface of which is as level as most coral islands, and they only seem sloping by the accumulation of vegetable mould. This plain, which, as may be supposed, is utterly destitute of springs, is nevertheless covered with fine tall trees, and, although thorny underwood abounds, is on the whole tolerably penetrable; however much the growth and features of the trees may bring to mind the virgin forests in other tropical countries, their impenetrable nature is here suspended. True, there are occasionally considerable thickets of luxuriant *Cycas*, as shown in the centre of our illustration, a few old trees of considerable height forming an agreeable contrast with this rather chaotic group of saplings. Amongst them are only a few branching specimens, as seen on the left of our plate (1-2d-e), and these appear to be very old. Other curious phenomena are the apparently not very scarce hermaphrodite individuals, bearing the rising male flowers, and below the already fully developed fruits.¹

Among the forest trees is one distinguished by its slender growth and thick foliage (the leaves resembling those of the eash), which vernacularly is termed "*Paipai*," and esteemed on account of its extremely hard wood. The same remark applies to another tree of similar aspect, the leaves of which are, however, more like those of the myrtle, while the bark is pale yellow (9-10l-m). A *Pandanus* (6d-e) which, though isolated, is rather common, and, though it does not seem to differ essentially from *Pandanus odor-*

1 I take this to be *Cycas circinalis* rather than *Cycas revoluta*.—*Berthold Seemann*.

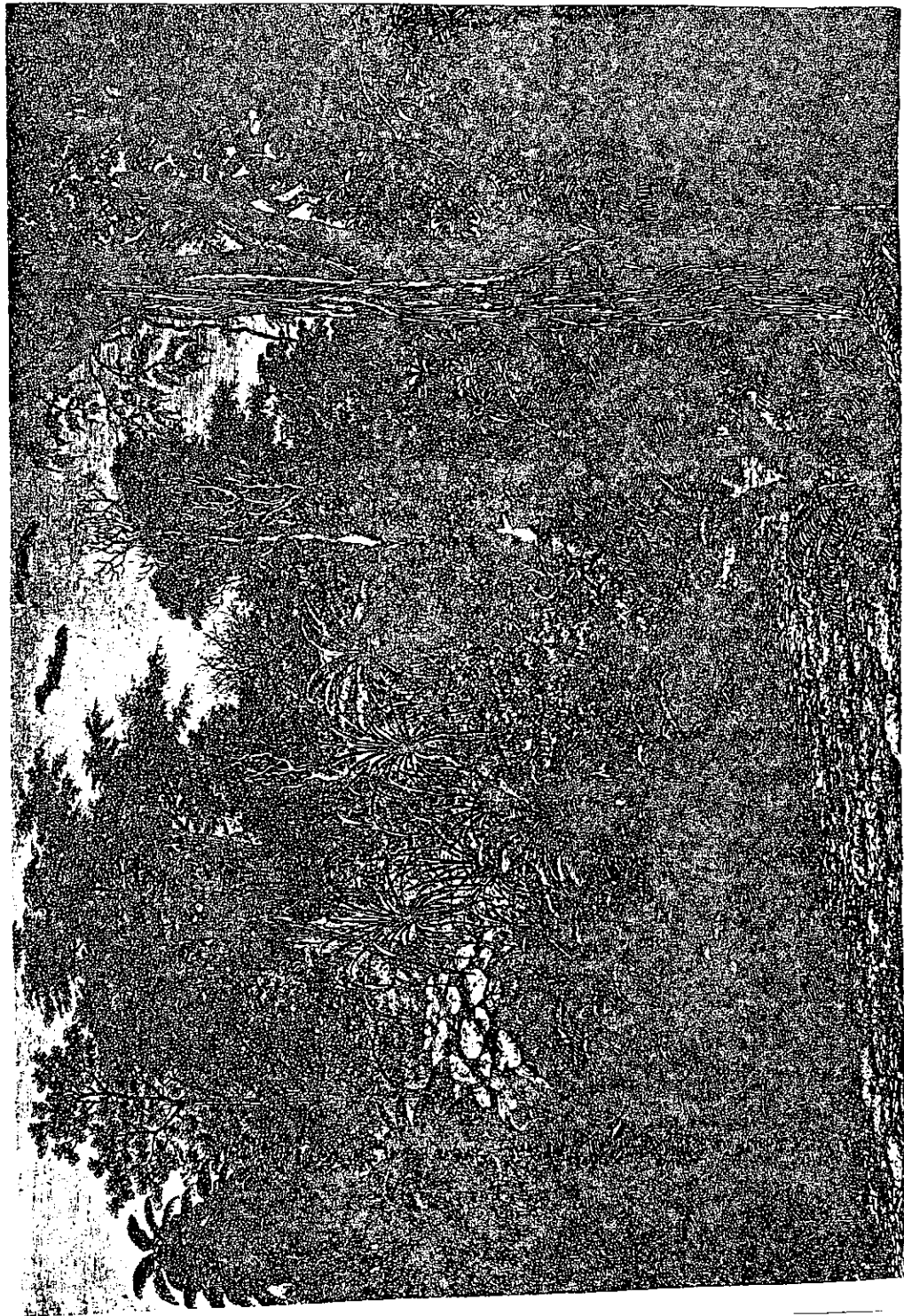


PLATE XI.

atissimus, is conspicuous by its habit, its slender undulated branches, and especially by its long narrow leaves, of which there are comparatively few in each crown.

Several species of *Cordia* (14-15k-l) exhibit their gigantic growth, and are about this season but sparingly clad with leaves; here and there their bark is surrounded by a network of certain creepers, already noticed in describing Plate VI. But the most striking of all the trees is a gigantic species of fig, the representative of the banyan in this place (5-6b-c). It differs evidently in every respect from that of Ualan, the height of which it nowhere seems to attain. Its comparatively tall stem always has the appearance of a gigantic bundle of sticks, the component parts of which must be considered as being curiously twisted around each other, and grown together into one mass. On the upper end of this rather conical bundle, spreads out like an umbrella a crown formed of fantastically twisted branches, which has numerous fine leaves of a dark, rather greyish green. The tree seen on the right-hand side of the foreground (12-12l) seems to be a smaller species of fig, the aerial roots of which have quite the look of creepers. Elegant ferns are covering its branches.

There is also a species of *Cerbera*, frequently met in the Caroline, Mariana, and Bonin Islands; it resembles in growth and the shape of its leaves the *Terminalia catappa*, but its principal branches are more rectangular, and the foliage is generally more airy and of a finer lively green (3-4b-c). I have nothing to add respecting the large-leaved perennial, except that a species of the same genus, resembling it in leaf, grows in the island of Luzon; it has not the thick bushy growth of the present, but makes tall slender stems (4e).

In the centre of our view (7-8f) will be seen a thorny shrub, which about this season is conspicuous by its fresh dark green and large white flowers. For remains already assigned I am unable to supply its scientific name.¹

1 Ed. note: This reason was the premature death of his colleague Dr. Mertens.

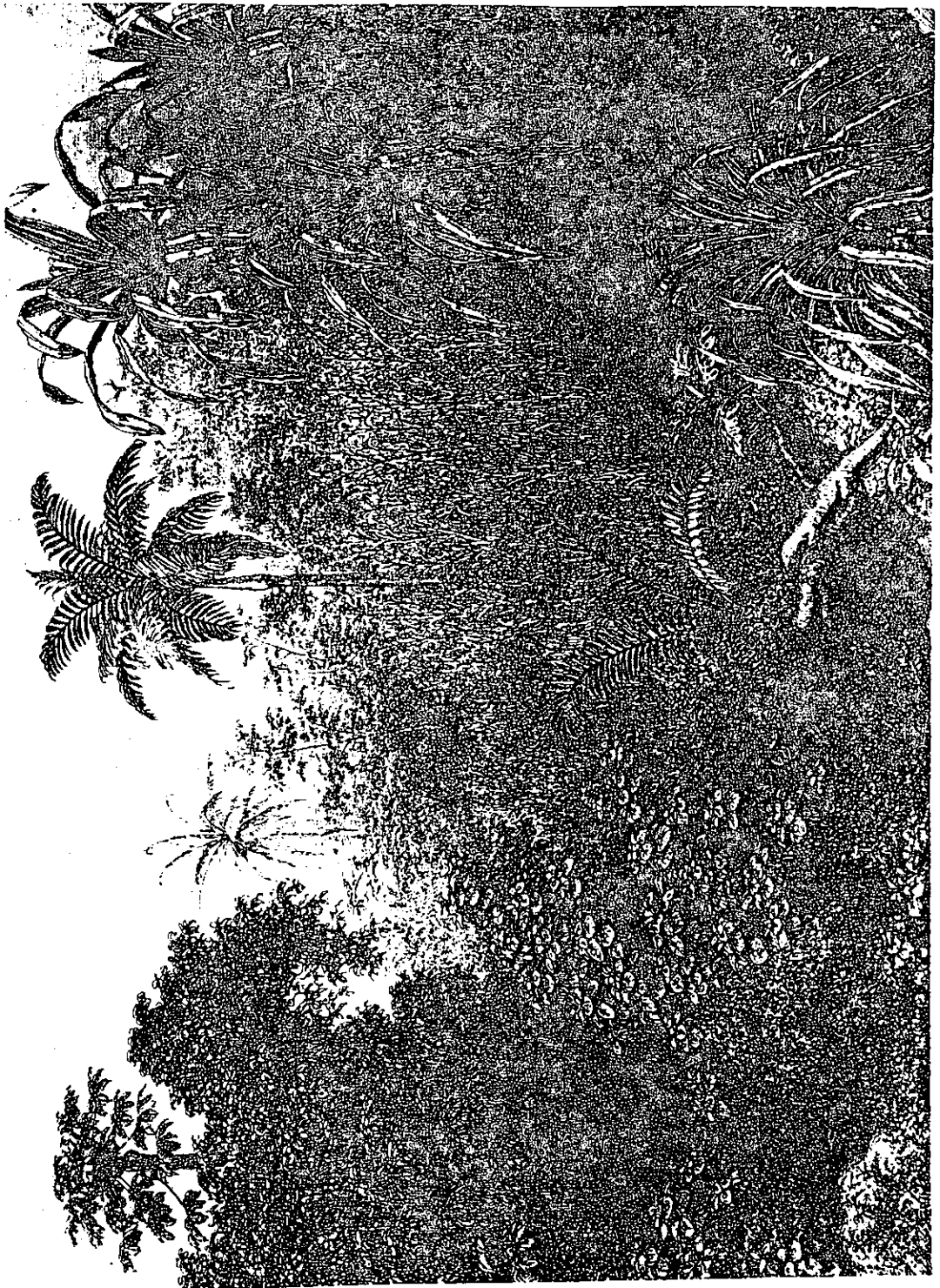


PLATE XII.

GUAHAM.

LOWER SAVANNA DISTRICT.

Where the old volcanic soil of the island prevails, the steppe-like character already commences in the narrow valleys adjoining the mangroves. Even in places little favourable it principally shows itself in the predominance of social grasses, which, in these warm valleys, well watered during the rainy season, generally consist of colossal species, mostly of the sugar-cane tribe. At this time of the year they are dry, but still well preserved, and afford as pretty as characteristic an aspect. The tall and stately bamboo (7-8d), playing an important part in some of the valleys near the shores—for instance, in the Bay of Umata—surely bears much resemblance to the large *Bambusa arundinacea*, so common about Manila, and is perhaps identical with it; in that case making it difficult to decide whether it has not been introduced from there and become naturalized here. The same question suggests itself with regard to the other plants here represented; for instance, the papaw (*Carica papaya*, Linn.) (2d-e; 2-3b) growing isolated about the outskirts of the woods. The turf in the extreme foreground of our picture is partly formed by the widely diffused *Convolvulus maritimus* which here retreats some distance from the shores of the sea. In its neighbourhood we behold the cocoa-nut palm, the natural associate of man, so common on the shores of the island, and used by the inhabitants in various ways, especially for making toddy, or palm wine, which in a thickened state constitutes a well-flavoured and nutritious syrup, but, after fermentation, an intoxicating beverage. Behind this palm tower stately forest trees, among which may be distinguished a couple of wild bread-fruit trees (*Artocarpus incisa*), common in all the woods of the island. Among them grow several other fine trees already known to us from the Carolines, especially splendid and numerous specimens of the *Barringtonia speciosa*. To our surprise this fine tree was used as fuel, and its square fruits covered the ground as the mast of beeches does in Europe. *Morinda citrifolia*, already mentioned at Ualan, is here as common as in that island, and seen isolated on the outer margins of the forests (10l). The finest and most conspicuous figure in this view is, without doubt, an areca palm, termed "*Bunga*" by the natives (9k-l), and differing from that commonly cultivated about Manila, not in habit but in the shape of the fruits, they being spherical, not oblong like acorns. The splendid plant is an ornament of most valleys of the interior, the heart of its leaves being esteemed as "cabbage," but very seldom eaten on account of the rarity of the plant. Among the plants of the foreground, on the right two species of *Pandanus* are conspicuous. The largest, *Pandanus latifolius* (15k-l), does not strikingly differ from plants of the same kind in the coral islands; here it is not very rare, though less common than the already-mentioned narrow-leaved species. The smaller species (13p-q) we have seen nowhere except here; it is always stemless, has a simple crown, and a pale bluish tinge.

The bushes behind this figure are those of a species of *Limonia*, with rather resinous but aromatic fruits, much sought after by the wild pigeons—a thorn flourishing in abundance in all the woods of the island, and, on account of its delicate branches, less noticed by the eye than, on account of its prickles, felt by the skin.

The bushes on the left chiefly consist of *Hibiscus populneus*, thickly overrun by the same creepers noticed in Ualan, among which a *Stizolobium* predominates.

On the right rise several thickly leaved branches of *Hernandia ovigera*, to all appearance shoots of an old fallen trunk of a tree, which is among the largest forest trees of the island.

PLATE XIII.

GUAHAM.

UPPER SAVANNA DISTRICT.

The woody hills rising near the sea are followed, as we ascend, by rather extensive meadows, here and there crossed by little valleys full of trees and shrubs. Further in the interior these grassy plains gradually merge into steep hills, piled together, the herbage of which disappears soon after the commencement of the dry season, to lay bare the naked soil. The above-mentioned *Casuarina* is here principally at home, its isolated stems occupying the heights in almost regular distances. It would be difficult to find a country more strikingly defined by characteristic plants than the present is by the combination of this *Casuarina* with the narrow-leaved *Pandanus* and the *Cycas revoluta*. The first-named has a peculiar elegance of growth, rendering it evident that the plant has flourished on the open heights of the island, and under the constant influence of the tradewind. Its light, airy, fluttering habit presents an agreeable sight (15l-m). The present view exhibits one of the places where the character of the just-mentioned grassy plains merges into the naked hills. The foreground is covered with tall *Cyperaceæ*, which, though dried up, still preserve their shape. Their dry leaves are often so sharp that an accidental contact with them may impart a serious wound. As the grass is the first to suffer from the aridity, the naked parts here and there bear a *Mertensia* (13o), and especially a little shrubby myrtle (14-15o) of elegant aspect, and growing even at the distant heights near the isolated *Casuarina* trees.

The wood in the centre principally consists of a collection of trees also found in the lower forest region. Only the shrubby *Scavola* (2-3f) and the *Casuarina* itself are found lower down in the immediate vicinity of the sea. A stately *Calophyllum* (6e) here abounds. Nor is the already mentioned *Areca*, in this kind of woods, a scarce palm, agreeably contrasting with the taller trunks of the *Cycas*. A fine *Mimosa*, with umbrella-shaped crown (4d-e) is seen on the slopes of the naked hills; this tree is not abundant in the island, and resembles in habit the acacias bounding the deserts of Northern Africa.



Documents 1827G

Troublesome foreigners living in Guam**G1. Proposal to banish vagabond foreigners in the Philippine Islands****Report submitted by Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro, dated Madrid 26 April 1827.***Sources: Ms. in Ayer Collection, Chicago; translation from B&R 51: 201-209.*

...

On the settlement of banished and vagabond foreigners in the islands.

...

{The foreigner thus residing in the islands, “usually from the dregs of other nations,” makes light of all the institutions there, and tries to set the people against the mother country; and three times recently has occurred] the scandal, unheard-of in that colony, of foreigners who, abusing the innocence of the country, have, being already married in their own country, again married Philippine Spanish girls, leaving them abandoned and dishonored. Others, who feigned to be learned physicians and agriculturists, have deceived and defrauded proprietors in the islands. Others have clandestinely introduced impious, revolutionary, and obscene books printed in the Spanish language, but pirated in France, with which they have caused atrocious injury in the morals of families there. In fine, the settlement of foreigners in the islands would not be expedient, even for the sake of the advantages which their industry and arts would produce there; for works carried on always with foreign capital, on the account of foreigners, and by the agency of foreigners, would leave to the country very little benefit as compared to that from labor employed there by Spanish capital, and on the account and for the benefit of Spaniards. If we desire to preserve intact in the Philippines the religious ideas and the pure morals of our ancestors, and due submission to the government of His Majesty, it is necessary to keep the people away from every point of contact with foreigners. In China, Japan, and other nations, the revolutionary spirit has not been able to penetrate, because the laws of those kingdoms keep the gates closed to all strangers. In a colony still in its infancy in customs and enlightenment—which, like a school of education, needs to have for models men of sound morals—it has been very absurd to allow

to remain and become citizens therein men who have served a term of exile, and stowaways or vagabonds, sometimes followed by officers of justice from the Peninsula; and that the Indian people should see (as so many times I have seen) that this sort of men succeeded in obtaining positions as corporals, revenue officials, and even militia captains, solely from the circumstance of their being white men. It is necessary always to remove from the colonies this sort of people, who on account of their principles and their inclinations must be enemies of order and of government, permitting therein the settlement only of respectable Spanish artisans and merchants, whose upright conduct may serve as an example to that neophyte people, while at the same time they make fortunes for themselves. But even this point needs careful study, and in regard to it I will present the following reflections.

...
This great reform will assuredly be the work of the present enlightened government of His Majesty, and the future prosperity of the Philippine Islands will be the grandest monument to his glory.

Madrid, April 26, 1827.

Most Excellent Sir,

Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro

G2. Foreigners living in Guam in 1827

Source: PNA.

List of the foreigners who can be found in this island of Guajan on this date, names,¹ civil status, trade, length of stay since their arrival, and the name of their sponsors.

Names and status	Trade	Length of stay Yrs & mths	Sponsor
Englishmen			
Mr. José Juan Johnson, married	Builder	11(?)	
Mr. Juan Anderson, married	Pilot	8	
Alexandro McIntosh, married	Trypot attendant	5	
Benito Enicario(?) Cash(?), married	Surgeon	3 & 4	
Juan Jiherrivod(?), married	Sailor	3	
Jorge Carter, widower	Sailor	3	Pedro Taysacan
Guillermo Kaba, married	Sailor	3	
Samuel Taylor, single	Washer	2 & 5	Manuel Sablan

¹ Ed. note: Many of those names are hard to decipher; some contain errors in spelling or in transcription. First names have been left as they appear, in Spanish.

Guillermo Yrain [=Ryan?], married	Cooper	2 & 4	Juan Materne
Mauricio Trollin(?), single	Sailor	2	Wolfgang Muña
Carlos Wet [=West?], single	Sailor	1 & 10	Pedro Taysacan
Guillermo Roberto, married	Boatswain	1 & 8	
Guillermo Escoll, single	Sailor	1 & 6	Claudio de la Cruz
Guillermo Braen, single	Sailor	1 & 6	Antonio de la Cruz
Ignacio Benjamin Hammet, married	Sailor	1 & 6	Absent
Enrique Morris, single	Sailor	1	José de los Reyes
Santiago Staunton, single	Sailor	1	José Villagomes
Santiago Guieipson [Wilson], single	Sailor	0 & 11	Mariano Ada
José Juan Ellis, married	Surgeon	0 & 9	
Juan Medfalin, married	Cattleman	0 & 8	Laureano Taitagui
Juan Walter, single	Cooper	0 & 7	Mariano Ada
Alexandro Peakea [=Parker?], single	Surgeon	0 & 4	At the college.
José Pedro Watkins, married	Pilot	0 & 4	
José Santiago Ortega, married	Sailor	0 & 3	Juana de la Concepción
Guillermo Middleton(?), married	Painter	0 & 3	Mr. Antonio Guerrero
José Guillermo [=Williams], single	Sailor	0 & 3	Aboard Schooner Caledonia
José Trask, single	Sailor	0 & 3	Manuel de la Cruz
Antonio Jerol, widower	Cooper	0 & 2	Francisco Lizama
Guillermo Alquin [=Atkins?], single	Pilot	0 & 1	Claudio de la Cruz
Juan Yepion, single	Mason	0 & 1	Luisa Lizama
Juan Clark, single	Sailor	) & 1	Mariano Pangilinan
David Anderson, single	Carpenter	0 & 1	Mr. José Juan Johnson
Jorge Winttelton, single	Sailor	0 & 1	Manuel Maximo
Juan Mafell(?), single	Cooper	0 & 1	Juan de la Concepción
Jorge Ruttidifo [Rockcliffe?], single	Surgeon	0 & 1	José Jorge Ellis
Portuguese			
Manuel Antonio, married	Tailor	13	
Ignacio Rodrigues, married	Sailor	11 & 2	
Antonio de la Asunción, married	Sailor	4	
Antonio Fuertes, married	Sailor	3 & 2	
Bernardino Tivau, single	Sailor	3	Pedro Quitagua
José Marciso, married	Sailor	2 & 3	Absent
Saturnino Pereda, single	Sailor	0 & 1	Paulino Mendiola
Alfonso Deseria, single	Sailor	0 & 1	At the palace.
Americans			
Francisco Lay, married	Sailor	1 & 10	
José Manuel, single	Sailor	1 & 2	Tiburcio Arriola
José Mariano Dipson, single	Pilot	1 & 5	Mr. José Martinez
Guillermo Dupar, single	Chandler	0 & 11	Luis Palomo
Juan Keef, single	Caulker	0 & 5	Pedro del Rosario

Frenchmen

Leonardo Rirus(?), married	Sailor	3 & 4	
Juan Robert, married	Sailor	3	
Juan Bautista, single	Tailor	1 & 8	Nicolas de Leon Guerrero
Juan Pedro, single	Sailor	0 & 11	José Charfaumos in Agat

New Guinea

Santiago Brown, single	Sailor	0 & 3	Mariano de los Santos
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Dutch

Timoteo Royas, single	Sailman	0 & 1	Mr. José Martinez
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Agaña, 22 July 1827.

José de Torres, Blas de Larriva Lopez.

It is a copy [...] made on 16 February 1830.

Joaquin de Leon Guerrero, Secretary for Administration and War.

G3. Petition by some foreigners

Source: PNA.

Mr. Governor:

We, the undersigned, having heard about the order of His Excellency the Captain General dated 30 June of last year [1828], in which it is forbidden for foreigners to stay in the island, and as we are included in said order, appear before You in the best manner possible, and present ourselves to implore your paternal protection, given that we are now married and with many small children, it is not easy to abandon them and expose them to misery; we therefore submissively beg You to take pity on us, on our wives and children who would irremediably perish if we should leave them, as well as ourselves who have plantations and farm animals with which we support ourselves and our families, that we do not have as much anywhere else, that even though we are foreigners, we are already under the authority of the King of Spain, for whose protection we appeal, as we swear to defend the cause as any Spaniard must do, giving as merit the fact that during the whole time that we have been in the island, we have not caused You the least inconvenience nor have we committed any act of insubordination. We therefore beg You to attend to this our request with clemency, a favor which we hope to get, given the well-known kindness of your compassionate heart, and for which we will forever be thankful.

Agaña, 22 October 1829.

(Signed:) Juan Anderson

x (his mark) Leonardo Rirus(?)

Alexandro McIntosh

Juan Robert

Santiago Wilson [or Wilkins]

Jorge Carter

- x Ignacio Rodrigues
- x Antonio de Asunción
- x Antonio Fuentes
- x José Pedro Watkins

x For the 4 individuals who cannot sign and who are shown above, I certify for them.
Juan Anderson, Second-Lieutenant and Pilot.

G4. Some got their residence permits

Source: PNA.

List compiled by Mr. José de Torres of the foreign individuals who exist on this date, giving their names, nationality, permit that they have obtained to stay here, dates that they have arrived, and trades they now have.

—Mr. Juan Anderson, married, Scottish; he remained here as of 11 March 1819. Deserted from the French corvette **Uranie** and today he is Second-Lieutenant and interpreter-translator, and pilot, has a wife and two sons and four daughters.

—Leonardo Rirus [sic], married, native of Bordeaux, France, arrived here on 17 March 1819 aboard said corvette; today he is a farmer, has wife and one son.

—Ignacio Rodrigues, married, native of the island of Goa, arrived here on 17 March 1816; he stayed with permission of the government, he is a farmer today.

—Antonio de la Asunción, married, native of the island of Madeira, Portuguese territory; he has been here as of November 1822, being a deserter from the English whaler **Reynard** and today he is a farmer, has a wife, two sons and two daughters.

—Manuel Antonio, married, native of Pernambuco in Brazil, has been here since 20 February 1814; he stayed with permission of the government and today he is a Corporal First Class in the Regular Troop.

—Bernardino Tibao, single, native of the island of San Juan, Capital of the Cape Verde Islands; he has been here since March 1824 with permission of the government for being sick, and today he is a farmer.

—Antonio Fuentes, married, native of Cape Verde, has been here since 26 November 1824, deserted from the English whaler **Lyra**, and today he is a farmer, has a wife and one son.

—José Pedro Watkins, married, English; has been here since 18 October 1825 with government permission and today he is a farmer, has a wife and one daughter.

—Santiago Wilson, married, Irish, has been here since September 1826, with government permission because his Captain did not want to take him along, and today he is a farmer, has a wife, one son and one daughter.

—Guillermo Lewis, single, English, has been here since 1 October 1828 with government permission because his Captain refused to take him along; his trade is carpentry.

—Jorge Carter, married, English, has been here since 12 September 1824, deserted, and today is a farmer, has a wife and two sons.

Tomás Yba(?), single, English, has been here since 22 July of this year, put ashore by his Captain, was kept as a prisoner by the government, and is a cooper.

—Alexander McIntosh, married, English, has been here since 26 December 1823, deserted, today he is a coppersmith, has a wife, two sons and one daughter.

—Juan Robert, married, native of Bordeaux in France, has been here since 15 April 1824, deserted from the whaler **Bridges** and today he is a farmer, has a wife, one son and one daughter.

Agaña, 6 December 1829.

José de Torres

Notes 1828A

The mutiny aboard the *Infatigable*, ex-*Calder*, in 1828

Introduction notes.

Source: Ian H. Nicholson's Log of Logs, Roebuck Society, 1988.

This ship began as the **Calder**, an Australian trading brig of 100-ton capacity, equipped with 22 guns, and commanded by Peter Dillon. In January 1825 it made a voyage to the New Hebrides, of which there is an account in Peter Dillon's Journal published in London in 1841. In March 1825, she left Sydney for Valparaiso where she was driven ashore on 11 June 1825. The journal of the third officer, George Bayly, was published in "Sea-life Sixty Years Ago" at London in 1885. The brig was then apparently salvaged and renamed the **Infatigable** (not as the *Indefatigable*, as Nicholson says, and not in 1827). Lafond de Lurcy served on board her in 1826. The brig was somehow involved with some Chilean insurgents at that time. In any case, many of them were recruited as crewmen in mid-1828 when she left the port of Concepción with a cargo of wheat bound for Sydney. The crew mutinied on 22 July, murdered Captain Joseph Hunter and cast Second Mate Todd & others adrift in the ship's boat. They then forced Chief Officer Frederick William Lofgreen to navigate the vessel.

The brig was headed for Manila when she stopped at Guam. The story of the mutiny was told, the mutineers arrested, and later handed over to Captain Rous of **HMS Rainbow**, on 24 December 1828, when the latter made a brief visit at Guam. The brig herself was declared a fair prize by the Spanish, as she was considered a Chilean rebel ship. The **Infatigable** visited Guam at least once more, in 1830, with C. Ramirez as captain.

The story of the mutiny is told in a secret log kept by Lofgreen, part of which was published in the *Hobart Town Courier* on 11 June 1829. The narrative of the Second Mate and other boat survivors was similarly published in the *Sydney Gazette* on 24 September 1827 [rather 1829?].

The capture of the ship at Guam in 1828

Source: Item 39, Mariana Island Col. Govt., in LC Mss. Div.; cited in B&R 53: 379 [273 leaves, badly mutilated].

Summary of this file.

The file consists in great part in depositions. Its title page reads as follows:

Joaquin de León Guerrero, et al.—Case file compiled against José de Vega, Antonio Rodriguez, José María, Juan Antonio Milt[on?], ..., Antonio Mansilla, ... Eugenio Caicho, on account of their having conspired against Mister Hunter, Captain and owner of the Insurgent Brig named **Infatigable**, and Mister Federico Guillermo Lofgreen, his First Mate, dated San Ignacio de Agaña 22-25 September 1828.

Documents 1828B1

Administrative reform of the Mariana Island government—Part 1

Sources: AHN 5853, exp. 2 & 3; copy in AGI Ultramar 604.

Note: For discussion, see Teresa del Valle's booklet entitled: "The Importance of the Mariana Islands to Spain at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century (Guam, MARC, 1991). Most of her information came from a sister file, AHN 5854, which has since been withdrawn from circulation, because of its bad condition.

1. Letter from Governor Ricafort to the King, dated Manila 7 December 1829

Note: The plan of ex-Governor Ganga was adopted and that of Commissioners Medinilla and Sanz was rejected.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador Capitan General de Filipinas: Da cuenta con testimonios de la reforma verificada en el Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas, y contesta al propio tiempo la Real Carta acordada en el Supremo Consejo y Camara de Yndias en 27 de Octubre de 1826.

Señor

En fines del año 1825 acordó Vuestra Real Audiencia de estas Yslas la suspencion de vuestro Gobernador en las Marianas que lo era el Capitan de Infanteria retirado Don José Ganga Herrero, con prevencion de que pasase á residenciarle el de la misma clase del Batallon No. 1º de Linea Veterano Don Manuel Sanz, en cuya consecuencia nombró esta superioridad al de igualdades Don Jose Medinilla y Pineda para que acompañado de Sanz emprendiese el viage á aquella Yslas y se encargase interinamente de su gobierno político y militar.

Con este motivo los oficiales Reales de estas Cortes representaron tener noticia (aunque extrajudicial) de hallarse en el maior desorden el gobierno de aquellas Yslas, y me hicieron presente no se atrevian á proponer cosa alguna para remediarlo considerando aventurada cualquier providencia que para su organizacion se tomase por tener demostrado la experiencia desgraciadamente la dificultad de sacar algun fruto de cuantas or-

denes relativas se han expedido por V.M. y por este Gobierno y la necesidad de proceder a una reforma, que consiliando la economia de la Real Hacienda con la mejora de suerte á que son tan acreedores los infelices habitantes de las nombradas Yslas contribuyese al logro de las beneficas intenciones de V.M. manifestadas en diversas Reales ordenes.

Propusieron en consecuencia los mismos oficiales Reales, se adopte el medio de dar comision á los nombrados Medinilla y Sanz para que con presencia del estado en que hallasen áquel Gobierno á su llegada formasen con sugesion á los principios indicados, el plan que creyesen mas adaptable, el que me fue dirigido en 30 de Noviembre de 1826 con el calculo del gasto anual que erogaria el presidio y asciende á trece mil quinientos noventa y dos pesos con mas tres mil dos cientos dies y seis pesos quatro reales y seis granos que debieran importar las raciones de la tropa de dotacion detallada en el plan, mientras la administracion de las Haciendas de V.M. en aquellas Yslas no produjesen esta cantidad.

Unida la manifestacion y plan indicados á los antecedentes previne informasen de nuevo los Oficiales Reales, quienes lo desecharon por las razones que en su informe expusieron y procedieron á la formacion de otro que se reducía al establecimiento de una escasa fuerza militar, cuyos sueldos importarian la suma de tres mil ochocientos cincuenta y ocho pesos anuales escluso el de un Gobernador puesto propusieron fuese siempre un oficial o Gefe militar con el sueldo de su empleo.

En este estado se hallaba el expediente, quando recibí la Real Carta de V.M. acordada en el Supremo Consejo y Camara de Yndias con fecha 27 de Octubre de 1826 previniendome tomase medidas eficaces para evitar la repeticion del abuso á que estaba sugeto el metodo hasta entonces tolerado, y reencargandome la observancia de la Real orden de 17 de Marzo de 1822 que prohíbe el monopolio que usaban los Gobernadores de Marianas.

Al efecto de dar al expediente toda la instruccion que requeria la resolucion de un asunto tan importante, y en cumplimiento de lo prevenido en dha Real Carta dispuse me informase el Contador maior de Cuentas y este pidió se oyese al suspenso Gefe de aquellas Yslas Don Jose Ganga Herrero, que en calidad de preso acababa de regresar de su gobierno, el cual propuso un tercer plan, y manifestó los defectos que contiene el regimen adoptado y seguido ultimamente, el que convendrá se adopte para lo sucesivo, y una extensa relacion de los vicios y causas que han impedido el progreso de las indicadas Yslas.

Exáminado todo con la detencion y madures que requeria un negocio de tal importancia, y pareciendo que el proyecto de Ganga Herrero, es de los tres, el entendido con mayor sencillas y veracidad, y de consiguiente el mas adaptable para mejorar la suerte de aquellos desgraciados Ysleños; acordó la Junta superior de Real Hacienda su aprobacion interna hasta que V.M. se digne confirmarla ó determinar lo que fuese de su Soberano Real agrado. Sus puntos principales son, la absoluta libertad de Comerciar los naturales con los Nacionales y Extranjeros y la mas rigida prohibicion de que pueda verificarlo, bajo ningun titulo como hasta aqui el Gobernador, la distribucion de las tierras á los naturales en la Ysla de Guajan y el arreglo de una respetable Milicia Ur-

vana que imponga á cualquiera nacion enemiga y á los désidentes de la America si intentasen hostilizar aquel territorio debiendo costar á la Real Hacienda ocho mil diés y seis pesos anuales habiendose dado yá las providencias oportunas, á que se lleve á efecto conforme todo se patentisa por la primera pieza del Expediente seguido y de que acompaño el adjunto testimonio.

Al propio tiempo se dieron las disposiciones oportunas para la remision á las indicadas Yslas Marianas de los pertrechos de Guerra armas y municiones que se creyeron necesarias, como tambien la de Sargentos y Cabos de este Exercito, para la instruccion de los individuos que deben componer las compañías de dotacion de aquel presidio, al que se creyó necesario pasase el Capitan del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria de este Departamento Don Francisco Ramon de Villalobos, para la inspeccion y arreglo de todo lo correspondiente á su ramo, verificando lo mismo por lo que respecta á los de fortificacion y Marina en cuanto le sea posible á cuyo efecto se previno recibiese de los Gefes respectivos la competente instruccion sin perjuicio de la que fue entregada por esta Capitania General.

La Real Sociedad economica de estas Yslas, dio tambien comision al expresado Capitan, para que procure la adquisicion de noticias y datos que crea conducentes sobre las producciones de aquel territorio, su poblacion, medios de subsistencia y demas oportuno para que este Cuerpo pueda dedicarse y prestar los auxilios que considere necesarios á la felicidad de aquellos fieles habitantes.

Teniendo presente que la escasa comunicacion entre esta Capital y aquellas Yslas por su larga distancia puderia dar motivo á entorpecer el cumplimiento de tan interesantes comisiones, bien por dudas que pueden ocurrir ó bien por fallecimiento del Gobernador crei conveniente declarar á dho Capitan 2º Gefe de aquel Gobierno y uno de los vocales de la junta que designa el articulo 4º de la instruccion formada al intento, y de que acompaño un exemplar segun se encuentra manifiestamente detallado en la 2ª pieza del respectivo Expediente que siguió por separado y de que vá igualmente el adjunto testimonio.

Todo lo qual elevo al Soberano conocimiento de V.M. esperando se dignaria confirmar las expresadas medidas si las considera arregladas, ó bien conforme á los paternales deseos de V.M. manifestados constantemente en diversas Reales ordenes, resolverá lo que fuere de su Soberano Real agrado.

Dios guarde á V.M. muchos años.

Manila 7 de Diciembre de 1829.

Señor.

A L.R.P. de V.M.

Mariano Ricafort.

Translation.

The Governor-General of the Philippines: Reports, with attachments, about the reform made in the Government of the Mariana Islands, and at the same time answers

the Royal letter issued by the Supreme Council and Court of the Indies on 27 October 1826.

Sire:

At the end of 1825 your Royal Audiencia of this Audiencia granted the suspension of your Governor in the Marianas, who was then Don José Ganga Herrero, Infantry Captain (ret'd), and arranged for his *residencia* to be taken by Don Manuel Sanz, an officer of the same rank from Battalion N° 1 of the Standing Regiment. Consequently, this superior government appointed a replacement, Don José Medinilla y Pineda, and dispatched him, to accompany Sanz, to those Islands, where he was to assume the political and military government on an interim basis.

For these reasons the Royal officials of these Islands made representations to me, although informally, to the effect that they considered the government of those Islands to be in great disorder, and they did not dare propose anything by way of a remedy, because they thought that any provision would be ineffective; indeed, experience has shown that any past proposal to reorganize it has met with failure, in spite of the many orders that Y.M. and this government have issued, and the need to proceed with a reform, one that would result in some savings for the Royal treasury as well as in some much-needed improvements, for the sake of those poor natives of said Islands, in line with the beneficial intentions of Y.M. as expressed in various Royal orders.

As a consequence, said Royal officials proposed the adoption of a means to give a commission to the above-mentioned Medinilla and Sanz and, based on the above principles, to carry out a study of the existing situation of that government upon their arrival and to recommend a plan that would seem most suitable in their opinion. Said plan was forwarded to me on 30 November 1826; the yearly budget for the garrison would cause expenditures totalling 13,592 pesos, in addition to 3,216 pesos 4 reals and 6 grains for the food supplies for the regular soldiers, as shown in detail in said plan, whereas the administration of Your Royal properties in those Islands would not produce this sum.

In view of the remarks and plan mentioned above, I decided to ask the Royal officials to produce an official report, which they did. They rejected the plan in question, for the reasons stated therein and they proceeded in drafting another plan that foresees a reduced military force, one that would require a yearly expenditure of 3,858 pesos, excluding the salary of a Governor, whose position, they suggested, should always be that a military officer receiving the salary corresponding to his rank.

Such was the status of the case file when I received your Royal letter issued by the Supreme Council and Court of the Indies, dated 27 October 1826, ordering me to take effective measures to avoid the repetition of the abuse that resulted from the method thus far tolerated, and repeating Your Royal order dated 17 March 1822 in which is prohibited the monopoly used by the Governors of the Marianas.

The better to proceed adequately with the case file and give a resolution to such an important subject matter, and to comply with the dictates of said Royal letter, I ar-

ranged for the Senior Accountant to give me a report. Said accountant begged me to consult with the former Governor of those Islands, Don José Ganga Herrero, who had just then returned from his post as a prisoner. Said Ganga proposed a third plan, and, after stating the disadvantages of the present management system, he recommended the adoption of another in future, ending up with a long list of the problems and causes that have prevented the progress of said Islands.

Having examined everything with the time and maturity required of such an important business, it appeared that, out of the three plans, that proposed by Ganga Herrero was the simplest and most realistic, and consequently the best that would improve the lot of those poor islanders. That is why the Superior Board of the Royal Treasury approved it on an interim basis, until such time as Y.M. be pleased to confirm it or determine what may be of Your Royal Sovereign pleasure. Its main points are: an absolute freedom for the natives to trade with nationals and foreigners, and the strictest prohibition for any Governor to do that at any time; the distribution of lands to the natives of the Island of Guahan; and the establishment of a respectable Urban Militia capable of offering resistance to any enemy nation, or to Dissidents from America, who would try and invade said teerritory. The cost to the Royal treasury would amount to 8,016 pesos per year. Appropriate provisions have already been made for the implementation of said plan, as can be seen in the first document of the case file and in the attached record of proceedings.

At the same time, appropriate measures have been taken for the remittal to said Mariana Islands of some war equipment, weapons and ammunitions that were thought necessary, as well as the despatch of some Army Sergeants and Corporals for the training of the individuals who may become part of the regular companies of that garrison. To this effect, it was considered necessary to send Don Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, Captain of the Royal Corps of Artillery of this Department, to inspect and arrange everything having to do with his specialty; he is also to check the management of the forts and naval service, but in these cases, will follow the specific instructions to be issued by the respective heads of those services, without prejudice to the general instruction he received from this Captaincy General.

The Royal Economic Society of these Islands has also given a commission to said Captain, for him to try and acquire as much information and as many facts possible about the products of that territory, its population, means of subsistence, etc. in order to allow said Corporation to get involved and provide all the assistance necessary to the happiness of those faithful islanders.

Keeping in mind that communication between this capital and those Islands is infrequent, on account of the great distance involved, and might cause problems in the implementation of such interesting commissions, either because of doubts about the matter, or because of the death of the Governor, I saw fit to appoint said Captain Second-in-command and one of the members of the board mentioned in Article 4 of the Instruction drawn up for the purpose, a copy of which I have included as Document n° 2 in the case file sent separately, along with [a copy of] the record of proceedings.

All of which I bring to the attention of Y.M., hoping that you will be pleased to confirm the above-said measures if they be considered adequate, or in accordance with the paternal wishes of Y.M., constantly expressed in your various Royal orders.

May God save Y.M. for many years.

Manila, 7 December 1829.

Sire:

At the Royal Feet of Your Majesty,
Mariano Recafort

2. Letter from Governor Ricafort to the Minister of Finance, dated Manila 7 December 1829

Original text in Spanish.

No. 332. Yslas Marianas.

El Gobernador Capitan General Superintendente Subdelegado de Real Hacienda de Filipinas:

Ynserta la Consulta dirigida à S.M. sobre la reforma del gobierno de Marianas y acompaña testimonio de la instruccion formada para el regimen administrativo de aquellas Yslas.

Exmo. Sor.

Dadas las disposiciones necesarias à que se lleve a efecto la reforma del Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas y Administracion de su Real Hacienda, conforme lo resuelto por la India superior y de que acompaño à V.E. el adjunto exemplar, elevo à las Reales manos con está fha el testimonio integro del Expediente seguido al intento con la Consulta del tenor siguiente.

El Gobernador Capitan General de Filipinas: Dá cuenta con testimonios de la reforma verificada en el Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas, y contesta al propio tiempo la Real Carta acordada en el supremo Consejo y Camara de Yndias en 27 de octubre de 1826.

Señor

En fines del año de 1825 acordo Vuestra Real Audiencia de estas Yslas la suspension de empleo de Vuestro Gobernador en las Marianas que lo era el Capitan de Infanteria retirado Don Jose Ganga Herrero, con prevension de que pasase à residensiarle el de la misma clase del Batallon Po. de Sinea Veterano D. Manuel Sanz; en cuya consecuencia nombró esta Superioridad al de igual clase Don José Medinilla y Pineda que acompañado de Sanz emprendiese el viage à aquellas Yslas y se encargase interinamente de su gobierno politico y militar.

Con este motivo los oficiales Reales de estas Cortes representaron tener noticia (aunque extrajudicial) de hallarse en el maior desorden el gobierno de aquellas Yslas, y me

hicieron presente no se atrevian á proponer cosa alguna para remediarlo, considerando aventurada cualquiera providencia que para su organizacion se tomase, por tener demostrado la experiencia desgraciadamente la dificultad de sacar algun fruto quantas ordenes relativas se hán expedido por V.M. y por este Gobierno, y la necesidad de proceder á una reforma, que conciliando la economia de la Real Hacienda con la mejora de suerte á que son tan acreedores los infelices habitantes de las nombradas Yslas contribuyese al logro de las beneficas intenciones de V.M. manifestadas en diversas Reales ordenes.

Propusieron en consecuencia los mismos oficiales Reales, se adopté el medio de dar comision a los nombrados Medinilla y Sanz para que con presencia del estado en que hallasen aquel Gobierno á su llegada formasen con sugesion á los principios indicados el plan que creyesen mas adaptable, el que me fué dirigido en 30 de Noviembre de 1826 con el gasto anual que erogaria el Presidio, y asciende á trece mil quinientos noventa y dos pesos, con mas tres mil doscientos diez y seis pesos quatro reales y seis granos que debieran importar las raciones de la tropa de la dotacion detallada en el plan, mientras la administracion de las Haciendas de V.M. en aquellas Yslas no produjesen esta cantidad.

Unida la manifestacion y plan indicado los antecedentes, previne informasen de nuevo los oficiales Reales, quienes lo desecharon por las razones que en su informe expusieron, y procedieron á la formacion de otro que se reducía al establecimiento de una escasa fuerza militar, cuyos sueldos importarian la suma de tres mil ochocientos cinquenta y ocho pesos anuales escluso el de un Gobernador puesto propusieron fuese siempre un oficial é Gefe militar con el sueldo de su empleo.

En este estado se hallaba el expediente quando recibí la Real Carta de V.M. acordada en el Supremo Consejo y Camara de Yndias con fecha 27 de octubre de 1826 preveniendome tomase medidas eficaces para evitar la repeticion del abuso á que estaba sugeto el metodo hasta entonces tolerado y encargandome la observancia de la Real orden de 17 de Marzo de 1822 que prohíbe el monopolio que usaban los Gobernadores de Marianas.

A efecto de dár al Expediente toda instruccion que requeria la resolucion de un asunto tan importante, y en cumplimiento de lo prevenido en dicha Real Carta dispuse me informase el Contador maior de Cuentas; y este pidio se oyese al suspenso Gefe de aquellas Yslas D. Jose Ganga Herrero que en calidad de preso acababa de regresar de su gobierno el qual propuso un tercer plan y manifestó los defectos que contiene el regimen adoptado y seguido ultimamente el que convendrá se adopte para los sucesivo, y una extensa relacion de los vicios y causas que hán impedido el progreso de las indicadas Yslas.

Exáminado todo con la detencion y madurez que requeria un negocio de tal importancia, y pareciendo que el proyecto de Ganga Herrero, é de los tres, el entendido con maior sencillez y veracidad y de consiguiente el mas adaptable para mejorar la suerte de aquellos desgraciados Ysleños; acordó la Junta Superior de Real Hacienda su aprovacion interina hasta que V.M. se digne confirmarla ó determinar lo que fuese de su

soberano Real agrado, sus puntos principales son, la absoluta libertad de comerciar los naturales con los Nacionales y Extrangeros y la mas rigida prohivision de que pueda verificarla bajo ningun titulo como hasta aqui, el Gobernador[;] la distribucion de las tierras á los naturales en la Ysla de Guajan y el arreglo de una respetable Milicia Urbana que imponga a qualquiera nacion enemiga y á los disidentes de la America si intentasen hostilizar aquel territorio, debiendo costar á la Real Hacienda ocho mil diez y seis pesos anuales habiendose dado yá las providencias oportunas á que se lleve á efecto conforme todo se patentiza por la primera pieza del Expediente seguido y de que acompaño el adjunto testimonio.

Al propio tiempo se dieron las disposiciones oportunas para la remision á las indicadas Yslas Marianas de los pertrechos de Guerra armas y municiones que se creyeron necesarios, como tambien la de Sargentos y Cabos de este Exercito para la instruccion de los individuos que deben componer las compañías de dotacion de aquel Presidio, al que se creyñ necesario pasase el Capitan del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria de este Departamento D. Francisco Ramon de Villalobos, para la inspeccion y arreglo de todo lo correspondiente á su Ramo, verificando lo mismo por lo que respecta á los de Fortificacion y Marina en quanto le sea posible á cuyo efecto se previno recibiese de los Gefes respectivos la competente instruccion sin perjuicio de la que fue entregada por esta Capitania Gral.

La Real Sociedad economica de estas Yslas dio tambien comision al expresado Capitan para que procure la adquisicion de noticias y datos que crea conducentes sobre las producciones de aquel territorio, su poblacion medios de subsistencia y demas oportuno para que este cuerpo pueda dedicarse y prestar los auxilios que considere necesarios á la felicidad de aquellos fieles habitantes.

Teniendo presente que la escasa comunicacion entre esta Capital y aquellas Yslas por su larga distancia pudiera dar motivo á entorpecer el cumplimiento de tan interesantes comisiones bien por dudas que puedan ocurrir é bien por fallecimiento del Gobernador, crei conveniente declarar á dho Capitan V[ice] Gefé de aquel gobierno y uno de los vocales de la Junta que designa el art. 4o. de la instruccion formada al intento y de que acompaño un exemplar segun se encuentra manifiestamente detallado en la 2a. pieza del respectivo expediente que siguiñ por separado y de que vá igualmente el adjunto testimonio.

Todo lo qual elevo al soberano conocimiento de V.M. esperando se dignará confirmar las expresadas medidas si las considera arregladas é bien conforme á los paternales deseos de V.M., manifestados constantemente en diversas Reales ordenes, resolverá lo que fuére de su Soberano Real agrado.

Y lo inserto á V.E. acompañando ademas testimonios de las Instrucciones dadas interinamente al Administrador de la Real Hacienda en aquellas Yslas, cuyo empleo fué nuevamente restablecido como se demuestra en el adjunto citado exemplar, y espero tendrá V.E. bien dár cuenta á S.M. á fin de que se digne aprobar la creacion del expres-

ado empleo, con las Instrucciones mencionadas, ó bien mandar lo que fuere de su soberano Real agrado.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Manila 7 de Diciembre de 1829.

Exmo. Sor.

Mariano Ricafort.

Sor. Srio. de Estado y del Despacho Universal de Hazienda.

Translation.

The Governor, Captain General, Deputy Superintendent of the Royal treasury of the Philippines: Forwards the Consultation addressed to H.M. regarding the reform of the government of the Marianas and encloses the Instruction that was drafted for the administrative management of those Islands.

Your Excellency:

Given the measures made necessary for the reform of the government of the Mariana Islands and for the administration of their Royal treasury to be effective, in accordance with the regulations applicable to Upper India, a copy of which I enclose to the attention of Y.E., I am placing in the Royal hands on this date the full record of proceedings regarding this affair, complete with the Consultation, to wit:

[Text exactly the same as his covering letter to the king, above]

And I quote same to Y.E., adding for your attention a copy of the instructions given on an interim basis to the Administrator of the Royal treasury of those Islands, a post that has just been recreated, as can be seen in said copy. I hope that Y.E. will send a report to H.M. in order for him to be pleased to approve the creation of said post, along with said Instructions, or else order what may be of his Royal pleasure.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 7 December 1829.

Your Excellency.

Mariano Ricafort

3. Printed regulation

Note: Cited by Montero y Vidal in his Historia general de Filipinas, vol. 2, pp. 518-520P; reproduced in ex-Governor de la Corte's report entitled: Memoria descriptiva é histórica..

Original text in Spanish.

D. MARIANO RICAFORT PALACIN Y ABARCA, GRAN CRUZ DE LA REAL ORDEN Americana de Ysabel la católica, y de la de Santa Ana de Rusia, Caballero de las Reales ordenes militares de San Hermenegildo y de tercera clase de la de S. Fernando, condecorado con otras Cruces de distincion, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Ejercitos,

Governor y Capitan General de las islas Filipinas, Presidente de su Real Audiencia, Superintendente sub delegado general de la Real hacienda, Correos, Postas y Estafetas, Vice-Patrono Real, Regidor perpetuo del Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de la Paz en el Perú, y Director general de las Tropas de S.M. en estos Dominios &c.

Reducido el Situado de las islas Marianas á la cantidad fija de ocho mil pesos, por Real orden de 29 de Septiembre de 1817, se formó un plan económico de la inversion de esta suma en 9 de Junio de 1820, que aprobado en Junta superior de Real Hacienda, se puso en práctica por Agosto de 1822, pero no habiendo correspondido á las benéficas ideas de S.M., ni a los deseos de este superior Gobierno, dirigidos constantemente al bien y prosperidad de dichas islas, se pidieron nuevos informes á las autoridades de ellas; y despues de rectificadlos por los Ministros generales de Real Hacienda, por el Sr. Contador Mayor, y por el Ministerio Fiscal, se presentaron a la misma Junta superior, para que dictara la resolucion definitiva, que cerrase la puerta a nuevos abusos, y pusiera el cimiento de la futura prosperidad de una Colonia tan singularmente favorecida por la piedad de nuestros Augustos Soberanos, como perseguida por el espiritu de monopolio que la ha despoblado y reducido a la situacion mas triste y miserable.

En consecuencia, y habiendo tomado dicha Junta, la ultima deliberacion sobre una materia tan interesante, por acuerdo unanime de 21 de Octubre ultimo, acabo de prevenir su cumplimiento; y para que le tenga en todas sus partes, ordeno y mando se observe con la mayor puntualidad, lo contenido en los articulos siguientes:

1º El Gobierno y administracion publica de las islas Marianas se compondrá de un Gobernador Politico y militar de competente graduacion, con mil y ochocientos pesos anuales, y quinientos mas para gastos de embarcacion, que le sirva en sus viages á las islas de Rota, Tinian, Seypan, y Costa de Guajan, á efecto de que no moleste á los pobres naturales, ni tenga disculpa que se separe de sus deberes.

Un Sargento mayor con trescientos pesos.

Un Ayudante primero con ciento cuarenta y cuatro.

Un Ayudante segundo con ciento y veinte.

Un Capitan con ciento sesenta y ocho.

Un Teniente con ciento y veinte.

Un Subteniente con ciento y ocho.

Un Sargento primero con ochenta y cuatro.

Tres Sargentos segundos con doscientos y diez y seis.

Dos Cabos primeros con ciento veinte.

Dos id. segundos con igual cantidad.

Dos Tambores con noventa y seis pesos.

Cuarenta y cuatro soldados con el mismo haber, que monta al año dos mil ciento y doce.

Un Capitan del puerto con noventa y seis pesos.

Un Secretario de Gobierno con ciento y ocho.

Un Administrador-veedor y pagador de la Real Hacienda con seiscientos pesos anuales.

Un Tenedor de Almacenes con ciento y ocho.

Un Mozo Faginante con treinta.

Un Maestro armero con ochenta y cuatro.

Un Alcalde Administrador de la isla de Tinian con doce pesos al mes y el auxilio de doce mozos de á peso cada uno, y dos mas de á diez reales, que las tres partidas montan á trescientos diez y ocho pesos al año.

Un Alcalde de la isla de Rota con doce pesos, y dos mozos de á diez reales cada uno, que erogarán el gasto de ciento setenta y cuatro pesos anuales.

Doscientos y noventa pesos para invalidos ó retiros.

Y doscientos pesos para compra de hierro y gastos ordinarios y extraordinarios. Todo lo cual asciende á ocho mil diez y seis pesos, del modo que manifiesta el estado numérico que se acompaña, bajo el n. I.

2º Como por consecuencia de este nuevo arreglo deben resultar oficiales que quedan sin destino, y como en adelante habrá otros acreedores á obtener su retiro, segun el Reglamento formado por el Señor Capitan General Don José Basco, para los oficiales y tropa de los Presidios y Fuertes de estas islas, aprobado por Real orden de 12 de Agosto de 1786: el Gobernador de las Islas Marianas instruirá un expediente de los que resulten merecedores de dicha gracia, segun el citado Reglamento, que se le mandará, de alguna corta pension alimenticia, que contribuya á su subsistencia; y de acuerdo con el Administrador hará los señalamientos convenientes, que deberán pagarse de los doscientos y noventa pesos designados en el artículo I.; y si no alcanzasen, de los doscientos destinados á gastos extraordinarios, puesto que el objeto y fin de esta superioridad es, que á todos se haga justicia, segun su merito y servicios, para que ninguno resulte agraviado, ni descontento. De este expediente cuyos efectos, deben sér interinos, se remitirá testimonio á la Capitanía general, para que exáminandolo apruebe, corrija é modifique las concesiones que se hubiesen hecho, y lo mismo se ejecutará en adelante con los retiros que se concedan, segun el Reglamento mencionado.

3º Ademas de la fuerza militar espresada en el artículo I., organizará el Gobernador un batallon é algunas compañías sueltas de Milicias Urbanas, ya de lanceros y flecheros, ya de fusileros, que se armarán con fusiles sobrantes de la dotacion, y con los que puedan adquirirse, tomando por modelo al estado numero 2, á que no deberá sujetarse, pues que se acompaña solo con la mira de ilustrar la materia.

4º Se suprimirán totalmente las Haciendas del Rey en la isla de Guajan, que es la principal de Marianas, y la unica que promete por su poblacion y circunstancias poder cultivar con aprovechamiento el terreno que se distribuya á sus moradores, y se repartirán sus tierras de labor entre los naturales por una Junta compuesta dél Gobernador, el Padre Cura é Ministro de la ciudad de Agaña, el Administrador de la Real Hacienda, y dos vecinos honrados que elegirá la misma Junta; esto deberá entenderse sin perjuicio de los que con legítimo derecho poseen y están trabajando algunas tierras, como el Gobernador y el Padre Cura en lo respectivo á las Huertas é terrenos que de tiempo

antiguo disfruten en las proximidades de sus respectivas habitaciones, ni de las comunes é Ejidos que correspondán a los pueblos. Todas las restantes, se distribuirán en suertes proporcionadas á los indios casados que carezcan de ellas por sí y por sus mugeres, con prohibicion de enagenarlas para que las hereden sus hijos y descendientes, pues la voluntad de S.M. es, que todas las familias tengan bienes raices, y que conservandose con la Corona el solo dominio directo, disfruten del util, con tal que cultiven por si mismos, y en su propio beneficio el terreno que se les adjudique; pues no haciéndolo, se les quitará y dará á otros mas aplicados. como está prevenido en el articulo 6 de la Ordenanza de Intendentes de N.E.

5º Se repartirá igualmente el ganado que exista correspondiente á S.M., haciendose la distribucion por la misma Junta, previo su justo precio que ella calculará, para obligar á los compradores á pagar su importe en cierto numero de años, y bajo las seguridades que ofrezcan las circunstancias del país, aplicandose este corto producto á beneficio del Hospital de S. Lazaro, que carece de dotacion, y es necesario proporcionarsela.

6º Se habilitará de herramientas é instrumentos de labranza por una sola vez á los naturales que carezcan de ellas, remitiendose un buen surtido en la primera ocasion que se presente, para que se distribuyan por la Junta que antes queda espresada, al precio de su costo y costas, que deberá sér el de una cuarta parte, ó veinte y cinco por ciento aumentado al principal de compra; obligandose los que reciban este auxilio á pagar su valor del modo equitativo que queda indicado en el articulo antecedente, á la Real Hacienda que hace el suplemento, sin otro interes que el de ampararlos y favorecerlos.

7º Se conservará la administracion de la isla de Tinian que está desierta de hombres y poblada de ganados, cuyo gasto de trescientos diez y ocho pesos anuales explicado en el articulo I., tendrá la recompensa de que las carnes saladas y frescas que colecte dicha administracion en la forma acostumbrada, deberán, venderse en almoneda publica por el Administrador de Real Hacienda, intervenido por el Gobernador, aplicándose su producto en favor del Hospital de S. Lazaro, que acaso resultará dotado competentemente, sin apelar á contribuciones. En la dicha almoneda se preferirán por el tanto á los empleados y á los Padres Curas é Ministros doctrineros, siempre que no resulte perjuicio á los pobres Lazarinos, en cuyo alivio se interesa la humanidad, debiendo todos contribuir á este objeto del modo que á cada uno le proporcione su respectiva situacion, y pudiendo emplearse las embarcaciones del Gobierno en el transporte de dichas carnes; pues que con esta doble mira se han asignado á los Gobernadores los quinientos pesos de gratificacion é sobresueldo mencionados en el art. I.

8º Aunque se suprime la administracion de la isla de Rota, se conservará en ella un Alcalde nombrado por el Gobernador entre los vecinos de mas apreciables circunstancias, que gozará doce pesos mensuales, y tendrá el auxilio de los mozos é alguaciles con diez reales cada uno al mes, para que cuide de aquellos pobres naturales, que quedan libres de cultivar la tierra, que quieran criar ganado, y sér dueños de su propia industria; pero si acaso se les repartieren algunos ganados de S. M. por existir tal vez en la misma isla, deberá sér bajo las reglas contenidas en el articulo 7. de este Reglamento.

9° *El Gobernador político y militar de las islas Marianas, lo mismo que el Administrador de Real Hacienda, quedan privados totalmente de la facultad de comerciar que el primero há disfrutado anteriormente; bajo la pena de privacion de empleo señalada en Real Orden de 4 de Agosto de 1794, puesto que con esta justa consideracion se les há señalado el sueldo referido en el artículo I. Todos los naturales de cualquiera clase y condicion que sean, y todos los demas que se hallen radicados, ó establecidos en dichas islas, podrán libremente cultivar la tierra y emplearse en el oficio, industria, grangería, tráfico y comercio que les proporcione su habilidad, y las ocasiones que se les presenten, sin que el Gobernador, ni otra autoridad se lo prive, reduzca, ó limite bajo ningun título ó pretesto, pena de responsabilidad que podrá entenderse hasta la de privacion de empleo, si se justificare que alguna vez se procura deprimir ó cortar la libre profesion que S.M. concede á los moradores de dichas islas, para que salgan del triste estado en que hán permanecido por efecto necesario del sistema que se destruye, y queda abolido para siempre.*

10° *Se restablece el empleo de Administrador de Real Hacienda, ó llámase veedor pagador de las islas Marianas, con cincuenta pesos al mes, para que reciba los efectos que haya existentes de los que éstubieron á cargo del primer Administrador D. Juan Garcia Saenz, y los que hubiere en el Almacen de S.M., asi como los que se remitan de esta capital en las épocas y del modo que determine la Super-intendencia general subdelegada, debiendo sér el primer envio en plata y ropa por mitad, para que no carezcan de nada aquellos naturales, á quiénes se les cargarán al precio señalado en las primeras Instrucciones, mientras ellos no pueden adquirirlos; y para que haga y formalice los ajustes, revistas, pagamentos, distribuciones y demas relativo á la Real Hacienda y Hospital de San Lazaro, intervenido siempre por el Gobernador, ó por el Padre Cura en los casos en que aquel se hallase impedido, remitiendo sus cómputos ó cuentas, y comunicando noticia de todo lo relativo á su cargo, al Ministerio principal de la Real Hacienda de estas islas, cuyas ordenes é instrucciones debe obedecer.*

11° *Se decláran puertos habilitados los de Apra y Umata en la isla de Guajan para que entren y salgan los navegantes, y para que compren, y vendan libremente lo que necesiten, sin adeudar derecho alguno por el término de diez años, quedando abolido el derecho de Anclage, de cuyo producto dará cuenta el Gobernador; pues lo que conviene és el fomentar la concurrencia de embarcaciones que estimule la aplicacion é industria de los naturales y moradores de las islas Marianas, cuya felicidad se desea, hasta que puedan sostenerse con sus propios productos.*

12° *Siendo interesantisima la conservacion del Hospital de San Lazaro en un pais donde tanto abunda la Lepra, y no bastando para dotarle el valor del poquisimo ganado que debe repartirse, ni los productos de la isla de Tinian, se conservará para este solo objeto la pension que se cobra por el juego de gallos, y se autoriza al Gobernador para que de acuerdo con el Administrador de Real Hacienda y el Padre Cura de la Ciudad, situe dichos Lazarinos donde mejor le parezca, dispensándole todo el favor y proteccion, que necesitan en su triste situacion, para que no infesten los demas, y reciban el socorro y consuelo á que son acreedores.*

Aprobada la nueva planta del Gobierno de Marianas, y formado el Estado número de su importe, arreglado á lo que prescribe la Real orden de 29 de Septiembre de 1817, se declara, que no siendo posible entregar á nadie en Manila el Situado de dichas islas, por no haber comunicacion alguna con ellas, ni ser dable que la haya en muchos años, á causa de su situacion geografica, que las coloca al oriente de Filipinas, á cuatrocientas leguas de distancia, sin que produzcan nada que pueda serbir de aliciente al comercio; el gasto que erogue la embarcacion de S.M. ó tomada por su Real cuenta para la conduccion de Situados cada dos ó tres años, no está ni puede estar comprendido en la suma designada por la Real orden á que se há ceñido la Junta superior en el arreglo de la planta económica de las mencionadas islas, como tampoco deberá estarlo el que ocasione algun destacamento de Artillería[,] visita militar, ó cualquiera otra providencia accidental, extraordinaria é interina que tome para su seguridad y defensa, el superior Gobierno y Capitanía general de estos dominios, por efecto de circunstancias particulares, en cuyo caso se tomarán las medidas convenientes al bien del servicio y la economía de la Real Hacienda.

Remítanse ejémples de este Reglamento, con oficio, á la Real Audiencia, Ilmo. Sr. Arzobispo, como Gobernador Apostólico del Obispado de Cebú, á cuya Diócesi pertenecen las islas Marianas: al M.R.P. Provincial de Recoletos, y Sr. Sub Inspector general de las Tropas de estos Dominios, archivandose algunos en los oficios Fiscales de lo civil y criminal, en la Contaduría mayor y Cajas Reales para su observancia, y remitiendose competente número al Gobernador, Administrador y Padre Cura de la ciudad de Agaña, donde deberá publicarse y distribuirse de manera que ninguno pueda alegar ignorancia que le disculpe en tiempo alguno, de faltar á su debido puntual cumplimiento.

Dado en el Real Palacio de Manila, firmado de mi mano, y autorizado por el Sr. Coronel Secretario de este superior Gobierno y Capitanía general á 17 de Diciembre de 1828.

Ricardo Ricafort.

El Coronel Secretario Pedro Antonio Salazar.

Translation.

DON MARIANO RICAFORT PALACIN Y ABARCA, GREAT CROSS OF THE ROYAL American Order of Elizabeth the Catholic, and of St. Ann of Russia, Knight of the military orders of St. Hermenegildo, and of St. Ferdinand (third class), decorated with other Crosses of distinction, Field Marshall of the Royal Armies, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, President of their Royal Audiencia, Deputy Superintendent General of the Royal treasury, the mails, postal and courier services, Viceroyal Patron, Permanent alderman for the municipality of La Paz in Peru, Director General of the Royal armed forces in these Dominions, etc.

Once the Subsidy for the Mariana Islands had been reduced to the fixed sum of 8,000 pesos, by Royal order dated 29 September 1817, an economic plan was created on 9

June 1820 to invest this sum, which was approved by the Superior Board of the Royal Treasury, and was implemented in August 1822; however, as it did not correspond to the benevolent ideas of H.M, nor to the wishes of this superior Government, always directed at the welfare and prosperity of said Islands, new reports were solicited from their authorities and, after they had been rectified by the Ministers General of the Royal Treasury, by the Senior Accountant, and by the Attorney General, they were presented to the same Superior Board, for a final resolution that would finally prevent further abuses, and lay the foundation for the future prosperity of a Colony that has been so greatly favored by our August Sovereigns, though affected by a spirit of monopoly that had caused it to become depopulated and reduced to the saddest and miserable of situations.

Consequently, and since said Board has made a final resolution regarding such an interesting matter, by a unanimous vote on 21 October last, I have decided to order its compliance, and for it to be complied with everywhere, I order that the contents of the following articles be carried out without delay.

Article 1.—The Government and public administration of the Mariana Islands shall be composed of a Political and Military Governor of competent rank, with a salary of 1,800 pesos per annum, and 500 more for travel expenses to reach Guam and visit the Islands of Rota, Tinian, Saipan, and the coast of Guam, so that he will not need to bother the poor natives, or have an excuse for not carrying out his duties.

—1 Sergeant-Major	300 pesos [per year]
—1 Adjutant 1st class	144
—1 Adjutant 2nd class	120
—1 Captain	168
—1 Lieutenant	120
—1 Second-Lieutenant	108
—1 Sergeant 1st class	84
—3 Sergeants 2nd class	216
—2 Corporals 1st class	120
—2 Corporals 2nd class	120 also
—2 Drummers	96
—44 soldiers receiving equal pay, totalling	2,112 pesos per year.
—1 Port Captain	96
—1 Government Secretary	108
—1 Administrator, inspector and paymaster of the Royal Treasury	600 pesos per year.
—1 Store-keeper	108
—1 messenger boy	30
—1 Master gunsmith	84

—1 Mayor-administrator of the Island of Tinian, with 12 pesos per month and the help of 12 boys at 1 peso each, and 2 more at 10 reals each, for a sub-total of the three entries 318 pesos per year.

—1 Mayor of the Island of Rota, with 12 pesos, and 2 boys at 10 reals each, which would cause an expenditure of 174 pesos per year.

—Fund for invalids or retired personnel 290

—For purchasing iron, for ordinary and extraordinary expenses ... 200

All of the above total 8,016 pesos, distributed in accordance with Table N° 1, attached.

Article 2.—Whereas, as a consequence of this new organization, some officers will be left without a post, and as others in future will become eligible for retirement, in accordance with the Regulation issued by His Lordship the Captain General, Don José Basco, for officers and men of the garrisons and forts of these Islands, approved by Royal order of 12 August 1786: the Governor of the Mariana Islands shall open a case file to propose the names of those who might merit such a favor, in accordance with said Regulation, copy of which is to be forwarded to him, for a small food allowance to contribute to their subsistence; and, acting in collaboration with the Administrator, he shall forward the names of the beneficiaries, and the benefits that shall have to be paid out of the 200 pesos for extraordinary expenses, given that the objective of this superior government is to do justice to everyone, according to his merit and services, and not cause any harm, or discontent. An official copy of this case file, whose effects will be temporary, shall be remitted to the Captaincy General, where the amounts granted will be examined, approved, corrected and modified, and the same procedure shall be followed from now on with respect to the retirements, to be granted in accordance with the above-mentioned Regulation.

Article 3.—In addition to the military personnel mentioned in Article 1, the Governor shall organize a batallion and some irregular companies of Urban Militia, either of lancers and archers, or of riflemen, who shall be armed with the leftover rifles from the regular battalion, and those that might be acquired, taking Statement N° 2 as a model but not an obligatory list, given that it is attached only for the purpose of illustrating the matter.

Article 4.—The King's ranches shall be totally abolished in the Island of Guam, which is the main island in the Marianas and the only one where the population and circumstances are such that the land to be distributed to residents might be cultivated profitably. Such arable land shall be distributed among the natives by a Board composed of the Governor, the Parish priest of the City of Agaña, the Administrator of the Royal Treasury, and two honorable citizens to be chosen by said Board. This shall be accomplished without prejudice to those who have a legitimate claim to lands that they already possess and are cultivating, as for the gardens and plots that the Governors and

Parish priests have for a long time cultivated in the vicinities of their respective residences, and without prejudice to the commons and collective properties owned by the villages. All remaining lands shall be distributed in a pro-rated manner by lotteries to married Indians who lack them, in their own names and those of their wives, with the proviso that they shall not be alienated, so that they may be passed on to their children and descendents; indeed, the will of H.M. is that all families may own real estate properties, and that the Crown remain only with direct sovereignty, allowing them to cultivate such lands for their own account and profit, in accordance with Article 6 of the Ordinance for the Intendents of New Spain.

Article 5.—The cattle belonging to H.M. shall similarly be distributed by the same Board, after its valuation has been done, in order to oblige the buyers to pay for it over a certain number of years, under guarantees that local circumstances might dictate, and having the products of the sale applied to the Hospital of St. Lazarus, which now lacks an allotment, and needs one.

Article 6.—The natives who lack tools and instruments to work the soil shall be equipped with same, only once, by distributing a good supply of them at the first opportunity. They shall be distributed by the above-mentioned Board, at a price corresponding to its purchase cost or value, plus an increment of 25%, obliging the purchasers to pay back same, in a just manner, as mentioned in the previous article, to the Royal Treasury which covers the supplement without any other interest than to help and favor them.

Article 7.—The administration of the Island of Tinian, which is depopulated of men but populated by cattle, at a cost of 318 pesos per year as shown in Art. 1, shall be compensated by taking advantage of the salted and fresh meat that said administration might harvest in the usual manner, and shall be sold by public auction by the Administrator of the Royal Treasury, under the supervision of the Governor, and the income applied to the Hospital of St. Lazarus that will thus be financed adequately, without resorting to taxes. In said auction, government employees and the Parish priests and missionaries, shall be given a slight advantage, provided that no prejudice be done to the poor lepers, for humanitarian reasons; indeed, everyone must do his part to support such aims as best as he can. The vessels owned by the Government can be used to transport said meat; indeed, it is for a double purpose that the Governors have been assigned the 500 extra pesos mentioned in Art. 1.

Article 8.—Although the administration of the Island of Rota has been abolished, one Mayor, appointed by the Governor from among the most honorable residents, shall be retained and be assisted by some helpers and constables receiving 10 reals each per month, to enable him to take care of those poor natives who are to remain free to cultivate the land, raise cattle, and own their own industry; however, should it be de-

cided that some of H.M.'s cattle be distributed to them, in case it already exists in said Island, this should be done under the rules contained in Art. 7 of this Regulation.

Article 9.—The political and military Governor of the Mariana Islands, as well as the Administrator of the Royal Treasury, shall remain totally prohibited from the freedom of trading, a freedom that the former has previously enjoyed, and this under the penalty of losing their job, as per Royal Order dated 4 August 1794, given that this just consideration has been taken into account in setting the salaries mentioned in Art. 1. Any native of any class and condition whatever, and everyone else who resides or are settled in said Islands shall be able to cultivate the land freely, practice a trade, or work in an industry, farm, trade and commerce, according to his ability, and the opportunities that offer, without the Governor, nor any other authority, being able to deny, reduce, or limit, him such freedom, under any rule or excuse, under the penalty of a punishment to be decided, even that of losing their job, should it be proven that even once they have tried to impede the free practice that H.M. grants to the residents of said Islands, in order for them to overcome their sad situation in which they have lived as an obvious result of of the system that is now abolished, and shall remain so forever.

Article 10.—The post of Administrator of the Royal Treasury, or so-called Inspector and Paymaster, is restored, with 50 pesos per month, to act as receiver of whatever goods were in charge of the first Administrator, Don Juan García Saenz, and those that might be stored in the Royal Warehouse, in addition to those that might be remitted from this capital at time intervals and manners to be determined by the Deputy Superintendent General, provided that the first such remittal must be half silver and half clothing, so that those natives may lack nothing; in this wise, they are to be charged prices that are to be listed in the first instructions, but no sale can take place until such instructions have been written to formalize the payments, adjustments, distributions and other matters relative to the Royal Treasury and the Hospital of St. Lazarus, always under the supervision of the Governor, or, in his incapacity, of the Parish priest. His calculations or accounts and any news relative to his job shall be communicated to the Minister in charge of the Royal Treasury in these Islands, whose orders and instructions must be obeyed.

Article 11.—The ports of Apra and Umata in the Island of Guam are declared official for the purpose of letting mariners enter and leave them, so that they may freely buy and sell what they need, without having to pay any fees for the period of 10 years, the anchorage fee being abolished, but the revenue from which the Governor is to make a report; indeed, what matters is the development of commerce through ship visits, in order to stimulate the industrial efforts of the natives and residents of the Mariana Islands, whose happiness is desired, until such time as they may sustain themselves with their own products.

Article 12.—Whereas the preservation of the Hospital of St. Lazarus is most desirable in a country where so many suffer from leprosy, and since the small revenue to be gotten from the sale of the cattle that will be distributed, and from the products from the island of Tinian, will not suffice, there shall be retained, but only for this purpose, the rental income derived from cock-fighting, and the Governor is authorized to act, in collaboration with the Administrator of the Royal Treasury and the Parish priest of the City, to locate said leper colony in the best site possible, and to assist them with the best protection and favorable situation possible and which they need in their sad condition, so that they may not infect the rest, but may receive the support and consolation which they deserve.

Once the new organization for the Government of the Marianas has been approved, and its budget elaborated, in accordance with Royal Order dated 29 September 1817, be it known that it is not possible for anyone in Manila to deliver the subsidy of said Islands, because there is no communication with them, nor is it possible that there be for many years to come, on account of their geographic position at some 400 leagues to the east of the Philippines, and their lack of any product that might serve to entice traders there. The expenditure for the use of a vessel belonging to H.M., or chartered on his Royal account, for the delivery of the subsidies every two or three years, is not, and cannot possibly be, included in the total sum assigned in the Royal order, to which the Superior Board has limited themselves in arranging for the budget of the above-mentioned Islands. Neither can the expenditures made in connection with the despatch of artillery, military inspections, or any other incidental, interim or extraordinary provision that might be made for their security and defence by the Superior Government and the Captaincy General of these dominions, as a result of specific circumstances, in which cases the most appropriate measures shall be taken for the benefit of the service and the economy of the Royal Treasury.

Copies of this Regulation are to be remitted, under covering letters, to the Royal Audiencia, to His Most Illustrious the Archbishop, as Apostolic Governor of the See of Cebu in whose diocese the Mariana Islands belong, to the Most Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Recollects, and to the Sub-Inspector General of the Army in these Dominions, with a few copies to be filed in the offices of the attorneys in civil and criminal courts, in the Senior Accountant's office and Royal Accounting offices, to be complied with. An appropriate quantity is also to be remitted to the Governor, Administrator and Parish priest of the city of Agaña, where they must be published and distributed, so that no-one may be able to claim ignorance as an excuse in his failure to comply with same in the timely manner.

Given at the Royal Palace of Manila, signed with my own hand, and authorized in the name of the Coronel in charge of the Secretariat of this Superior Government and Captaincy General on 17 December 1828.

Ricardo Ricafort
Pedro Antonio Salazar, Coronel Secretary.¹

¹ Attachment N° 1 was a listing of the positions from Article 1 above. Attachment N° 2 was a Proposed detailed organization and weapons for the infantry.

Documents 1828B2

Administrative reform of the Mariana Island government—Part 2

Source: Same as for Doc. 1828B1.

1. Letter from the Royal Accountants to Governor Ricafort, dated Manila 13 January 1826

Source: AHN 5853, exp. 3.

Original text in Spanish.

Año de 1829—Testimonio del Expediente sobre el nuevo arreglo de sueldos y empleados militares y políticos propuestos por el Ministerio de Real Hacienda para cuyo plan fueron comisionados el Gobernador de aquellas Yslas Don José de Medinilla y el Capitan Don Manuel Sanz.

Excelentísimo Señor:

Por consecuencia de lo que este superior Gobierno represento á Su Magestad por el Ministerio de Real Hacienda en treinta y uno de Diciembre de mil ochocientos diez y seis bajo el numero siete con testimonio del expediente que instruyó, sobre la importancia de auxiliar a las Yslas Marianas, con motivo de que en aquella fecha, se contaban cinco años en que las havian faltado los situados que Su Magestad tenia fincados sobre las Cajas de Mexico sino en mandar por Real resolucion de veinti nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete que interinamente se le remitia un arreglo, que deveria formarse por la Junta Superior de Real Hacienda de estas Yslas, previo los informes correspondientes de los Ministros, Tribunal de Cuentas[,] Fiscal y demas que se tuviera por conveniente se observase en calidad de por ahora, la resolucion de este Gobierno de diez y ocho de Noviembre de mil ochocientos quince, y acuerdo de la misma Junta Superior de catorce de Agosto de mil ochocientos diez y seis con la prevenicion de que el Gobernador de las Marianas diese cuenta anualmente de la Cantidad o Cantidades Subministradas y que se le subministrasen en lo suscrito; fiando Su Magestad del celo de este Gobierno impidiese por todos los medios posibles que no se hi-

ciesen gastos superfluos, ni estafas ni monopolios por los Subalternos por ser contra las intenciones de Su Magestad que deseaba la felicidad de aquellos havitantes.

En cumplimiento de dha Real resolucion se instruyó el Expediente en la forma que se havia ordenado y llevado para su resolucion a la Junta Superior[;] determino esta que para su mejor intencion en lo relativo al Plan permanente que debía pasar el gasto de aquellas Yslas de los ocho mil pesos aprovados por Su Magestad se despacharía embarcacion en aquel año que fue el de mil ochocientos veinte, remitiendo al Gobernador el Plan interino que presento a la misma Junta el Contador Oficial Real interino Don Bernabe Escalada para que se arreglase a el en la distribucion de la expresada cantidad empleada en los efectos y articulos que correspondian distribuirse a cada uno de los empleados en aquella tropa.

Cuando se recivio en Marianas el referido Plan representaron sobre el aquellos empleados, y por conducto del Gobernador instruyeron sus resultados a este Gobierno.

Los cuales se hallavan y contempla pendientes este Ministerio del Informe que en el Expediente principal deben producir Don José Tirado y el Gobernador que fué, y esta nuevamente nombrado por Vuestra Excelencia Don José de Medinilla para pasar a las referidas Yslas.

Como este nombramiento lo ha motivado la suspension que ha acordado esta Real Audiencia en su Gobierno al actual Don José Ganga Herrero por los excesos y ruina que ha causado en aquel Presidio[,] a sus Haciendas[,] havitantes, empleados, é individuos de los Buques que han aportados en aquellos mares a la pesca de Ballena y por otra parte, contempla este Ministerio en descubierto al administrador Don Juan Garcia Saenz, que pasó á aquel Presidio en Junio de mil ochocientos veintidos con todos los efectos y articulos que por cuenta de la Real Hacienda se remitieron: Juzga asi mismo a aquel Presidio en una completa desorganizacion; perdidas o arruinadas las Haciendas que pertenecen al Rey y el interino plan de arreglo que acordó por entonces la Junta Superior en total, o casi ninguna observancia, y és de aqui el no atreverse a proponer a Vuestra Excelencia el embio de los efectos y Articulos que ha demandado aquel Administrador por evitar a la Real Hacienda mayores perjuicios que los que se calculan y a causado mayormente quando pasa la nueva resolucion de la Junta Superior falta que se evoque por Tirado y Medinilla en el informe que se exigio a ambos sobre el interino Plan que se adoptó por la misma Junta, y cuyos expedientes penden del expuesto informe segun ha savido este Ministerio, y tambien que la detencion en evaquarlo la ha motivado el trastorno general que ha inferido en aquellas Yslas el actual Gobernador desorganizando y destruyendo las vases sobre que se apoyó el interino Arreglo.

Si esto es asi segun los votos y noticias que tenemos hasta el dia es Oficial el atinar ninguna de las medidas que se pretendiesen adoptar para establecer un arreglo prudente, equitativo y justo y que consiliase al mismo tiempo evitar el disgusto de aquellos empleados y havitantes y todo el dispendio posible de la Real Hacienda procurandoles el fomento de su agricultura e industria en cuyos objetos ha erogado la Real Hacienda algunas cantidades.

De aqui es el persuadirse este Ministerio que seria lo mas acertado para convinar(?) las intenciones del Rey Nuestro Señor manifestadas en la expresada Real resolucion de veintiuno de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete que por el nuevo Governador Don José de Medinilla [que] reune todos los conocimientos previos y convenientes, y la confianza general para su mejor desempeño, se le comitiese el nuevo Plan de reforma que conviniese adoptar en las Yslas Marianas prosediendo en su formacion y presentacion de acuerdo con el Capitan Don Manuel Sanz nombrado a fines de residencia del Governador Ganga bajo los presisos datos que Su Magestad determinó en la referida Real orden ya que siendo las Yslas Marianas por la insurreccion de Mexico, de un nuevo Gravamen para la Tesoreria de estas Yslas no la es tampoco posible a esta el erogar mas gastos que excedan a el de los ocho mil pesos graduados por año por su Subsistencia formado por Medinilla y Sanz en Marianas mismo este Plan con reforma de empleados, y de quanto considere combeniente deberá antes de remitirlo a Vuestra Excelencia [para] acordarlo del modo que le parezca mas propio con la guarnision y estado Mayor de aquel Presidio y para que admitiendo y proponiendo al mismo tiempo que lo dirija a Vuestra Excelencia las observaciones que le hagan los mismos individuos pueda Vuestra Excelencia sucesivamente oir las opiniones que estime por mas acertadas y llevandose el Expediente a Junta Superior por esta se resuelva su observancia dandose cuenta a Su Magestad para su Soberana aprovacion.

De este modo sencillo y claro, y apoyado en la large experiencia que reune Medinilla al mismo tiempo que en presencia al actual estado de las Marianas podrá unicamente atinarse a una resolucion que no aventure la observancia de su cumplimiento. Asi lo juzga este Ministerio y Vuestra Excelencia mejor impuesto podrá resolver ó determinar lo que tenga por mas justo y acertado.

Contaduria general de Cuentas y Real Hacienda de Manila trece de Enero de mil ochocientos veintiseis.

Excelentísimo Señor.

Manuel Barañao.

Juan Nepomuceno Miciano.

[Minute]

Manila diez y seis de Enero de mil ochocientos veintiseis.

Acompañese a esta consulta del Ministerio de Real Hacienda el expediente principal que pende de los informes de Don José Tirado y Don José Medinilla, y unido buelba todo a el Asesor.

Ricafort.

Lizenciado Gonzales Azaola.

Translation.

Year of 1829.—Transcript of the case file regarding the new arrangement for the salaries and military and political employees proposed by the Ministry of

the Royal Treasury, plan for which had been commissioned the Governor of those Islands, Don José de Medinilla and Captain Manuel Sanz.

Your Excellency:

As a follow-up to the representation made by this Superior Government to His Majesty by the Ministry of the Royal Treasury on 31 December 1826, under N° 7, along with an official copy of the case file that had been created, regarding the importance of helping the Mariana Islands, given that at the time five years had passed without them getting the subsidies that His Majesty had imputed on the treasury of Mexico, but had, by Royal decision dated 27 September 1817, decided that, on an interim basis, an arrangement were to be created by the Superior Board of the Royal Treasury of these Islands, following a consultation of the corresponding Ministers, Court of Accounts, Attorney General and others who might be considered appropriate, and be carried out, temporarily, the decision of this Government dated 18 November 1815 and agreement of said Superior Board dated 14 August 1816, with the condition that the Governor of the Marianas was to report yearly on the sum or sums received and to be received thereafter. His Majesty then stated that he trusted in the zeal of this Government to prevent by all means possible superfluous expenditures, frauds or monopolies by lower-ranking officials, as this was against the intentions of His Majesty who only wished the happiness of those inhabitants.

In compliance with said Royal decision, the case file was created in the form that had been ordered and submitted to the Superior Board for its resolution. The Board decided that it would be best, with a view to establish a permanent Plan, to send the 8,000 pesos approved by His Majesty for those Islands, aboard a vessel that year, which was 1820, remitting to the Governor the interim Plan that the interim Accountant and Royal Officer, Don Bernabe Escalada, had presented to said Board, so that he would follow it in the distribution of the above-said sum, in kind, in the form of effects and articles destined to every one of the employees in that troop.

When said Plan was received in the Marianas, those employees made a representation which they submitted to this Government, through their Governor.

There the matter stood, and was considered pending by this Ministry, while the Report, mentioned in the main case file, was being produced by Don José Tirado and the Governor-elect, Don José de Medinilla, newly-appointed by Your Excellency, to go back to said Islands.

Since this appointment has been motivated by the suspension which this Royal Audiencia has granted to the present Governor, Don José Ganga Herrero, on account of the abuses and ruin that he has caused to that garrison, its ranches, inhabitants, employees and individuals from the ships that have shown up in those seas to hunt whales. On the other hand, this Ministry thinks that the Administrator, Don Juan García Saenz, who went to that garrison in June 1822 to remit the effects and articles on the account of the Royal Treasury, will find himself short. We also think that the garrison in question will be found in a state of complete disorganization, the ranches that belong to the

King lost or ruined, and the interim plan or arrangement then granted by the Superior Board almost, or totally, ignored, and therefore, we dare suggest to Your Excellency that it would be foolish to send [more] effects and articles requested by that Administrator, to avoid further prejudices to the Royal Treasury, beyond those calculated and caused by him, specially when the new decision of the Superior Board will be passed, once the comments solicited of Tirado and Medinilla regarding the interim plan adopted by the Board is received, but this Ministry has learned that said report makes a mention of the failing of the Administrator, and the delay in its submission is due to the general disorder that the present Governor has created in disorganizing and destroying the bases upon which the interim arrangement was based.

If that is so, according to the opinions and news that we have received so far, it is imperative not to adopt any of the measures foreseen for the establishment of a prudent and just arrangement, one that would at the same time avoid the displeasure of those employees and inhabitants and the waste of government funds, by trying to develop agriculture and industry, for which purpose the Royal Treasury has already spent some money.

It follows that this Ministry is convinced that it would be better, to follow(?) the intent of the King our Lord, as expressed in said Royal decision of 21 September 1817, that the new Governor, Don José de Medinilla, who not only is knowledgeable of all antecedents but also has the general trust for implementing it better, be given a commission to develop the new Plan for reform that should be adopted for the Mariana Islands; he should work at it and present same, with the consent of Captain Manuel Sanz, who has been appointed to take the *residencia* of Governor Ganga in accordance with the precise manner mentioned by His Majesty in the above-said order, now that the Mariana Islands, on account of the Mexican revolution, have become a new obligation for the Treasury of these Islands, it is not possible either for it to make more expenditures for shipments that might exceed the initial 8,000 pesos per year for their survival, as proposed in the Marianas by Medinilla and Sanz, in their Plan for reform in the number of employees. Before it can be submitted to Your Excellency, it should be revised as far as the number of posts and staff officers of said garrison is concerned, and also to give time for other observations to be collected by the Superior Board and added to the case file, for Your Excellency's consideration, and a resolution for its implementation, and eventual report to be submitted to His Majesty for his sovereign approval.

By such a simple and clear approach, one based on the long experience of Medinilla, and his being confronted by the actual condition of the Marianas, we should be able to arrive at a decision, the implementation of which will not become an aventure. Such is the opinion of this Ministry and Your Excellency, once informed, will be able to resolve the matter by making a better and more just decision.

General Accounting Office of the Royal Treasury of Manila, 13 January 1826.

Your Excellency.

Manuel Barañao

Juan Nepumuceno Miciano

[Minute]

Manila, 16 January 1826.

Add to this consultation of the Ministry of the Royal Treasury the main case file that is pending the reports by Don José Tirado and Don José Medinilla, and forward the whole to the Legal Counsel.

Ricafort

Licenciado Gonzalez Azaola.

2. Comments of Governor Medinilla, January 1826

Original text in Spanish.

Excelentísimo Señor.

Nada tengo que añadir a lo que exponen a Vuestra Excelencia los Señores Ministros de Real Hacienda, por que es fuera de toda duda que careciendo de noticias exactas sobre el actual estado de administracion en Marianas, mi dictamen en un punto de cuya resolucion necesariamente ha de pender la suerte de aquellas Yslas, seria en la actualidad aventurado y pudiera cometer gravisimos errores con la mas pura intencion. Es verdad que desempeñé el gobierno de Marianas por espacio de once años proximately, y que la experiencia adquirida en aquel destino me proporciona poder auxiliar al gobierno en el arreglo del punto en cuestion, pero durante mi gobierno existian alli intereses considerables del Rey en varias administraciones que tocan un total ruina en el dia segun se dice, por lo tanto solo despues de mi arribo a Marianas podré satisfacer los deseos de Vuestra Excelencia con la exactitud que el asunto requiere, y Vuestra Excelencia apetece para resolver lo que sea mas justo y conforme a las con que anteriormente ha servido en mi destino, á el afecto particular que tiene a aquellos Naturales y a los deseos del mayor fomento de las Yslas, para que en union del Juez de residencia nombrado el Capitan de Infanteria del primero de Línea Don Manuel Sanz, formen el nuevo Plan de reforma que convenga adoptarse, teniendo en consideracion no solo las intenciones de Su Magestad manifestadas en Real orden de veinti nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete, sino tambien el gravamen de estas Caxas que saben soportar los gastos de la conservacion de aquellas Yslas dando cuenta en la primera ocasion oportuna.

...

[Decree of 23 January 1826]

Debuelvase á el Ministerio de Real Hacienda su consulta para que inteligenciado de esta resolucion la comunique a el Gobernador y Juez de residencia nombrados para las Yslas Marianas, sin perjuicio de hacerles las demas prevenciones que contemple el propio Ministerio puedan favorecer el logro de las intenciones de Su Magestad y el bien de aquellos naturales.

Ricafort.

Lizenciado Gonzalez Azaola.

Nota.

Con fecha de veinte de Abril se les hicieron las prevenciones que indica este Superior Decreto.

Lopez Guillen.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I have nothing to add to what the Gentlemen Ministers of the Royal Treasury have told Your Excellency, because it is perfectly clear that, in the absence of exact information about the present condition of the administration of the Marianas, my opinion on a point whose resolution must necessarily involve the future of those Islands, would be speculative at present and I might commit grave errors with the best of intentions. It is true that I acted as Governor of the Marianas for a period of approximately eleven years,¹ and that the experience I have gained in that job enables me to assist the government in the arrangement of the point in question, but during my term of office the King still had considerable interests there, but at present they say that those administrations have fallen into complete ruin; therefore, it would be only after my arrival at the Marianas that I will be able to satisfy the desires of Your Excellency with the exactness that the matter requires, and that Your Excellency desires, to resolve the issue as justly as possible, and in line with those that I have witnessed during my term, to foster the interests of those natives and to develop the Islands, so that I may, in collaboration with the man appointed as Judge of the *residencia*, Captain of Infantry of the first battalion of the Regular Battalion, Don Manuel Sanz, form the new Plan of reform that is to be adopted, taking into consideration not only the intentions of His Majesty expressed in the Royal order of 29 September 1827, but also the obligation of this Treasury to support the expenses required for the preservation of those Islands, and submitting the report at the first opportunity that may present itself.

...

[Decree of 23 January 1826]

Send the consultation of the Ministry of the Royal Treasury back to them, for them to take note of this resolution and communicate same to the Governor and the Judge of the *residencia* who have been appointed for the Mariana Islands, without the need to divulge the other measures that their Ministry has contemplated in the matter of fostering the intentions of His Majesty and the welfare of those natives.

Ricafort

Licenciado Gonzalez Azaola.

Note.

On 20 April, they were made aware of the details of the above Decree.

Lopez Guillen.

1 Ed. note: Medinilla's first term of office lasted from 1812 to 1822.

3. Report of Governor Medinilla and Captain Sanz, dated Agaña 30 November 1826

Original text in Spanish.

Excelentísimo Señor.

Los que suscriben cumpliendo con la Comision que les está conferida por el superior Decreto de veinte y tres de Enero ultimo, elevan a manos de Vuestra Excelencia el plan de reforma que juzgan conveniente para la conservacion de las Yslas Marianas, y mejora de sus havitantes, segun las intenciones de Su Magestad enunciadas en la Real orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete, el qual han formado apoyarse en las razones que expondrian.

La Comision ha examinado detenidamente el reglamento que rigo hasta Agosto de mil ochocientos veinte y dos, el que sucedio a este, y la situacion actual de las Yslas; ha indagado la causa del miserable estado de sus havitantes, comparado la exactitud de recursos de subsistencia en que se halla, con la abundancia que ha conocido en los años anteriores, y sin dificultad ha conseguido apurar el origen.

La causa primaria de todas las secundarias que han atraido la ruina del Paíz, es el Plan del Ministro interino de las Reales Caxas Don Bernabe Escalada. Este oficial tenia escasas noticias de las Yslas Marianas, carecia de conocimiento acerca del porque las Caxas de Mexico libravan el situado (cuando dijo que el objeto era socorrer[?]) estaba distante de prever las consecuencias que produciria su plan, o bien tubo miras de destruir este Establecimiento, sin omitir sacrificar los fondos de las Reales Caxas de Manila; exemplares terrenos(?) de proyectos que han alucinado con el pequeño bien que ofrecían y puestos en execucion sin profundizarles, ni pensar en lo venidero, aquel bien aparente se ha convertido en males de la mayor consideracion; es uno de ellos reducir la guarnicion y empleados por el enunciado plan a menos de la mitad de su sueldo, y por el reparto del Ganado, y extinsion de las Haciendas del Rey, privados de la racion diaria sin la qual ningun empleado puede subsistir por ser el primer movil de cuantos trabajos se hayan de emprender el mayor numero de tropa, y operarios, abandonó su destino que le proporcionaba el alimento. Todos los paises tienen mas, o menos medios, para procurarse los articulos necesarios a la vida, sin presision de que cada individuo haya de cultivar los frutos que se come, pero estas Yslas no son comparadas con ningun suelo; toda persona sin distincion de sexo ó edad esta constituida a visitar diariamente los montes y coleccionar las frutas y raíces que estos producen para alimentarse, y aquel que por su escasa salud, o avanzada edad se vé privado de hacerlo, sino tiene deudos que le auxilién sufre miserias; el pasajero por mas posibles conque arrive se vé en el mayor apuro para adquirirse el alimento, y en la actualidad hasta la primera autoridad conoce muchas privaciones. Cuando este Establecimiento tenia en diferentes revaños doscientos cinquenta y cinco reces Bacunos, cuatrocientas y trece de Cerda, mil doscientos setenta y una Aves, con treinta y dos animales de Silla para servir cinco Haciendas, una Goleta, y veinte y tres Embarcaciones pequeñas entre Lanchas, Botes, Bancas, y Pangas para las Expediciones de las Yslas del Norte, con el procreo siembras, y

Casa de los montes abundantes en reces mayores, suministraba racion de carne, y legumbres diarias a todos los militares, y travajadores, auxiliaba los enfermos, é imposibilitados, socorria los Buques que arrivaban, y tenia siempre un numero de hombres disponible para todo trabajo que ocurria; pero en el aora(?) que solo han quedado trece reces Bacunos, ciento diez y ocho de Cerda[,] doscientas y trece aves y veinte y siete animales de silla[,] inutiles las tres embarcaciones que existen, extinguida la Carne de los montes, por la desenfrenada lisencia que ha havido durante el Gobierno cesante, sin siembras, y sin hombres para el trabajo, ha tocado el establecimiento a el estado mas infeliz que ha conocido desde su Conquista, y para poder conservar un corto numero de Tropa, ha sido necesario con el sueldo de los que se han lisenciado dar una gratificación a los existentes a fin de que puedan comer, y a pesar de esta medida todo está mal servido.

Los que subscriben han examinado igualmente la inversion que se dava a los veinte y un mil ciento treinta y siete pesos quatro reales de situado que libraban las Caxas de Mexico y el estado en que se hallaba el Presidio antes de conocerse el plan de Don Bernabe Escalada y dicen que podia haverse hecho una rebaja en beneficio de la Real Hacienda, sin decadencia del establecimiento con tal que se huviere encargado de la reforma persona dotada de los conocimientos nesarios, amante de la suerte de estos havitantes, y celoso por los intereses del Rey, pero obrando opuesto a estas miras, no podian ser otros los resultados que los que ha demostrado el citado plan. Con el se han erogado exorvitanes desembolsos a las Reales Caxas, que en los quatro años que rige, superan en duplo a el situado que librava Mexico; por el carece el Presidio de operacion de Carpinteria, Canteros, Albañiles, Constructores de Buques y Herreros que con el sueldo de esas plazas, y la racion proporcionavan el buen estado de los edificios, obras de Fortificacion, Armamento, Artilleria, y Cultivo de las tierras; por el se ha avandado la Guarnicion de los Castillos no haviendo quedado tropa para ello, y con esto y la falta de reparo, estan amenasando ruina; por el las Embarcaciones tan necesarias para las Expediciones de las Yslas del norte, a conducir Carnes, y maderas, unas han desaparecido, y otras totalmente inutiles, en razon a que no ha havido gente que los cuida, ni las repare, por el el Armamento esta en la mayor inutilidad, y la artilleria inservible a causa del Cureñaje; y finalmente por el descabellado plan, están para desplo-marse las Casas Reales de los Pueblos, han desaparecido los Ganados, la Caza de los Montes, los ajenos(?) de las Haciendas y todos los recursos de subsistencia, en terminos que no ofrecen estas Yslas otros manjares que las frutas silvestres que produce su fertil suelo; estas son las ventajas que se han conseguido de un ideal y facticio arreglo presentado con la arenga de que por el sería mejor asistidos estos naturales y cumplidos los deseos de Su Magestad segun la Real Orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete[,] siendo asi que en lo material proponia todos los medios contrarios, como lo ha demostrado la Experiencia.

El establecimiento de administracion y de efectos por cuenta de la Real Hacienda que tubo por objeto la economia de los Reales intereses, no ha cumplido con sus resultados a tan loable fin; de necesidad debe la administracion con unas perdidas gravar el

erario, la larga distancia de la Capital, y poca proporcion de buques, hará que se ignore quales son los articulos que han tenido mayor consumo para remplazarles con oportunidad, y que estos havitantes no carezcan de ellos, al paso que otros se estancaran por falta de salida y ocasionaran perdida[;] de esto ya tenemos exemplos.

*Los efectos conducidos por el Bergantin **Dolores** costaron a los Reales Caxas veinti cinco mil setecientos noventa y seis pesos y tres granos, pues aunque la factura asciende a treinta y quatro mil quatrocientos doce pesos y quatro granos es en virtud del veinte y cinco que se le aumento para gastar; el flete del Bergantin importó nueve mil setecientos pesos, en dinero metalico[;] se remitieron diez y seis mil pesos, y cinco mil setecientos, que importa el Sueldo del Governador Cesante, que ha cobrado en Manila su apoderado, hacen la suma total de cinquenta y siete mil setecientos noventa y seis pesos y tres granos, que es el reembolso de las Reales Caxas; de esta havia en fin de Julio proximo pasado la existencia de tres mil quatrocientos sesenta y tres pesos y dos reales en metalico, pues la de efectos es imaginaria, por que hallandose unos enteramente inutilis, y otros que además de su deterioro son invendibles que deben conducirse a Manila, con dificultad se podrá sacar de ellos el Costo del transporte; y así el resultado es que deviendo gastarse ocho mil pesos anuales, segun el arreglo de Don Bernabe Escalada, se han consumido a razon de Catorce mil docientos noventa y nueve pesos cada año, sin comprender los gastos y perdidas que se les ocasionó a las Caxas antes de alistarse el Bergantin, y el fruto de tantos sacrificios, ha sido la ruina del Pais, y no reconocen estos individuos una ventaja con haver sido pagados por un Administrador, por que importa poco el nombre del pagador, quando este ha de ser un hombre, y hasta que estos por sus virtudes filantropicas, y aversion al interés imiten a Sienago, y a Curcio, el mundo será el mismo; pero Vuestra Excelencia tiene en sus manos el medio de contener los daños con el asiento en la eleccion de sugeto; este deve ser persona de providad, y notoria delicadeza, Casi en virtud de las circunstancias Politicas de nuestras Americas fuese necesario, y con las Leyes (conteniendose en sus justos limites) respecto a la alteracion que en el cesante Gobierno han padecido las costumbres, y docilidad de estos havitantes es innegable que una autoridad Superior no puede verlo todo, y que a veces equivoca las elecciones por carecer de noticias, pero la opinión publica es el Juez mas integro del merito y la virtud de los hombres; y quando está no basta para conseguir el acierto, el rigor de la Ley usado con el culpable satisface el delito de este, y reprime á otros que intenten separarse de sus deveres.*

Hasta aqui la Comision ha dicho quanto le ha parecido conveniente para manifestar que el plan de Don Bernardo Escalada es innabegable [sic] y pernicioso á este establecimiento, y pasa á detallar el que propone a Vuestra Excelencia, especificando las razones en que se funda.

En el orden antiguo durante el situado de las Caxas de Mexico, percibian los oficiales y empleados un sueldo capaz de sobrevivir a las nesesidades de sus familias, y la tropa ademas del Prest, Vestuario, y otros auxilios; cesado aquel por el germen Rebo-lucionario de aquellos Paices la voluntad del Rey es que sean auxiliadas estas Yslas por las Caxas de Filipinas, interín se forma el plan de arreglo que haya de rejir en lo sucesi-

vo, aunque de esta Soverana Resolucion no deve inferirse sea el animo de Su Magestad de que se disminuyan los sueldos, mayormente si se trae a Consideracion el derecho que tienen estos havitantes a dicho situado, por la donacion que les hizo la Reyna Doña Mariana en el siglo diez y siete; sin embargo la Comision hizo presente a estos militares, y demas que han gozado Sueldo, los Cortos recursos del Erario, é igualmente lo mucho que deben a la munificencia del Rey Nuestro Señor, como la nesesidad de que se conformen con una rebaja, quedandoles lo presiso para subsistencia, y todos han convenido en contribuir a el alivio de las Cargas del Situado, y se prestan, unos a continuar la Carrera, y otros a absolverse a alistar, señalandoles un sueldo con que poder proveer sus mas indispensables necesidades; partiendo de este principio se ha formado el adjunto plan, rebajando a cada clase prudencialmente lo que puede cercenarse del antiguo Sueldo.

El Sargento Mayor que como inmediato subalterno del Governador deve presentarse con decencia y tener una cavalleria para las comisiones que el Gefé le confie, se le señalan veinte y ocho pesos, en lugar de los treinta y quatro y tres reales que tenía. Los tres Capitanes se les pone a catorce pesos, antes dos de ellos disfrutaban veinte y dos, y uno catorce, y respecto á que todos hacen un mismo servició se les iguala en sueldo. Los Ayudantes ganavan uno catorce pesos, y otro doce[;] se les pone a ambos a diez pesos. Los tres Alferes percivían, dos a razon de doce pesos, y el otro diez, se les pone a todos a nueve pesos. De estas clases no puede suprimirse el numero, pues solo hay el presiso e indispensable para el servicio, y tampoco admite mas rebaja el sueldo, en consideracion á que despues de costearse uniforme, divisas, Sombrero, y Espada, muy poco les queda para las demas atenciones. La clase de Sargento se componia de once Individuos; ahora se reduce á seis que es lo suficiente segun su fuerza, los tres primeros con el sueldo de siete pesos y quatro reales, y los tres segundos con siete pesos, en lugar de seis pesos que disfrutaban unos, otros ocho, y otros siete. La clase de Cavos constava de doce individuos, los ocho con siete pesos, y quatro con cinco pesos y quatro reales, se suprimen tres, y a los nueve que restan se les señala a razon de seis pesos. Tambores y Soldados eran ochenta y una plasas, los cinquenta y quatro con siete pesos, y los veinte y siete con cinco pesos y quatro reales, se suprimen dos plasas, y a las setenta y nueve se les señala el prest de seis pesos; el mismo es el mas reducido que puede dejarse, en atención a que son indispensables cuarenta y ocho hombres para las Guardias, y relevo de Plasa, y Castillos, y veinte y ocho para los trabajos, y Embarcaciones.

Los demas empleados como Capitan del Campo, Secretario de Gobierno, Tenedor de Almacenes, y encargado en las obras, son indispensables, pero se les rebaja a cada uno de los primeros dos pesos, y seis al ultimo, y quedan todos a diez pesos mensuales. El Maestro Carpintero Constructor tampoco puede suprimirse mucho menos en la actualidad que es de nesesidad se construyan Embarcaciones, pero se le deja con doce pesos, no obstante que gozava catorce. El Maestro Herrero tambien es muy esencial para que dirija las obras, y cuide de la Herrería, y su corto sueldo de nueve pesos no es para que se le haga rebaja. Los cinco Alcaldes Administradores tambien son de nesesidad para plantear las Haciendas, cuidar de las Sementeras, y Ganado que existe para

procurar el procreo, y en atencion a el Cargo, y responsabilidad que les cave, se ha creido conveniente conservarles el sueldo de doce pesos que gozaban anteriormente. El numero de Mozos en las Haciendas, y sueldo de un peso al mes a unos, y diez reales a otros es el menor a que puede reducirse con proporcion al trabajo que les cave, y pues en el anterior arreglo unas Haciendas tenian catorce hombres y otros hasta veinte.

Se aumenta un Capitan del Puerto con ocho pesos mensuales, empleo creado nuevamente por la Capitania General con nombramiento de treinta de Julio de mil ochocientos veinte cinco.

Se aumenta un maestro Albañil con nueve pesos en atencion al citado en que se hallan los edificios Reales, y fortalezas, que exijen un pronto reparo, ya que es conveniente haya una persona inteligente que este á la mira de su conservacion.

Igualmente se aumenta un Maestro de Primeras letras para la Ciudad con ocho pesos al mes y tres para los Pueblos, con tres pesos cada uno, en razon a que estas Yslas no tienen fondos, ni advitrios de donde pagarles, y esta falta ocasiona que la juventud carezca de instruccion.

Se suprime el Capitan de Artilleria que disfrutaba doce pesos; pues no habiendo tropa que entienda del arma es innecesario, y puede mandarse un Sargento del Real Cuerpo en clase de destacado, que cuide de las piezas é instruya á algunos soldados.

Se suprimen asi mismo los setecientos cinquenta y tres pesos, seis reales que anualmente se empleaban en Paños, Sombreros, Javon, y otras menudencias para la tropa.

Se suprimen trescientos pesos que se libran para la funcion de la Purisima Concepcion patrona del Presidio.

Se suprimen cinquenta pesos que se libran a el Padre Ministro para misas y funcion de Iglesia.

Se reducen a ochocientos pesos los tres mil y pico que estavan destinados a la compra de efectos para el Almacén, gastos de Obras y Embarcaciones.

Se suprime la gratificación de doce pesos anuales que se daba á el encargado en la Capilla del Cuartel.

Se suprimen los doscientos sesenta y quatro pesos que se distribuian a los Barveros y quedan reducidos los gastos a trece mil quinientos noventa y dos pesos.

Los sueldos que van señalados, deve añadirse la racion de la tropa que ha de salir del producto de las Haciendas y Expediciones a las Yslas del norte, pero hasta tanto que se colecten frutos, y haya Embarcaciones es indispensable arvitrar algun medio que proporcione tres mil doscientos diez y seis pesos quatro reales y seis granos, que es lo que se gradua necesario en un año; La Comision opina (Salvo el parecer de Vuestra Excelencia) que esta cantidad puede facilitarla el fondo que tiene la Obra Pia de la Misericordia perteneciente á este Presidio y tendrán las Caxas Reales este desembolso menos.

Aunque parece a primera vista que a los tambores, Cavos, y Soldados se les señalan mayor sueldo que el que gozan las tropas de Manila, se ha tenido presente que suprimidos los setecientos cinquenta y tres pesos y seis reales que se inbertian en Paños, Sombreros deben con el sueldo costearse el vestuario, que no tienen Utencilio, y que su

instituto no es solo el servicio de armas, sino también trabajos Corporales en mar, y tierra que ha de ocasionarles mayor consumo de ropa. Tampoco deve mirarse como excesivo el Computo que se hace de tres Cuartillas por la racion diaria, hasta tanto que se colecten frutos de las haciendas, pues que en estas Yslas el precio corriente del arroz es el de siete pesos Cavan.

Este es el plan de arreglo que puede adoptarse como mas equitativo atendidas las críticas circunstancias en que se halla el erario, y con presencia de la situación lamentable de estas Yslas, qualquiera otro de mayor economia es infructuosa para llenar el objeto de las intenciones de Su Magestad [;] continuara la decadencia del establecimiento, y terminará en volver las Yslas al primitivo estado en que se hallavan quando fueron Conquistadas. Los firmantes desean haver desempeñado a satisfacción de Vuestra Excelencia la Comisión que tanto honor les hace, y aspiran en recompensa a que sea mejorada la suerte de estos havitantes mediante la protección de Vuestra Excelencia.

Agaña treinta de Noviembre de mil ochocientos veinte y seis.

Excelentísimo Señor.

Jose de Medinilla y Pineda.

Manuel Sanz.

Excelentísimo Señor Capitan General y Superintendente de Real Hacienda de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The undersigned, in compliance with the Commission that has been conferred upon them by the Superior Decree of 23 January last, bring to the attention of Your Excellency the reform plan that they think proper for the preservation of the Mariana Islands and the progress of their inhabitants, in accordance with the intentions of His Majesty as expressed in the Royal order dated 29 September 1817, in the creation of which they have based themselves upon the reasons that they will reveal.

The Commission has examined at length the regulation that was in force until August 1822, the one that replaced it, and the present condition of the Islands; investigated the cause of the miserable condition of their inhabitants; compared the exactness [rather shortage] of the resources that are presently available with the abundance that they had known in previous years, and been able to arrive without difficulty at the source of the problem.

The primary cause, from which depend all the secondary causes that have brought the ruin of the country, is the Plan of the interim Minister of the Royal Accounts, Don Bernabe Escalada. This official had little information on the Mariana Islands, lacked true knowledge as to why the subsidy had come from the Treasury of Mexico and, when he said that his purpose was to provide succor, he was far from realizing the consequences that his plan would have, or else he deliberately wished to destroy this Establishment, not to mention the waste of the funds from the Royal Treasury of Manila, for example, the many(?) projects that he invented, with little import and that were carried

out without previous analysis, without thinking about the future; such apparent benefits have converted themselves into evils of the greatest consideration. One specific example is the reduction of the garrison and number of employees made by said plan to less than half of their salaries; another is the distribution of the cattle and the abolition of the King's ranches, thus depriving the employees of the daily ration without which they cannot survive, because the major incentive in having so many soldiers and workers perform so much work is to produce food for them. All [other] countries have more or less the means to acquire food supplies without the need for every individual having to grow his own food, but these Islands cannot be compared with any of them; every person here, regardless of sex, or age, must make daily visits to the bush to gather fruits and roots they may find there for his own food. Any person who, on account of frail health or advanced age cannot do so, is bound to suffer great miseries, unless he has some other persons indebted to him. Any visitor, no matter how much money he has upon arrival, faces the problem of finding food. In fact, right now, even the Governor knows some shortages. When this Establishment had at various locations a total of 255 cows, 413 pigs, 1,271 chickens, and 32 mounts to serve five ranches, 1 schooner, and 3 small boats among which were launches, boats and canoes to make expeditions to the northern islands, with productive plantations and plenty of wild animals to hunt, it provided meat rations and vegetables daily to all the military personnel and workers, assisted the sick and invalids, had food supplies for visiting ships, and always had a number of men available for any work that was required, but presently there remain only 13 cows, 118 pigs, 213 chickens and 27 mounts; the three vessels are useless, there are no more wild animals to hunt, on account of the uncontrolled hunts permitted under the previous governor, no more plantations, and no more men to do work; the Establishment has thus reached the most unhappy state that it has ever known since the conquest, and in order to preserve a short number of soldiers, it has been necessary, with the salary of those who have been discharged, to give a supplement to those who remain so that they may eat and, in spite of this measure, everything is not at all well.

The undersigned have also examined the investment that was made of the 21,137 pesos 4 reals of the subsidy delivered by the Treasury of Mexico and the condition of the garrison before the plan of Don Bernabe Escalada was made known, and they declare that a decrease in the funds provided by the Royal Treasury could have been made, without causing a decadence of the establishment, if only a knowledgeable person had been placed in charge, one with the fate of these inhabitants at heart and zealous of the interests of the King, but since he worked against such aims, the results of the above-mentioned plan could not have been otherwise. With it have been imputed exorbitant expenditures to the Royal Treasury, to such an extent that in the last four years they have reached double the amount of the subsidy that Mexico used to deliver. Because of it the garrison lacks men specialized in carpentry, masonry, ship-building and blacksmiths who used to be paid a salary and given rations and saw to the good condition of the buildings, forts, weapons, guns and the land cultivation. Because of it has been abandoned the manning of the fortresses, for lack of soldiers to assign to them, and for

this reason and the lack of repair, they are threatening ruin. Because of it the vessels, so necessary for the expeditions to the northern islands, to transport the meat and wood, have either disappeared or become completely useless, because there was no-one to take care of them, or to repair them. Because of it the weapons are mostly useless, and the guns unfit for use because of their carriages. Finally, because of the headless plan, the Royal houses in the villages are about to crumble down, the cattle has disappeared, the hunting gone, the products of the ranches and all the means of subsistence in such a state that these Islands have no other food supply than what the wild fruits that their soil produce. Such are the advantages that have been obtained from an ideal and fictional arrangement that was based on the argument that it would be in accordance with the wished of His Majesty as expressed in his Royal order of 29 September 1817, but in effect it proposed all the contrary means, as experience has shown.

The establishment of the administration and effects on the account of the Royal Treasury that had as an objective to make some savings to the Royal interests, did not give results to justify such a praiseworthy objective. The administration must necessarily impute some losses to the treasury; the long distance to the Capita, and the little availability of ships, will result in ignorance as to which articles have been consumed the most, in order to replace them on a timely basis, so that these inhabitants will not lack them, while others will simply accumulate without a market and will occasion losses; we already have examples of this.

The effects brought by the brig **Dolores** have cost the Royal Treasury 25,796 pesos and 3 grains; indeed, although the invoice amounts to 34,412 pesos and 4 grains, this is due to the 25% mark-up that was applied to it; the freight charges of the brig amounted to 9,700 pesos, in cash; 16,000 pesos were remitted and the 5,700 pesos of the salary of the former Governor, which his agent in Manila has drawn, make a total of 57,796 pesos and 3 grains the amount that is reimbursed to the Royal Treasury; of this, there was, at the end of July last, only 3,463 pesos and 2 reals as cash-on-hand; indeed, the worth of the effects is imaginary, because some are completely useless and others are unsaleable on account of their deterioration and must be returned to Manila, with the problem that not even their transport cost might be recovered; and thus the result is that, whereas 8,000 pesos per year were to be spent, in accordance with the plan of Don Bernabe Escalada, a total of 14,299 pesos have been spent every year, not including the expenses and losses incurred by the Treasury, before the brig was chartered; The outcome for so many sacrifices has been the total ruin of the country, and these individuals do not see any advantage in getting their pay from an Administrator, because they do not care who pays them, as long as they are paid by someone, but what if this man imitates a philanthropic patron and gives out money without considering the consequences? However, Your Excellency has present the means of reducing the damages in question by appointing the proper individual, who must be honest and possess a known delicateness, made necessary in view of the political circumstances in our Americas, and the Laws (applied within their just limits). With regards to the changes that have taken place under the previous Governor in the local customs, the docility of these inhabitants

have made that possible. It is undeniable that a superior authority cannot see it all, and that at times it makes a mistake in its decisions, for lack of information, but public opinion is the most severe judge of the merit and virtue of man, and when this is not sufficient to accomplish the purpose, the rigor of the Law can deal with the guilty and serve as an example to others who might think of straying from their duties.

So far the Commission has declared what it thought appropriate to say to show that the plan of Don Bernardo Escalada is unseaworthy [sic] and pernicious to this Establishment, and will now turn its attention to making proposals to Your Excellency, and specifying the reasons on which they are based.

In the old days, when the subsidy came from the Treasury of Mexico, the officer and employees received salaries that allowed them to survive and provide for their families, while the soldiers, in addition to their pay, clothing and other allowances. This stopped when the seed of revolution was sown in those countries, but the will of the King is that these Islands be assisted by the Treasury of the Philippines, until the creation of a reorganization plan that will be in effect in future, although one should not interpret the Sovereign Resolution to mean that the intention of His Majesty is to reduce the salaries, specially in view of the fact that these inhabitants have a right to such a subsidy, on account of the endowment made to them by the Queen Doña Mariana [de Austria] in the 17th century; nevertheless, the Commission has brought to the attention of the military men and other salaried employees here that they owe it to the generosity of the King our Lord to accept a decrease in pay, to the level of a survival pay, and everyone of them has agreed to contribute to the charges imposed on the subsidy; some accept to continue their career and others to resign, and they have been assigned a salary that would allow them to provide for their most indispensable necessities. Based on this principle, the attached plan has been created, in which each category has been prudently reduced by trimming what was possible from the old subsidy.

The Major, who must, as the officer immediately under the Governir, have decent clothes and a mount to carry out the commissions that the Chief entrusts him with, is assigned 28 pesos, instead of the 34 pesos and 3 reals that he had. The three Captains will receive 14 pesos, whereas two of them formerly enjoyed 22, and the third 14; given that they all do the same work, they should receive the same salary. The Adjutants used to earn, one 14 pesos, and the other 12; both will now receive 10 pesos. The three Second-Lieutenants earned, two of them 12 pesos and the third 10; all will get 9 pesos. This category cannot be reduced in number, because there is only just a sufficient and indispensable number for the service, and neither can they suffer further reductions in salary, in consideration of the fact that, after they have spent for a uniform, badges, hat and sword, they have little left for other expenses. The category of Sergeants used to consist of 11 individuals; now there will be on 6 which is a sufficient number for the force, the three Sergeants 1st class receiving 7 pesos 4 reales, and the three Sergeants 2nd class 7 pesos, instead of the 6 pesos that some enjoyed, others 8, and still others 7. The category of Corporals formerly consisted of 12 individuals, 8 of them receiving 7 pesos and 4 receiving 5 pesos and 4 reals; three positions are eliminated and the remain-

ing 9 are assigned 6 peeso each. The Drummers and Soldiers were 81 in number, 54 receiving 7 pesos and the 27 others 5 pesos and 4 reals; two positions are abolished, and the 79 remaining will receive a salary of 6 pesos, which is the lowest number to which they can be reduced, because it is indispensable to have 48 men for guard duty, shift replacement, and the forts, plus 28 men for work parties, and to serve about the vessels.

As far as the other employees are concerned, such as the Field Captain, Government Secretary, Store-keeper, and Work Superintendent, they are all indispensable, but their salaries are reduced, by 2 pesos for the first two, and by 6 pesos for the last one; they will all receive 10 pesos per month. The Master Carpenter and Shipwright cannot be eliminated either, and much more so under the present situation when it is necessary to build vessels, but he is left with 12 pesos, whereas he enjoyed 14. The Master Blacksmith is also very essential in order to direct the works, and take care of the Forge, and his small salary of 9 pesos cannot be reduced further. The five Mayors Administrators are also necessary to sow the Ranches, take care of the Plantations, and Cattle that exist and must be multiplied; in consideration of the duties and responsibilities assigned to them, it is considered proper to keep their salaries of 12 pesos which they enjoyed before. The number of boys employed on the Ranches, and the salary of 1 pesos per month for some, and 10 reals for others is the least amount to which it can be reduced, given the work to be done; indeed, under the former plan some ranches had 14 men and some of the others as many as 20.

The post of Port Captain is added, at the rate of 8 pesos per month. This position was created recently by the Captaincy General when the appointment was made, on 30 July 1820.

This is the reorganization plan that can be adopted as being the most equitable under the critical circumstances in which the Treasury finds itself, and given the miserable condition of these Islands. Any other plan to make greater savings would be incapable to meeting the objective representing the intentions of His Majesty; the decadence of the establishment would then continue and end up in the Islands finding themselves at the same primitive condition they were in at the time of their conquest. The undersigned wish they have carried out satisfactorily the Commission given by Your Excellency who has so honored them iwht it, and the only reward they wish in return is to see an improvement in the situation of these inhabitants by means of the protection of Your Excellency.

Agaña, 30 November 1826.

Your Excellency.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

Manuel Sanz

[To] His Excellency the Captain General and Superintendent of the Royal Treasury of the Philippine Islands.

3. [Attachment 1]

Original text in Spanish.

YSLAS MARIANAS.

Plan y arreglo de este Establecimiento que presentan los Capitanes Firmantes Comisionados para su formacion por Superior Decreto de veinti tres de Enero ultimo [1826].

<i>Clase</i>	<i>Sueldo mensual</i>	<i>Hace a el año</i>
	<i>P. R.</i>	<i>P. R.</i>
<i>Un Gobernador.....</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>1800</i>
<i>Un Sargento mayor.....</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>336</i>
<i>Tres Capitanes a 14 ps.....</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>504</i>
<i>Dos Ayudantes a 10 ps.....</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>240</i>
<i>Tres Alfereses a 9 ps.....</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>324</i>
<i>Tres Sargentos 1ª a 7 ps. 4 rrs.....</i>	<i>22 4</i>	<i>270</i>
<i>Tres Sargentos 2ª a 7 ps.....</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>252</i>
<i>Nueve Cavos a 6 ps.....</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>648</i>
<i>Tres tambores a 6 ps.....</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>216</i>
<i>Sesenta y seis soldados a 6 ps.....</i>	<i>456</i>	<i>5472</i>
<i>Un Capitan del Puerto.....</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>96</i>
<i>Un Capitan del Campo.....</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>Un Secretario de Govno.....</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>Un Tenedor de Almacenes.....</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>Un Encargado de Obra.....</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>Un Maes. Carp. Constructor.....</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>144</i>
<i>Un Maestro Herrero.....</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>108</i>
<i>Un Maestro Albañil.....</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>108</i>
<i>Un Maestro de primeras letras.....</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>96</i>
<i>Tres para los Pueblos a 3 ps.....</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>108</i>

Hacienda de Umata

	<i>P.R.</i>	<i>P.R.</i>
<i>Un Alc. Administrador 12 p</i>		
<i>Doce mozos a peso 12 p.....</i>	<i>26 4</i>	<i>318</i>
<i>Dos id. a diez reales 2 . 4</i>		

Hacienda de Dandan

<i>Lo mismo que las anteriores.....</i>	<i>26 4</i>	<i>318</i>
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Hacienda de Achota

<i>Lo mismo que las anteriores.....</i>	<i>26 4</i>	<i>318</i>
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*Hacienda de Tinian**Lo mismo que las anteriores 26 4 318**Para el entretenimiento de las embarcaciones**Edificios y Jornales de los individuos**del Campo que se emplean en los**Trabajos y Expediciones 300**Para el surtido del Hierro y demas**efectos de Almacenes 500**Es de necesidad un facultativo y Botiquin**para la asistencia de los empleados y**havitantes, pues no tienen otro recurso**en sus enfermedades que el de la naturaleza**pero a este el Sup. Govno. le señalará**el sueldo que finque conveniente.**Suma Total 13.592**Las raciones de la tropa reguladas a tres cuartillas de varios suman a el año 3216 pesos 4 reales y seis granos.**Agaña treinta de Noviembre de mil ochocientos veinte y seis.**Jose de Medinilla y Pineda.**Manuel Sanz.***Translation.****MARIANA ISLANDS.**

Plan of reorganization of this Establishment presented by the undersigned Captains commissioned to create it by Superior Decree of 23 January last [1826].

Category	Salary per month	Salary per year
1 Governor	150 p	1800 p
2 Major	28	336
3 Captains @ 14 p.	42	504
2 Adjutants @ 10 p.	20	240
3 Second-Lieut. @ 9 p.	27	324
3 Sergeants 1st @ 7p 4r.	22/4	270
3 Sergeants 2nd @ 7 p.	21	252
9 Corporals @ 6 p.	54	648
3 Drummers @ 6 p.	18	216
66 Soldiers @ 6 p.	456	5472
1 Port Captain	8	96
1 Field Captain	10	120
1 Government Sec'y ...	10	120

1 Store-keeper	10	120
1 Supervisor of works	10	120
1 Master Carpenter & Shipwright	12	144
1 Master Blacksmith	9	108
1 Master Mason	9	108
1 Master Teacher	8	96
3 teachers in villages	9	108

Ranch of Umata

1 Mayor Administrator @ 12 p.		
12 boys @ 1 p.	26/4	318
2 boys @ 10 r.		

Ranch of Dandan

Same as above	26/4	318
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Ranch of Achota

Same as above	26/4	318
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Rand of Tinian

Same as above	26/4	318
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For the maintenance of the vessels, buildings and daily wages
of those employed in the fields, works and on expeditions

300

For the purchase of iron goods
and other effects for the stores

500

It is necessary to have a pharmacist and a pharmacy to assist
the employees and inhabitants, given that they have no other
recourse when sick but what nature provides, but the sum is to be
fixed by the Government, as it sees fit.

...

Total sum 13,592

The rations for the soldiers, based on 3 pints of various [items] total 3,216 pesos 4
reals and 6 grains per year.

Agaña, 30 November 1826.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

Manuel Sanz

4. [Attachment 2—Comments of local officers, dated 1827]

Original text in Spanish.

*La plana mayor, Guarnicion, y empleados en este Establecimiento abajo firmantes
hallamos este plan equitativo y arreglado con presencia de los apuros del Erario y de
las circunstancias en que se encuentran estas Yslas; por tanto nada se nos ofrece ex-*

poner en contra y nos conformamos con los sueldos señalados, si la Superioridad se origina aprobarlos.

Junto de la Cruz [,] Capitan de la primera.

Luis de Torres [,] Sargento Mayor.

Jose Joaquin de la Cruz [,] Capitan de la Tercera.

Jose de Leon [,] Capitan de la Segunda.

Blas de Larrida Lopez [,] Ayudante.

Josef de Torres [,] Ayudante.

Damaso de San Nicolas [,] Subteniente.

Nicolas de Borja [,] Subteniente.

Nicolas de Leon Guerrero: Capitan del Puerto.

Juan Dias: Subteniente.

Jose Juan Jonson [,] Constructor.

Antonio Guerrero [,] Encargado de Obras.

Juan Camacho [,] Almacenero.

Joaquin de Leon Guerrero [,] Secretario.

[Minute]

Manila [sic,] diez y ocho de Agosto de mil ochocientos veinti siete.

A su antecedente y pase a informe de los Señores Ministros de Real Hacienda.

Ricafort.—

Translation.

We, the undersigned who are part of the headquarter staff, the garrison, and the employees of this Establishment, find this plan equitable and arranged in consideration of the financial embarrassment of the Treasury and of the circumstances involving these Islands; therefore, we have nothing to say against it and we accept the salaries assigned therein, if the Superior Government decides to approve them.

[signed:] Justo de la Cruz, Captain 1st Company.

Luís de Torres, Major.

José Joaquín de la Cruz, Captain 3rd Coy.

José de León, Captain 2nd Coy.

Blas de Larrida Lopez, Adjutant.

José de Torres, Adjutant.

Damasa de San Nicolás, Second-Lieutenant.

Nicolás de Borja, Second-Lieutenant.

Nicolás de León Guerrero, Port Captain.

Juan Dias, Second-Lieutenant.

José Juan Johnson, Shipwright.

Antonio Guerrero, Supervisor of works.

Juan Camacho, Store-keeper.

Joaquín de León Guerrero, Secretary.

[Minute]

Manila, 18 August 1827.

Place in the relevant case file and forward same to the Gentlemen Ministers of the Royal Treasury.

Ricafort

5. Letter from two Royal accountants to the Chief of Finance, dated Manila 2 May 1828

Original text in Spanish.

Excelentissimo Señor Superintendente General Subdelegado de Real Hacienda.

Para evaquar los Ministros el informe que Vuesa Excelencia se sirve pedirles por su superior Decreto precedente, sobre el arreglo de sueldos, ó sease nuevo plan de administracion de las Yslas Marianas, que en desempeño de su Comicion, proponer a Vuesa Excelencia los Capitanes de Ynfanteria Don Jose Medinilla, nuevamente provisto Governador de ellas, y Don Manuel Saenz [sic] Juez de Residencia del antecesor Ganga Herrero, le han comparado con el que formó en nueve de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte el Ministro Contador interino que fué de estas Reales Cajas Don Bernabe Escalada aprobado por Junta Superior de Real hacienda de treinta del mismo, y encuentran que ni uno ni otro, está conforme con la voluntad de su Magestad manifestada en Real orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete. Este por que ha producido contrarios efectos, a la que se propone el Gobierno para aprobarlo, y aquel por que exediendo los gastos que detalla del valor de ocho mil pesos aprovados por su Magestad, no presenta ventaja alguna provable para lo subcesivo ni en beneficio de la Real Hacienda, ni en el de aquellos naturales; pues se reduce solamente a distribuir trece mil quinientos noventa y dos pesos anuales entre los empleados de aquel establecimiento, los quales por un circulo muy facil de conocer, vendrán a la Caja de los Gobernadores sin dejar en su circulacion mas utilidad, que la precaria de satisfacer escasamente las primeras é indispensables necesidades de los asalariados; al paso que los Administradores sin mas perdida, que la de una Octava, ó decima parte que les costarán los efectos alimenticios y comerciales que les venden vuelven otra vez a obtenerlos. De forma que fue de deducirse de este racionio, acreditado por la experiencia, que lo mismo es para las Marianas que se aumente el situado, que el que se disminuya: que sean mayores los sueldos de los empleados, ó que se reduciere, porque menos obtendran por ello mas que lo que han obtenido hasta el día, y aun se puede asegurar, sin temor de equivocarse por los resultados que ofrece a la vista de todo el mundo el estado de aquellas Yslas, que en lugar de ser utiles los sacrificios pecuniarios que ha hecho el Gobierno hasta el día, han sido perjudiciales, porque hace un siglo que tenían en sus montes carnes con que alimentarse abundantemente, y en el dia no hay mas que las que manifiestan en su proyecto los citados Comisionados. Si tantos millones de pesos como se han remitido à aquel establecimiento, a costa de la Real hacienda, se huviesen empleado en aumentar las producciones de su suelo por medio de una persona que hu-

viere cifrado su interes en conseguirlo, ès imposible que por esteril que sea el terreno, y por indolentes que se supongan sus naturales, no estuviese en el dia en un estado floreciente, y que no necesitasen ya demas auxilio, pero seria extraño que esto sucediese si se atiende al sistema de gobierno que se ha tenido hasta aqui. Su Magestad ha querido conservar aquel suelo bajo la proteccion de su Corona que se propagase entre aquellos gentiles la fee catolica, y que se les prodigasen todos los auxilios necesarios para hacerlos felices. Se persuadió el Soberano, juzgando los sentimientos de su Corazon, que ayudando con veintiun mil pesos anuales en efectivo y con otros auxilios, en instrumentos de agricultura, y Maestros que les enseñasen a manejarlos, y à conocer sus intereces, se lograría engrandecerlos, y que viviesen comodamente en sociedad, y efectivamente este era el medio, si los executores de su Real voluntad, la hubieran cumplido; pero contemplese la conducta de estos en el discurso de tantos años, veaseles quando partieron al gobierno y quando volvieron despues de su mision y se notará que las facultades y medios que les dió el Gobierno en nombre de su Magestad las han empleado casi siempre en hacer sus fortunas. Ellos se han hecho ricos y los desgraciados Marianos nunca han salido de su estado miserable, para mejorar sus vidas, sino para empeorarlas. Se les ha enseñado que los hombres pueden vivir con comodidad por medio del trabajo, pero nunca han podido obtenerla, porque los productos que de él han sacado se los han arrebatado los Gobernadores con sus estafas, obteniendo en cambio un mal vestido para cubrir sus carnes, y un escaso alimento que no satisfacía su hambre, y como esta necesidad es la primera, no pudiendo saciarla racionalmente, la han buscado, y la buscan como los Salvages. He aqui Excelentissimo Señor en pocas palabras la Causa de la miseria de aquel desgraciado Pais, que tantos sacrificios ha costado, y la idea que ofrece a los Ministros todo quanto contienen los adjuntos expedientes, y el plan que se propone para lo succesivo. Duele Excelentissimo Señor que en alternativa tan triste, sea la eleccion mas prudente la de abandonar aquellas Yslas, y olvidar de una vez tantos sacrificios, sino se quiere la continuacion de ellos sin provecho, la del mismo desorden, y la de la miseria en que hasta al presente han existido, y à no tener a la vista las Reales ordenes, por las quales quiere Su Magestad que se conserven en su Corona aquellos Montones de tierra incultos, y havitados por los seres mas desgraciados del universo, no tituverarian un momento en decidirse a pedirlo. Este sagrado respecto y una esperanza, aunque remota de un porvenir menos ingrato, ha sugerido a los Ministros el pensamiento de que en lugar de los planes que hasta ahora se han puesto en practica, sin fruto, y el que se propone sin esperanza de que le tenga, se extinga el nombre de Gobierno y se establezca el de Alcaldia ó Corregimiento en los mismos terminos, y bajo la misma forma que lo estan las Provincias de Nueva Ecija, Misamis, Caraga y Mindoro, con el situado de ocho mil pesos por ahora que Su Magestad permite se gastan en su conservacion; distribuyendolos en las precisas atenciones que pueda erogar un destacamento de tropa compuesta de un Ayudante, un Capitan, un Tenientef,] un Alferes, dos Sargentos, quatro Cavos, un Tambor, quarenta soldados, un Armero y un Guarda Almacen, con los sueldos que se señalan en la adjunta planilla, los quales son los

mismos que respectivamente gozaban antes de mil ochocientos veinte, y bienen a importar tres mil ochocientos cinquenta y ocho pesos.

En lugar de Capitan de Artilleria de Campo y tenedor de Almacenes se embiará cada año un pequeño destacamento de esta arma que conocerá de todo lo perteneciente al ramo, bajo las reglas o prevenciones que se hagan por el Gefe respectivo, à imitacion de lo que se practica en las Provincias de Yloylo, Ylocos &ª.

El nuevo corregimiento ó Alcaldia mayor de Marianas cree el Ministerio debe proveerse en la Clase de Gefe de este Exercito, con el sueldo de su empleo militar[,] tendrá libertad de comerciar, y será relevado de cinco en cinco años, por razon de la distancia.

Reducida la Guarnicion de Marianas al termino propuesto, resultará un numero considerable de cesantes con merito bastante para que no se les abandone: deberá pues destribuirse entre ellos el sobrante del situado resulta entre los tres mil ochocientos cinquenta y ocho pesos que se distribuyen como gasto fixo y permanente, y los ocho mil que han de librarse anualmente. Para ello deverá primera escogerse entre la totalidad los que puedan prestar mas utilidad al servicio, y entre los sobrantes, se hará la distribucion de los quatro mil ciento quarenta y dos pesos restantes del situado, en proporcion de su clase, y años de servicio, con sugesion al reglamento formada por el Señor Basco para los oficiales y tropa de los Presidios y Fuertecillos de estas Yslas aprovado por Real orden de doce de Agosto de mil setecientos ochenta y seis y quando falleciese alguno de los primeros podra substituirse por uno de los segundos, de forma que ya fallesean los individuos vivos, ya suceda lo mismo con los cesantes, debe irse economizando este gasto para emplearlo en otras atenciones.

Atendiendo a que toda empresa industrial manejada por el gobierno es siempre perjudicial a sus rentas, y aun a los demas particulares, porque paga siempre más caros los servicios productivos, y dá mas barato los productos, los Ministros creen deber, proponer a Vuesa Escelencia que las estancias y tierras de Marianas que se han cultivado por cuenta de la Real hacienda se distribuian entre los sugetos que a juicio del actual Governador Don Jose Medinilla sean mas capaces de cultivarlos, por sus medios, por su industria, y por las demas circunstancias que se requieren para hacerlas productivas; y que esta donacion sea temporal de seis a ocho años, con la obligacion de que los poseedores contribuyan con una parte de sus productos para obligarlos a sacar de ellas toda la utilidad posible, y que no limiten sus trabajos a obtener solamente lo que demanden sus necesidades.

No ès en verdad esto una medida que positivamente mejorará la suerte de Marianas, porque la tierra no tiene ningun valor quando no se piden sus productos, pero al menos se economizarán los sueldos y jornadas que antes se pagaban, y dejando en libertad a los que los gozaban, podrán trabajar para si mismos, y para el comun.

Las raciones y vestuarios deben continuar suprimidos porque haviendose aumentado los sueldos una mitad más de lo que anualmente gozan por el arreglo de mil ochocientos veinte de ellos se ben costearse unos y otros.

Aunque el reducirse la fuerza militar de aquellas Yslas al numero que se propone, puede dar lugar a observaciones sobre lo expuestas que quedaran a que se apodere de ellas, la codicia de otra nacion: los Ministros conviniendo con las razones que se han expuesto antes de ahora en este Expediente por el Ministro Contador interino Don Bernave Escalada son de parecer, que el temor no debe influir en nada a la reforma, por quando su estado no puede tentar a nadie el deseo de poseerlas, y aun quando lo pudiese, la misma defenza harian con la fuerza anterior, que con la que se propone.

Proponen tambien los Ministros que el Corregidor sea un Gefe Militar de este Exer-cito con el sueldo de su Clase, para evitar que gravite sobre el situado esta carga, y se le deja la libertad de comerciar no obstante lo prevenido en repetidas Reales ordenes porque no haviendo alli quien pueda hacerlo, ni quien desde aqui lo intente carecerian aquellas Yslas de una multitud de articulos que indispensablemente necesitan sus natu- rales, y atendiendo a que la Clase militar particularmente en un grado elevado ambi- ciona mas a la gloria del honor que a las riquezas, es mas provable evitar el monopolio, dejando el comercio a estos sugetos que a otros que quieran expendar en este negocio, y recomendandolo asi el gobierno a los previstos para que traten con la compasion que se merecen aquellos desgraciados, cuya desinteresada comportacion les seria premiada evitarse los fraudes y monopolios como desea su Magestad, y la manifiesta en Real orden de veinte siete de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte seis.

Si este nuevo proyecto unico adaptable en las circunstancias presentes de Marianas con presencia de la citada Real orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocien- tos diez y siete que previene se limiten los gastos a los citados ocho mil pesos mereciere interinamente la aprovacion de la Junta Superior de Real Hacienda hasta la determi- nacion de S.M., llos Ministros creen deber informar a Vuesa Excelencia que podrá ponerse en planta desde primero de Enero del año proximo venidero de mil ochocien- tos veinte nueve; y que al efecto, mediante a que en todo el presente debe salir de esta Bahía un Buque para aquel destino, se prevenga al actual Gobernador Don Jose Medi- nilla, remitiendole copia del reglamento de retiros que se ha citado, proceda desde luego a hacer el arreglo de dicha fuerza en la forma que se ha indicado, à saber escoger de su totalidad el numero que manifiesta la adjunta planilla, y retener a los demas con los sueldos que les pertenecian por sus clases y años de servicio, sin perjuicio de que ocupen respectivamente en lo subcesivo las plazas que vaquen de la dotacion viva, y para la necesaria aprovacion de Vuesa Excelencia, y que les sean remitidos los respectivos nom- bramientos à unos y las Cédulas de retiro a otros instruirà los correspondientes Expedi- entes por separado, expresando en los de estos las cantidades que cada uno deba percibir para que se tome razon en estos officios de cuenta y razon, y en el de la Contaduria mayor, pues no duda el Ministerio atendiendo a las recomendables circunstancias de Don Jose Medinilla sugeto en quien debe ser exencion la regla general que han senta- do en el discurso de este informe respecto de los Gobernadores de aquel establecimien- to tanto por su desinteres en utilidad propia quanto por el que ha tomado en beneficio de aquellos havitantes, con quienes como es publica ha sacrificado su fortuna, y lo más precisos de la vida que hà pasado entre ellos, desempeñaria este encargo y quantos el

*Gobierno le confie con el mayor zelo, y aun sin separarse de las reglas del proyecto al-
lanará las dificultades que puedan embarazar su practica.*

*Como que en la parte política governativa que no és de las atribuciones de los Min-
istros sino en quanto tiene relacion con la Real Hacienda tomará Vuesa Excelencia
todas las disposiciones y providencias que convengan al buen exito de este arreglo es-
cusan el hacer a Vuesa Excelencia otras observaciones que aunque quedarán muy atras
de las ideas que su Superior juicio formará por sus conocimientos en esta delicada ma-
teria. Siempre se hà hablado de las necesidades de las Yslas Marianas y nunca se hân
tocado otros medios de remediarlas que recurriendo al Real tesoro. Para ayudar una
empresa nueva en un suelo sin cultura, pero que es capaz de alguna como Marianas,
esta muy bien que se inviertân algunos Capitales hasta hacerle producir lo que necesi-
ta para sus consumos ordinarios, y bien dirigidos lo que hasta ahora se han invertido
deberian hace mucho tiempo haber puesto a aquellos naturales en esta ó mejor situ-
acion. En falta de este resultado habiendo tenido mayores recursos que los ocho mil
pesos que solo deben gastarse en el dia, la prudencia dicta limitarse a ellos ó aun redu-
cirlos si és posible, obligando asi a los Marianos a que hagan algo por si mismos y no
que experanzados en que se hà de cuidar de alimentarlos y vestirlos a costa de otros
mas laboriosos[,] se mantengan siempre en el ocio. Guiados pues los Ministros por estos
principios presentaron a Vuesa Excelencia esta reforma ó arreglo. No asegurarán que
es perfecto, porque para ello necesitaban haver palpado lo que ocurre en aquellas Yslas,
y de que fomento son susceptibles: se han sugetado a reglas generales, a sus conocimien-
tos de informes y noticias que embuelven alguna particularidad y a las facultades que
Su Magestad les dà para librar su Real Hacienda, y al tiempo que les dejan sus diarias
ocupaciones. Tamaña empresa, habiendo apurado ya los anteriores de Vuesa Excelen-
cia y de los actuales Ministros todos los recursos de economia politica, pide una ocu-
pacion asidua en ella, muchas comparaciones, y un tiempo libre y desembarasado que
no tienen para emplearle exclusivamente en este objeto, y aunque Vuesa Excelencia no-
tará haverse hallado el Expediente al informe de los mismos todo el tiempo que dice el
cotexo de la fha con que se les pasa, al en que lo despachan, pueden asegurar a Vuesa
Excelencia que el deseo de hacerlo con acierto no les ha permitido principiarlo, tenien-
do, como al fin les ha sucedido de no poderlo hacer de una vez. En cuya inteligencia es-
peran que Vuesa Excelencia les dispensará esta falta y las que encuentre en quanto
lleban expuestos. Con lo que dejan obedecido su superior Decreto de diez y ocho de
Agosto del año proximo pasado.*

*Contaduria general de Exercito y Real hacienda de Manila dos de Mayo de mil oc-
hocientos veinte ocho.*

Barañao.

Misiano.

Translation.

[To] His Excellency the Deputy Superintendent General of the Royal Treasury.

We, your Ministers: in order to come up with the report that Your Excellency has been pleased to ask them by your superior Decree above, regarding the arrangement of the salaries, that is, the new plan for the administration of the Mariana Islands, which the Captains of Infantry, Don José de Medinilla, their newly-appointed Governor, and Don Manuel Saenz [sic], Judge of the Residencia of the former Governor Ganga Herero, have created in compliance with their Commission, have compared it with the plan created on 9 June 1820 by the man who was then interim Minister of Accounts of this Royal Treasury, Don Bernabe Escalada, approved by the Superior Board of the Royal Treasury on the 30th of same month, and they find that neither one nor the other is consistent with the will of His Majesty as expressed in his Royal order of 29 September 1817; the latter, because it has produced effects contrary to those considered by the Government before approving it, and the former, because its budget exceeds the amount of the 8,000 pesos that His Majesty has approved and therefore does not present any possible advantage in future, neither for the Royal Treasury nor for those natives; indeed, it is only a plan to distribute 13,592 pesos per year among the employees of that establishment, and said money, through a well-known vicious circle, would find themselves again in the purse of the Governors without leaving in circulation anything other than a precarious amount, only sufficient to satisfy the most basic needs of the salaried employees, whereas the Administrators, without losing more than one eighth, or tenth, part that the food and commercial articles would cost them, would sell those and the money would get back to them. So, it is easy to deduce from this reasoning that is based on experience that, whether the subsidy is increased or decreased, whether the salaries of the employees are increased or reduced, it is all the same for the Mariana Islands, because they would not get more from it than they have gotten up to now, and it can even be said, without danger of making a mistake, by the results that everyone can see today in the condition of those Islands, that the financial efforts made by the Government until now, instead of being beneficial, have been detrimental, because they have cattle in the bush there for over one century and food in abundance from it, but today there are no more than the quantity mentioned by the above-mentioned Commissioners in their proposal. If so many millions of pesos, as have been remitted to that establishment, on the account of the Royal Treasury, had been used to increase the production of the soil, through a person who would have seen it in his interest to do so, it is impossible that, no matter how sterile the soil and how indolent the natives, it would not be in a flourishing state today, and would no longer need any help, but it would be strange that this might happen if one considers the system of government that it has had until now. His Majesty has decided to keep that territory under the protection of his Crown, in order to propagate the Catholic faith spread among those heathens, and to provide them with all the necessary help to make them happy. The Sovereign became convinced, in thinking with his Heart, and by providing 21,000 per year in cash and with other succor such as agricultural tools, and teachers to teach them how to use them and to look after their interests, that their progress would be assured and that they would live comfortably in society; this was, indeed, the right means, if only the execu-

tors of his Royal will had complied with it, but let us take a look at the conduct of those Governors over the course of so many years: let us look at them when they departed for their post and when they returned at the end of their term, and one will notice that the authority and means that the Government gave them on behalf of His Majesty have been used by them almost always for getting rich. They have become rich while the unfortunate Marianos have never come out of their miserable condition, to improve their lives; rather, their lives have become worse. They have been taught that men can live comfortably through hard work, but they have never been able to achieve this, because the products that they have harvested have appropriated by the Governors through huge frauds, getting in exchange some bad clothes to cover their nakedness and hardly any food to satisfy their hunger and, given that this is a most basic need, when they could not satiate their hunger by rational means, they have gone out to look for food like savages. Here is, dear Sir, in a few words the cause of the misery of that unfortunate country that has cost so many sacrifices, and the opinion offered by the Ministers upon revising the contents of the attached files, with the proposed plan for the future. It hurts, Your Excellency, when one considers that a sad, but more prudent, alternative would be to abandon those Islands. and forget once and for all so many sacrifices, if only to avoid seeing them continue to be unproductive, disorganized, and miserable as they have been up to now; and if the Royal orders were not in sight, to the effect that His Majesty wished to maintain under his Crown those lumps of uncultivated lands, inhabited by the most wretched people in the world, we would not hesitate one moment to decide to ask them to be so abandoned. This sacred respect and a hope, though remote, of a less thankless future, has brought the Ministers to think that, instead of the plans that so far have been put into practice, uselessly, they should propose another, though without hope that it will be better results, by which the post of Governor is abolished and replaced by one Mayor or Magistrate, under the same terms and under the same form that they exist presently in the Provinces of New Ecija, Misamis, Caraga, and Mindoro, with the subsidy fixed at 8,000 pesos for now, which His Majesty has allotted to them for their preservation, and distributing same among a detachment of soldiers consisting of: 1 Adjutant, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Second-Lieutenant, 2 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 1 Drummer, 40 Soldiers, 1 Gunsmith, and 1 Store-keeper, with the salaries mentioned in the roster below. The salaries are the same as those they enjoyed before 1820, and total 3,858 pesos.

Instead of a Field Artillery Captain and a Store-keeper, each year would be sent a small detachment of this specialty and expert in all aspects of the branch, under the rules or instructions that their respective superiors would give them, the same way things are done in the Provinces of Iloilo, Ilocos, etc.

The Ministry believes that the new Magistrate or Senior Mayor of the Marianas must come from the category of officers of the Army here, and get the salary corresponding to his military rank, [but] will have the freedom to trade, ~~and~~ and would be relieved every five years, because of the distance.

1 Ed. note: This was against the King's orders, as the authors knew very well (see below).

Once the garrison of the Marianas has been reduced to the proposed level, there will result a considerable number of unemployed men with sufficient merit that should not be abandoned; in fact, what will remain from the subsidy of 8,000 pesos per year, after the fixed and permanent sum of 3,858 pesos, should be distributed among them. Therefore, the first group would be selected from those who can best provide for the usefulness of the service, while the rest would share the 4,142 pesos of the subsidy, pro-rated according to their category, and years of service, in accordance with the regulation issued by Mr. Basco for the officers and soldiers of the garrisons and small forts of these Islands, approved by Royal order of 12 August 1786; when one from the permanent group dies, another from the second group may be substituted to him, so that by losing one man, either from among the permanent or secondary group, money will become available for other uses.

In view of the fact that any industrial enterprise run by the government is always detrimental to its revenues, and even to other private firms, because it always pays more for productive services and sells its products cheaper, the Ministers believe they must propose to Your Excellency that the ranches and lands in the Marianas that have been cultivated on the account of the Royal Treasury be distributed among the individuals who, in the judgment of the present Governor, Don José Medinilla, are more capable of cultivating them, by their own means, through their industry, and through other circumstances they might require in order to make them productive; and that this grant be temporary, for a period of six to eight years, with the condition that the owners pay taxes with part of their products in order to force them to make as much use of them as possible, and not limit themselves to just meet their own needs.

It is true that this measure alone will not positively improve the condition of the Marianas, because the land has no value when there is no demand for its products; however, at least the salaries and wages that were formerly paid will be saved and, by letting go those who received them before, they will be able to work for themselves, and the common good.

The ration and clothing allowances must be discontinued, because the yearly salaries to be enjoyed are double those under the plan of 1820 and enough to provide both of these needs.

Although the reduction of the military force of those Islands to the number proposed may give rise to observations regarding the risk of exposing them to the envy of another nation, the Ministers, agreeing with the reasons given earlier in this case file by the interim Accounting Minister, Don Bernabe Escalada, are of the opinion that fear should have nothing to do with the reform, because, on the one hand, their condition cannot tempt anyone to get possession of them, and, on the other hand, if they dared, the same defence would be made, with the new force as with the old.

The Ministers also suggest that the Magistrate should be a military officer from this Army, with the salary corresponding to his category, to prevent this obligation from being charged to the subsidy, but he should be free to trade, notwithstanding the prohibition made in repeated Royal orders, because, there being no-one overthere who can

do so, nor anyone here to attempt it, those Islands would lack a multitude of articles that their natives necessarily need, and given that the military category, specially in the upper ranks, seeks glory and honor more than wealth, it is more probable that a monopoly will be avoided, if the commerce is left to these individuals than to others who might want to invest in this business, by having the government recommend to the above the compassionate treatment that those unfortunate deserve, and by promising to reward them if their conduct be disinterested they will avoid frauds and monopolies, as His Majesty wishes, and has stated in his Royal order of 26 October 1826.

If this new project, the only one adoptable under the present circumstances in the Marianas, when taking into account the above-mentioned Royal order of 29 September 1817 which limited the expenditures to 8,000 pesos, should meet with the approval of the Superior Board of the Royal Treasury, until the decision of H.M., the Ministers believe that they must inform Your Excellency that it would be possible to implement it as of the first of next January 1829; and given that one ship must depart this bay at some time during that year,¹ the present Governor, Don José Medinilla, should be sent a copy of the regulation regarding retirements that has been referred to above, to enable him to proceed with the reorganization of said force, as shown, that is, he should choose the best men to fill the attached roster, and retain the rest by giving them the salaries belonging to them according to their categories and years of service, without prejudice against their filling in future the positions that might be left vacant, said roster to be necessarily approved by Your Excellency. He should also remit the respective appointments in the first group, and the letters of retirement to the others, formalizing the whole by creating the corresponding and separate case files, stating the amounts that every one of the latter are to receive, in order for this information to be taken into account in these accounting and personnel offices, as well as in the Senior Accountant's office; indeed, the Ministry has no doubt that Don José de Medinilla, though he may not agree with the project, will discharge this duty and as many more that the Government may entrust him with with the greatest zeal, and will overcome the difficulties that might disturb implementation, because he is a man who must be considered an exception to the general rule (we are referring to the discussion made earlier in this report regarding the Governors of that establishment), as he has not only shown disinterestedness but also made decisions favoring those inhabitants; it is notorious the fact that he has sacrificed his fortune and even the necessities of life which he has distributed among them.

Although the political and governance aspects do not fall within the purview of the Ministers, with the exception of matter dealing with the Royal Treasury, Your Excellency will take all the measures and provisions that are appropriate to the success of this reorganization plan, we must beg your pardon before making other remarks to Your Excellency, though they may remain very short of the ideas that your superior judgment will create, on account of your knowledge of this delicate matter. The needs of the Mariana Islands have always been talked about, but there have never been any

1 Ed. note: The name of this ship was the **Ricafort** (see STM, under 1829-31).

means to remedy them than to call on the Royal Treasury. In order to help a new enterprise in a land without culture, but one capable of developing oen like the Marianas, it is very well to invest some capital until the become productive enough to provide for ordinary consumption. What has been invested so far should have resulted in a much better condition for those natives a long time ago, if such investments had been well made. Considering the lack of results, when they had resources available that were greater than the 8,000 pesos they have now, prudence dictates that they must limited to this sum, or even be reduced if possible, in order to force the Marianos to do something for themselves, and not wait for others to feed them and provide them with clothes, at the expense of other, more laborious, people, while they remain idle. The Ministers, thus guided by these principles, have presented to YOur Excellency this reform or reorganization plan. We do not assure you that it is perfect, because, in order to be so, we would have needed to sense what is happening in those Islands, and to know what might make them progress; we have followed general rules, based on information from reports and news that involve some detail cases, and on the authority that His Majesty gives us to make payments from his Royal Treasury, and under the restriction of time that we were under, limited as we were by time taken away from our daily occupations. Such a big undertaking, which has necessitated all the resources of political economy of the previous and present Ministers of Your Excellency, is one that requires by its very nature a steady occupation in it, many comparisons, and some free time dedicated exclusively to this purpose—something we did not have. Although Your Excellency will find that much time has passed between the date when the case file was forwarded to us and the date of this document, Your Excellency may be assured that the desire to do a good job of it did not allow us to begin, and finish it, without a break. Having said this, we hope that Your Excellency will forgive this failing and those that he might find in this presentation. So it is that your superior Decree of 17 August of last year has been obeyed.

General Accounting Office of the Army and Royal Treasury of Manila, 2 May 1828.

Barañao

Misiano

6. [Attachment 1—Plan to reduce active personnel.]

Fuerza militar que proponen los Ministros de Real Hacienda para la guarnicion de las Yslas Marianas con expresion de los sueldos que gozan por el arreglo de mil ochocientos veinte y el que deberàn disfrutar desde primero de Enero de mil ochocientos veinte nueve.

	<i>Sueldo actual</i>	<i>Yd. que se propone</i>	<i>Ymporte anual</i>
<i>1 Capitan</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>264</i>
<i>1 Ayudante</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>168</i>
<i>1 Teniente</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>168</i>

<i>1 Alferes</i>	7	12	144
<i>2 Sargentos</i>	4-4	7	168
<i>4 Cavos</i>	3-4	5-4	264
<i>1 Tambor</i>	3-4	5-4	66
<i>40 Soldados</i>	3	5	2,400
<i>1 Armero</i>	"	9	108
<i>1 Guarda Almacenes</i>	"	9	108

			3858

El Guarda Almacenes actual tiene señalado treinta y cinco pesos mensuales pero como para lo subcesivo no ha de ser igual el cargo al que tiene porque no hân de remitirse efectos por cuenta de la Real Hacienda y solo ha de cuidar de los que existan hasta que se consumen se ha reducido a nueve pesos.

Siguense dos rubricas.

Translation.

Military strength that is proposed by the Ministers of the Royal Treasury for staffing the Mariana Islands, giving the salaries established in the plan of 1820 and which should be made effective on 1 January 1829.

	Present salary	Proposed salary/year	Yearly total
1 Captain	10	22	264
1 Adjutant	8	14	168
1 Lieutenant	8	14	168
1 Second-Lieutenant ...	7	12	144
2 Sergeants	4-4	7	168
4 Corporals	3-4	5-4	264
1 Drummer	3-4	5-4	66
40 Soldiers	3	5	2,400
1 Gunsmith	3	9	108
1 Store-keeper	3	9	108

			3,858

The present Store-keeper receive 35 pesos per month but, as his duties in future will not be equal to those at present, because effects will no longer be remitted by the Royal Treasury and he will only have to take care of those in stock until they are consumed, his salary has been reduced to 9 pesos.

Documents 1828B3

Administrative reform of the Mariana Island government—Part 3

Source: Same as for Doc. 1828B1.

1. Report of ex-Governor Ganga, dated Santa Cruz 7 June 1828**Original text in Spanish.**

Excelentísimo Señor.

Se ha dignado Vuesa Excelencia mandar en el Superior Decreto que precede que informe sobre las Yslas Marianas, lo que en medio de mis afligidas circunstancias me sirve de la mayor satisfaccion y con el debido respeto obedesco procurando en quanto pueda, desentenderme de las falsas inculpaciones que por efecto de prevenciones antecedentes, se han vertido contra mi en este Expediente; ya porque mi descargo, con la copia de Documentos que obran en mi poder, seàn propios de otro lugar, ya porque segun las contradicciones que se notan en los informes dados; tan pronto se me atribuye la ruina de las referidas Yslas, como se asegura que esto es obra del sistema adoptada por Don Bernave Escalada tan pronto parece mi antecesor y sucesor Don Jose de Medinilla, el mas capaz de proponer con su larga esperiencia, el sistema mas adaptable a la felicidad de las Marianas, como se deshecha su plan por contrario a las soberanas disposiciones, y porque reduciendose solamente a la distribucion de trece mil quinientos noventa y dos pesos anuales entre los empleados de Marianas, esta cantidad por un circulo muy facil de conocer, debe venir a la Caja de los Gobernadores. Asi, señor Excelentísimo la amistad lucha, y se esfuerza a ofuscar la razon que discurre; a turbar el entendimiento que concive, y a prevenir el corazón que siente, Pobres Marianas que no solo tienen que padecer las vicisitudes del tiempo, sino hasta los sencibles impulsos de encontrados afectos y paciones.

Las Yslas Marianas separadas de Filipinas por los mares y por los vientos reinantes, poseen en la fertilidad de su suelo confesada por el mismo Medinilla, uno de los primeros elementos de su felicidad. Si la libertad de comercio que ha disfrutado Filipinas, se hubiera estendido hasta aquel Archipiélago, tiempo ha que el interes individual hubiera

disputado en las unas, como en las otras la laboriosa industria; y por este sencillo medio fueran todas proporcionalmente ricas y prosperas; porque aunque las Yslas Marianas por su corta estencion: por su escasa poblacion, y por el atraso que padecen, no puedan ser un objeto de especulaciones mercantiles, la estencion que se ha dado al comercio y navegacion es tal, y tan general, que nunca faltan Buques Yngleses y de otras naciones, que arrivan por refrescos en un punto situado ventajosamente para socorro de los navegantes del mar del Sur, y si estos Buques hallaran lo que necesitan, recomendarían con todo lo poco que han menester aquellos pobres Ysleños para su conservacion independiente y felis sin gravar al Erario ni estos sugetos a la triste vida de servir eternamente a un amo, que trabaja solo para su propio beneficio.

Pero la codicia de los Gobernadores hà puesto un inesperable dique a la franquicia del trafico y presentado a la industria el mayor estorvo; puesto que nadie quiere trabajar, quando no le es licito cambiar el fruto de su trabajo por el ageno, sino a costa de unos sacrificios enormes que el monopolio de los Governantes exige sin tasa ni medida. Juzgarase prudentemente de Su Magestad cuando se considere que mi antecesor Medinilla con todo el desinterés que le atribuye el Ministerio de Real Hacienda, trajo al regreso de su Gobierno mas de cien mil pesos, que ni siquiera enriquecieron aquellas Yslas en su transito o circulacion porque directamente pasaron de estas Caxas Reales a las del Gobernador interesado.

Si a la anterior cantidad, se reunieren todas las que los antecesores de Medinilla mas o menos de interesados ó generosos, han igualmente acumulado, y arramado a la circulacion de aquellas Yslas, sin dejar en su lugar un equivalente capas de compensar tan multiplicadas estraciones; a caso se hallará que los situados de las Marianas han salido de ellas tan integros, como entraron para constituir unicamente la fortuna de los Governantes, con perjuicio de aquellos infelices Ysleños, y notoria contravencion de lo que Su Magestad tiene tan sabia y beneficentemente dispuesto en su favor. A estas causas que el Ministerio reconoce, y a los perniciosos efectos que mas abajo indicarè del sistema de Hacienda introducido en aquellas Yslas, y sostenido por el interés de los Gobernadores, se deve sin vacilar referir el atraso de las Marianas; no al sistema de Don Bernave Escalada que si tiene algunos defectos consisten menos en la cantidad señalada de situado que en los medios directos que propuso para surtir aquel Establecimiento de lo que nesecitara.

A mi ingreso en dicho Gobierno hallé el Almacen sin viveres y a la oficialidad como à otros en carencia de raciones que se les devian de algunos meses, a pesar de haver muerto mas de treinta reses bacunos y otras de cerduno de las Haciendas, y las gruesas compras de viveres que havia hecho el Administradoro Saenz, porque las decantadas [rather descontadas?] siembras que se entreguen, no daron el abasto necesario, y la mayor parte de las cosechas se havian buelto sal y agua, como la hago constar (en parte) por la copia del Documento original que acompaño con el numero cuarto, y conoci desde entonces las pocas esperanzas que debian alimentar.

Si el aumento de la propiedad procede del aumento de sus productos, y estos no solo son el resultado inmediato del trabajo, sino su mas deseado y mas justo premio, todo

sistema que contrarie estos resultados, no solo será perjudicial para el cultivador privandole de la parte del fruto que le corresponde, sino que menguara la propiedad del Hacendero privandole de brazos que la cultiven.

En Marianas se ha comprobado esta verdad. Los que con títulos de mozos trabajan en aquellas Haciendas no lo hacen voluntariamente sino que sea solteros, sea casados, hijos de viudas o de Impedidos, se arrancan del seno de sus familias que abandonan por fuerza con sus siembras y animales, para ir con el salario de un peso al mes (que reciben tarde en generos de triplicado valor) a trabajar en las Haciendas donde día y noche se emplean por agua y tierra en beneficio ageno; felices quando la arbitrariedad de los Alcaldes Administradores no ha antepuesto en la eleccion, unos a otros seguro la proteccion que les dispensan comprada a precio de grandes sacrificios. De lo dicho provienen continuas quejas al Gobierno y solicitudes fastidiosas de que se les conceda establecerse en la Ciudad (que no contribuye con mozos) por evadirse de los Pueblos y assi se ha extinguido mucho vecindario de ellos.

Tambien me consta que los Administradores sacan para si todo el provecho que pueden de las Haciendas que estas con un asilo para sus parientes y amigos; un agradable parte para los que transitan, y para otros que alli se destinan para varias comisiones, que aumentan el gasto y consumo; y finalmente en las fiestas titulares de los Pueblos donde se hallan contribuyen a la dispendiosa manutencion de casi todos los concurrentes. De aqui la omision de estos Administradores, asi en las altas de los animales, como en el producto de las cosechas. De aqui muchos desgraciados que por huir de tan infructuosas tareas, se acogen a la escabronidad de los montes, y se mantienen alli de rapiña hasta que cayendo en manos de sus perseguidores, van a poblar las prisiones de Agaña, o los destierros de Tinian, Saypan y Rota por años enteros, como lo puedo justificar.

[Rota Island]

La Ysla de Rota ademas del asote de una de estas administraciones se ha quedado a veces, y aun en el actual Gobierno, sin hombres para sus trabajos domesticos, por el embio de mozos a las del Norte, donde aquellos por falta de reemplazos ó de proporcion para regresar a su pais, han gemido y à veces desesperandose hasta el punto de apoderarse de los Barotos del Rey y excutan en ellos su fuga, sin temor de los castigos que despues les esperan.

[Tinian and Saipan]

Los Administradores de Tinian y Saipan han hechado mano de los ganados y frutos de su cargo, para cambio de grangeo privado con los tripulaciones de los Buques que recalán por alli.

Por otra parte las grandes reuniones de gentes llamadas Barangay, que suelen prestar su auxilio momentaneo a las Haciendas, consumen en ellas mas que labran, pues mal gastan cuanto pueden el tiempo, procurando empezar el trabajo muy tarde, y acabarlo muy temprano.

De consiguiente la supresion de las Haciendas tal como lo ha propuesto el Ministerio, sobre su motivo de ahorros, será tambien el principio de una hera mas favorable al desarrollo de la industria de aquellos Ysleños, dejando que cada uno pueda libre y pacificamente abrasar y exercer el trabajo que mas acomode a su inclinacion, a su situacion, y a su experiencia.

El repartimiento de las tierras y ganados de las Haciendas, es tambien una medida muy apropiada a las circunstancias de aquellos havitantes pero para alejar toda parcialidad è injusticia convendria que se cometiese el repartimiento a una Junta de los vecinos mas honorados, con la intervencion de los Reverendos Padres Curas, y bajo la presidencia del Governador de las Yslas.

En segunda convendria havilitarlas de instrumentos de labranza, porque su subida precio, he hecho hasta aqui carecer de ellos a muchas familias pobres laboriosas.

A beneficio de estas semillas medidas, los naturales podran dedicarse a la agricultura, y trataràn de proposito de resguardar sus frutos de los fuertes uracanes que acometen aquellas Yslas, y de remediar ya las largas secas que suelen impedir su granazon; ya la rapacidad de las ratas y ganado silvestre que devoran hasta sus raices.

*El principal estorvo que se opondrá a la libre contratacion en aquellas Yslas tan necesaria y util para que sus havitantes trabajen en la produccion propia, y se beneficien cambiandola por la agena, es la facultad de comerciar que el Governador reúne con la autoridad mas despotica. Deve pues quitarsele tan perjudicial facultad, al tenor de las soberanas disposiciones vigentes, y no haya recelo de que aquellas Yslas carezcan de lo necesario, pues **en mi trienio, mas de setenta Buques recalaron a ellas**, y aunque solo arribe la mitad ó la quarta parte de este numero, sobran para proveerlas de lo poco que necesitan. Mas afin de fomentar este comercio, conviene que el Puerto sea enteramente franco; y que los Buques se liberten hasta del pago de anclage que actualmente se les exige como podrán informar los Capitanes de las Goletas recién llegadas de dhas Yslas, por lo que algunos por no pagarlos se están dando bordos fuera donde no pueden arrivar los naturales con sus pequeñas canoas sin peligro, y no pueden comerciar como antes lo verificavan en el puerto.*

[Leper colony]

La conservacion de la salud publica, ha exigido alli la reunion y manutencion de los Lazarinos en un Hospital, mal custodiado, lo que no impide que se derramen a deshoras por la poblacion, y la infestàn, de cuyo establecimiento no se han dignado los Comisionados hacer mencion en su propuesto Plan, y seria conveniente que continuandose la exaccion del real por cada soltada de gallos que actualmente se exige, y la imposicion de un Canon moderado, a los que beneficien el repartimiento arriva propuesto se distribuya el todo a estos infelices, y se les permita havitar en despoblado como lo solicitan, afin de hacer su manutencion menos gravosa al publico, y menos afligida la suerte de cada uno.

Auxiliada la agricultura de aquellas Yslas con el repartimiento de las Haciendas, y la proporcion de instrumentos de labranza: establecida la libre contratacion con los

Buques que arriven a las Yslas y franqueando el puerto a todas las naciones amigas, no faltará a los naturales frutos con que comprar, ni escarearán embarcaciones que toquen a venderles lo poco que necesitan por lo que es escusado un Almacén para surtir el Establecimiento como lo propuso Escalada en su Plan, y es en mi juicio lo unico que tiene este de sobra, y por lo mismo de gravoso.

Entremos en el arreglo de la Guarnicion: La variacion del nombre de la primera autoridad que el Ministerio propone me parece inutil. No es el empleo, ni su nombre, lo que deve ocupar al Gobierno Superior, sino las qualidades del empleado; siendo este bueno, prosperarán las Yslas, pero si es malo, decaerán qualquiera que sea el titulo que lleve a ellas. Ademas, la concurrencia de Buques Extrangeros a aquel Puerto, exige en la primera autoridad que han de respetar, un titulo generalmente conocido, y quizas las Yslas con los progresos que hayan bajo la reforma en question, no se harán del todo desproporcionadas de que se titule Gobernador su primer Gefé. Su gose considero que no deve bajar de mil ochocientos pesos anuales. Vease el adjunto plan que acompaño señalado con el numero primero.

Deve conservarse la plaza de Sargento mayor y dos Ayudantes que gosen del sueldo que se les señala.

Las plazas que contiene dicho numero primero son las unicas que considere necesarias, segun la esperiencia de mi tres años de Gobierno, y sus asignaciones, las puramente suficientes, porque como hace algunos años hasta el día, que la unica guardia que guarnece la plaza, se compone de quatro ó cinco soldados, habrá muchos francos del servicio, y para ahorrar al Real Erario el gravamen de las raciones podria adoptarse el temperamento que tome en el ultimo de mi trienio, de permitir a la tropa de descanso, que se dedicase al cultivo de sus labores, è industria, cediendo en esta a sus repetidas instancias como consta del Expediente que mande instruir y que se hallará en el archivo de aquel Gobierno.

La Capitanía del Puerto puede desempeñarla con el sueldo de ocho pesos al mes, el benemerito Don Manuel de Torres que ya en mi tiempo lo acredito suficientemente.

Considero que se necesita un Secretario que puede quedar con el gozo de nueve pesos mensuales, con el caracter de Subteniente.

Un Alcalde ordinario nombrado a voto publico con aprobacion del Governador y ocho Cavos paysanos seran suficientes a llenar el servicio concegil.

No se necesita maestro Albañil, tampoco el encargado de sementeras con el titulo de Yntendente, ni Maestro Carpintero Constructor, pues con los individuos de tropa espertes en los distintos oficios, se puede ocurrir a los reparos de los Edificios.

El Tenedor de Almacenes podra subsistir con nueve pesos mensuales, atento a sus cortas tareas, con un mozo auxiliar gosando treinta pesos este al año.

Puede permitirse que haya un Maestro Armero con ochenta y quatro pesos anuales, y pueden señalarse doscientos noventa pesos al año para pagar a los Ynvalidos que existen, y a los pocos que puedan mercerlos al entablar la nueva planilla, interin que el superior Gobierno decida de la suerte de los que se retiraron en mil ochocientos veintidos con motivo de la que entonces se les hizo saber.

Me parece suficiente se señale anualmente para el surtido de hierro, y otros gastos para edificios y demas doscientos pesos al año.

[Defence of the Marianas]

La Ysla Capital de Guajan presenta en toda su circunferencia muchos puntos de facil desembarque à qualquier enemigo, y de aqui es la insuficiencia de las fortalezas que mis antecesores situaron en algunos, sin contar con gente para guarnecerlas por lo que convendría en obsequio de la economia que S.M. recomienda se retirasen, (sino fuese esto mas costoso) todos los cañones que existen sin custodia en dichas fortalezas.

La tropa con sus Armas y los naturales con las que tienen y con las que diariamente adquisen de los Extrangeros, podrán hacer una resistencia de mas facil combinacion, y al efecto organizè un Batallon de Milicias Urbanos, y quales Compañias de Lanceros y Flecheros como lo demuestra el estado que acompaño con el numero segundo por sy fuese digno de la superior atencion de Vuesa Excelencia.

Me parece conveniente a la mayor ilustracion de todo lo que se [de]veria añadir que ès inexacta la idea que intenta sugerir mi antecesor y sucesor, de que las Yslas Marianas han decaido despues que cesó su Gobierno pues en prueba de la escasès de viveres que padecian antes de que yo tomare posesion, y de las estafas que se hacian, exivo las copias de documentos originales que puedo presentar señaladas con los numeros tercero y el quarto yà referido.

Me parece igualmente abultada la dificultad de racionar los empleados, con el costo propuesto de tres mil doscientos dies y seis pesos y reales, y del precio de tres quartillas racion, pues sin estrepito, con algun sacrificio mío, consta que les facilite ochenta y seis mil ciento ochenta y un raciones durante mi Gobierno sin mayor gravamen del Real Erario, ni haver cargado aquella Administracion al menos cerca de nueve mil de ellas, que se dieron a los Lazarinos, aunque estava mandado se cargasen su costo al Ramo del Situado.

Por ultimo hago exivicion de las copias numero cinco y seis para acreditar a Vuesa Excelencia que tanto Medinilla como el Juez de mi Residencia, han callado por motivos que ignoro, acusar los ganados mayores y menores que recogieron desde el dia treinta de Noviembre de ochocientos veinte y seis fecha de la plantillaa propuesta, hasta la de siete de Febrero del año ultimo, que me libró dicho Juez el documento que esta el numero cinco que contiene sesenta y dos animales de cerda y treinta aves que quedavan que recoger de los repartidos y de las existencias de viveres que dejè a mi salida de aquel Gobierno segun consta del numero seis, cuyos dos Documentos son contradictorios al relato de sus informes.

Tambien hase dejado por estar las cosechas de las siembras propias que me secuestraron y de las que tenia del Rey para raciones, pero precindiendo de reflexiones particulares como agenas del Expediente concluyo suplicando a Vuesa Excelencia se digne disimular los yerros y estravios de este informe, en consideracion al interesante objeto a que se dirige, el qual no dudo que se logre, puesto que ocupa tan de proposito la Su-

perior atencion del Gobierno, y de las autoridades de estos Dominios de nuestro augusto Soberano.

Santa Cruz siete de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte ocho.

Excelentísimo Señor.

Jose Ganga Herrero.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Your Excellency has been pleased to order me, in the superior Decree that precedes, to submit a report on the Mariana Islands. Though I am in the midst of grievous circumstances, I am very satisfied to be so honored and will obey with all due respect, trying as much as I can to affect ignorance of the false accusations that are contained in the previous documents, that have been included in this case file, either because my discharge, along with the copy of some documents that I have in my possession, properly belong to another place, or because, according to the contradictions that are noted in the given reports. Indeed, no sooner do they attribute the ruin of the above-mentioned Islands that they state it to be the result of the system adopted by Don Bernabe Escalada. Also, no sooner is it mentioned that my predecessor, and successor, Don José de Medinilla, is most able to propose a more adoptable system for the happiness of the Marianas, given his long experience that his plan, to the contrary, is rejected, for being against the sovereign dispositions. How is it that, by reducing the distribution to only 13,592 pesos per year among the employees of the Marianas, this sum returns very easily to the pocket of the Governors, through a well-kown vicious circle? So it is, Your Excellency, that emotion clash with reason when one tries to make sense of these discussions, and does not succeed to overcome such feelings. Poor Marianas, that not only must suffer the vicissitudes of the times, but also feel the sensible blows of numberless passions.

The Mariana Islands, separated from the Philippines by seas and prevailing winds, possess a fertile soil, one which even Medinilla admits, and it is one of the main elements of their happiness. If the freedom of commerce that the Philippines have enjoyed had been extended to that archipelago, private interests would have been opposed by labor-intensive industry, a long time ago, in both archipelagos; and by this simple means they will all be proportionally rich and prosperous, because, although the Mariana Islands, on account of their small size, their scarce population and their backwardness, might not offer a good market for trading ships, trade is such and navigation so general that there never is a lack of English ships, or ships of other nationalities, that come to get refreshments at a place that is ideally suited to assist those who navigate in the South Sea; if only these ships would find what they need, they would compensate those poor islanders with the totality of their small needs, for their preservation, independently and happily, without calling upon the treasury and without being subjected to the sad life of being eternally in the service of one master, who works only for his own benefit.

However, the greed of the Governors has created an unexpected dike against the freedom of trade and presented a major disadvantage to any industrious activity, given that no-one wants to work when he is not permitted to exchange the fruit of his labor against that of another, except at the cost of some huge sacrifices imposed by the monopoly of the Governors, without a fixed rate or measure. His Majesty would make a prudent judgment, upon considering the example of my predecessor Medinilla who, with all the disinterestedness imputed to him by the Ministry of the Royal Treasury, brought back over 100,000 pesos at the end of his term, money that could not have enriched those Islands through trade or circulation, because they went directly from the Royal Treasury to the pockets of the Governor in question.

If, in addition to the above sum, one adds that all the sums that the predecessors of Medinilla, more or less interested or generous, have also accumulated and diverted from circulation in those Islands, without leaving in their place something equivalent that would have compensated for so many extractions, perhaps he may discover that all the subsidies of the Marianas have left them as whole as when they came in, providing fortunes for the Governors, with prejudice for those unhappy islanders, and in a notorious contravention of what His Majesty had so wisely and benevolently granted them. The causes of the backwardness of the Marianas must be ascribed to pernicious, plainly recognized by the Ministry, and to the effects of the financial system introduced in those Islands (more about that below), one that is sustained by the interest of the Governors, and not to the system of Don Bernabe Escalada, which has some defects but only in the sum assigned for the subsidy, not so much in the direct means that he proposed to provide necessary supplies to that establishment.

When I took charge of said Government, I found out that the warehouse had no food supplies in it and that the officers and others had not received any rations for a few months. In spite of the butchering of over 30 cows and as many pigs from the ranches, and the over-rated [discounted?] harvests that had been delivered to it, this was not enough for a sufficient supply and the greater part of the harvests had turned to salt an water, as shown in part of a report that I submitted (see copy attached, as enclosure n° 4). I then realized that there was little hope of finding enough food.

If an increase in wealth comes from an increase in the products from a property, and such products are the result of manual labor and its more desired and just reward, then any system that contradicts these results would not only be prejudicial to the farmer, as it deprives him of the fruit of his labor, but would diminish the wealth of the planter, thus depriving him of farm hands to cultivate the soil.

This truth has been proven in the Marianas. The so-called boys recruited to work on those ranches do not do so voluntarily but, whether bachelors or married, sons of widows or of invalids, they are taken from the bosom of their families which they must forcibly abandon, taking their seeds and animals, to go and work on the ranches with a salary of one pesos per month (which they receive late, in kind, with goods whose value has been triplicated). There they work day and night, in the water or on land, for the benefit of other parties. They are happy when they can escape from this service,

through the corruption of the Mayor-Administrators which can be bought at the cost of great sacrifices. This system generates many complaints before the Governors and fastidious requests to be granted permission for settling in the city (which does not contribute any boys) in order to escape from the villages; so, that is why the population of the villages has been decreasing.

I am also aware that the Administrators divert to themselves all the profit that they can from the ranches that they turn into a asylum for their relatives and their friends; the ranches become a place of diversion for those who spend some time there, or are sent there on various errands, thus increasing costs and consumption. Finally, during the fiestas for the patron saints of the respective villages, the ranches contribute to the costly maintenance of almost everyone attending them. There follows the oversight of these Administrators, not only in the misuse of the animals but also in the product of the harvests. There follow the many escapes on the part of unfortunate boys who free from such fruitless tasks and seek refuge in the rough mountains, where they maintain themselves by theft, until they finally fall into the hands of their pursuers, to go and populate the prison of Agaña, or into exile in Tiian, Saipan and Rota for years at a time, as I can prove.

[Rota Island]

The Island of Rota, in addition to being a scourge in the hands of one of that type of Administrators at times, and even under the present Governor, has been left without men for local work, because they are sent to the northern Islands, where they, either on account of not being replaced or not having a means to return to their country, have complained and sometimes become so desperate that they have stolen the canoes belonging to the King and made their escape aboard them, without fear of being punished later on.

[Tinian and Saipan]

The Administrators of Tinian and saipan have appropriated the cattle and products for themselves, and traded them on their own account with the crews of the ships that stop there.

On the other hand, the large meetings of people, called *Barangay*,¹ that customarily lend a hand temporarily on the ranches, consume there more than their work is worth; indeed, they waste their time whenever they can, by trying to start work very late and finish it very early.

Consequently, the elimination of the ranches, as proposed by the Ministry, for economic reasons, will also be the beginning of a very favorable period for the development of industry among those islanders, by letting each one of them free to peacefully em-

1 Ed. note: Meaning work parties for communal works. *Barangay* is a word, and custom, brought over from the Philippines, where it meant both a family-size double-outrigger canoe, and a family- or clan-size settlement.

brace and exercise the work for which he is best inclined, and most suited, given his own situation and experience.

The distribution of the land and cattle of the ranches is also a very appropriate measure for the benefit of those inhabitants, but to avoid any favoritism and injustice, it would be preferable if the distribution be done by a Board made up of the most honorable residents, under the supervision of the Reverend Fathers in the parishes, under the chairmanship of the Governor of the Islands.

Secondly, it would be a good idea to provide them with working tools, because their high cost, has resulted so far in many poor but laborious families not being able to afford them.

Thanks to such start-up measures, the natives would be able to dedicate themselves to agriculture, and would actively seek means to safeguard their crops from the strong hurricanes that hit those Islands, and take remedies, either during the long periods of drought, or against the rapacity of the rats and wild cattle that devour them, even down to their roots.

The major impediment to the free use of labor in those Islands, one that is so necessary and useful for their inhabitants to work for themselves and for their own benefit, is the trading monopoly that the Governor has and uses in a most despotic manner. such a prejudicial monopoly must, therefore, be taken away from him, as dictated by Royal dispositions that are already in force; one needs not fear that those Islands would lack necessities then. Indeed, **during my three-year term of office, over 70 ships stopped there,**¹ and although only half or one quarter of that number would visit them, that would be enough to supply them with their small needs. However, in order to encourage this trade, it would be convenient for the port to be complete free, even free from the anchorage fees that they are still paying, as the Captains of the schooners that arrived recently from those Islands may testify; in order not to pay such fees, some ships remain under sail and the natives cannot reach them in their small canoes, not without risk, and they cannot trade as much as they would, if the ships were in the port.

[Leper colony]

The preservation of public health has forced the round-up and maintenance of the lepers in a Hospital, where they are badly taken care of, and this has not prevented them from spilling out into the streets at odd hours, with the risk of infecting the population. The Commissioners did not bother mentioning this establishment in their proposed plan, and it would be appropriate to continue to impose a tax of one real every time a cock is released in a cockpit, as is presently done, and to impose a moderate tax on those who benefit from the above-mentioned distribution and apply the whole revenue from those to those unhappy people. They should also be permitted to live in unpopulated sites, as they wish, so that their maintenance be less burdensome to the public, and less problematic for everyone concerned.

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine. This is an exaggerated statement, as there were then only about half that number of ships in the whole of the Pacific Ocean.

Once the agriculture in those Islands has been assisted by the distribution of the ranches and of some working tools, once the freedom to trade with the ships that visit the Islands has been established, and when the port has been made duty-free for all friendly nations, there would be no lack of products for the natives to buy nor lack of ships to stop and sell those to them, in sufficient quantities to satisfy their small needs. Therefore the Warehouse to distribute goods to the Establishment, as proposed by Escalada in his plan, is not necessary and, in my opinion, its very presence and existence would be harmful.

Let us now shift our attention to the manning arrangement for the garrison. The change of name for the post of highest authority, proposed by the Ministry, seems to me useless. It is not the post, nor its name, that the Superior Government must bother itself with; it is the qualifications of the employee assigned to it. If this man is a good man, the Islands will prosper, but if he is bad, they will suffer, no matter what his title when he goes there. Also, the gathering of foreign ships in that port militates in favor of a respectable, and well-known, title for the highest authority there, and perhaps the title of Governor would not at all be out of line if the Islands make as much progress as expected under the reform plan in question. I consider that his salary not be below the 1,800 pesos per year that I propose in the attached plan, under enclosure n° 1.

The post of Sergeant-Major and those of two Adjutants must be preserved, with the salaries as shown.

The positions mentioned in said Attachment n° 1 are the only ones that I consider necessary, according to the experience I gained during my three years in office, and their salaries are strictly adequate, in view of the fact that for many years now the only guard on duty at any one time is that place consists of four or five soldiers; there are many more who are off-duty. Furthermore, to save money to the Royal Treasury, as far as their rations are concerned, one could adopt the method that was followed during the last year of my term of office, that is, to allow the off-duty soldiers to dedicate themselves to agriculture and industry; indeed, it was after their repeated requests that this decision was adopted, as recorded in the case file that I opened and that must be found in the archive of that government.

The post of Port Captain can be filled with a salary of 8 pesos per month; the well-deserving Don Manuel de Torres, who filled that post during my term, has sufficiently proven this.

I consider that the post of [Government] Secretary is necessary, can remain with a salary of 9 pesos per month, and be filled by someone with the rank of Second-Lieutenant.

One ordinary Mayor, appointed by popular vote, but approved by the Governor, plus eight local headmen would be sufficient to act as an advisory council.

A Master Mason is not necessary, and neither is a supervisor of plantations with the title of Indendent, nor a Master Carpenter cum Shipbuilder; indeed, the many soldiers who are expert in various trades can be employed to repair the buildings.

The store-keeper could remain, with 9 pesos per month, given his limited tasks, with one boy to assist him and to receive 30 pesos per year.

A Master Gunsmith could be allowed, with a salary of 84 pesos per year, and 290 pesos per year would not be amiss to assist the existing invalids and compensate those who will be discharged under the new roster, as a temporary measure, until the superior Government has made a decision regarding the fate of those who have already been discharged in 1822, for reasons that were made known to them at that time.

It appears to me that it would be sufficient to assign 200 pesos per year for the purchase of iron and other expenses associated with building and other works.

[Defence of the Marianas]

The capital Island of Guam offers, all around its circumference, many points where any enemy could disembark, and therefore the forts that my predecessors have built in some of those points are insufficient, specially when there are no men to garrison them. Therefore, it would be convenient, to save money to the Royal Treasury, to remove all the guns they are presently left unguarded in said forts (unless that would result in a net loss).

The soldiers with their firearms and the natives with the weapons that they have and those that they acquire daily from Foreigners, could make up a defensive force with an easier combination, and to this effect, I organized a Battalion of Urban Militia, with companies of lancers and archers, as shown in the statement that I enclose, under n° 2, for the superior attention of Your Excellency.

It seems to be proper, the better to illustrate once and for all what should be said about the inexact idea suggested by my predecessor and successor, that the Mariana Islands have fallen into decadence after he left that post; in fact, as a proof of the shortage of food supplies that they suffered before I took possession of them, and of the swindles that were taking place, I exhibit copies of original documents, under Enclosures n° 3 and the already mentioned n° 4.

The difficulty in providing rations to the employees seems to me to have been exaggerated, for a proposed expenditure of 3,216 and x reals, at the rate of 3 pints each; in fact, without fuss, and without my making any sacrifice, it is recorded that I supplied 86,181 rations during my term of office as Governor, without me, or the Administrator there, charging more than 9,000 of those to the Royal Treasury, and those were given to the lepers, although the cost of rations had been ordered to be charged to the Royal subsidy.

Finally, I exhibit copies n° 5 and 6, to prove to Your Excellency that, both Medinilla and the Judge of my *residencia*, have not mentioned, for reasons that I ignore, the turnover of large and small cattle that were collected, as of the 30th of November 1826, date of the proposed roster, until the 7th of February of last year, when said Judge gave me the document that appears as n° 5, listing the 62 pigs and 30 chickens that were yet to be collected from those to whom they had been distributed, and the food supplies

in stock when I left my post as Governor, as shown in n° 6; these two documents make contradictory statements in relating the facts.

They have also failed to mention the harvests from my own plantations, which they had embargoes from me, and those of the King, to serve as rations; however, presuming that such specific reflections do not belong to this case file, I conclude by begging Your Excellency to please forgive me for the errors and digressions made in this report, and concentrate instead on the interesting objective behind it, which I have no doubt will be achieved, given that it clearly involves the superior attention of the Government, and the authorities of the Dominions of our august Sovereign in these parts.

Santa Cruz, 7 June 1828.

Your Excellency.

José Ganga Herrero

Editorial note.

Enclosures 1 & 2, the proposed list of manpower and list of equipment, were in fact adopted and published by the Governor of the Philippines (see Doc. 1828B1).

2. Enclosure N° 3—Letter of Governor Medinilla before leaving Guam at the end of his first term in 1823

Original text in Spanish.

Numero tercero.

Ramos[,] despues de saludarte paso a decirte que en vista de lo que se experimenta en estas Yslas, pues ni aun con dinero se enquentran recursos para subsistir, espero que a buelta de la Goleta y con distincion, me embies para mi viage que està pronto a verificarse, pues aguardo el Bergantin de Morgado por instantes, media docena de Puerocos vivos, otros tantos en Chalonas, alguna manteca, carne frita y demas que mejor te parezca, sin obvidarte de algunos Bayones de Gaogao, pues careasco en un todo de este articulo, que me es de primera necesidad para obsequiar en Manila aquellos sugetos que abre de menester para los pleitos ó instancias que hayan que hacer en favor del Presidio.

Lo que solicito y que te he relacionado no hay un motivo para que se considere venga como oculto, y asi si te pareciere podras escribir al Governador la remision de ellos el qual estoy seguro que lo habrà de tener a bien, y paso a otra cosa.

Respeto el mal porte y manejo que ha tenido con los naturales, y demas de la Ysla de Rota, el Governadorcillo Songson, hé hecho se le deponga y nombre en clase de tal Governadorcillo, al Teniente Felipe de la Cruz, y de Alcalde de dicha Ysla en propiedad, al Teniente Don Francisco Arceo, como igualmente hé determinado que el mismo, pase a esa Abordo de la Goleta encargado de la Expedicion, que en union contigo è Yglesias deverán activar con toda eficacia su carga para que regrese quanto mas pronto posible.

El Teniente Don Jose Garrido vá de Comandante en el Buque, y encargado de ayudarte en quanto sea posible como el que se llenen los huecos de él, o de completar su carga en el todo con Cocos cachados.

Yglesias fué encargado por mi de hacer la remicion de los renglones o articulos que llevo espresado ser me de necesidad para ayuda en parte de la subsistencia de alimento en esta y viage à Manila, y con esto quedo rogando a Dios guarde tu vida muchos años.

Agaña y Abril veinte y uno de mil ochocientos veinti tres.

Jose de Medinilla.

Translation.

[Enclosure] Number 3.

[My dear] Ramos.¹

After greeting you, I go on to tell you that, in view of the drastic situation of these Islands (indeed, not even money can buy enough food), I hope that with the return of the schooner and with priority, you will send me, for the voyage that I am about to undertake (indeed I am awaiting the brig of [Captain] Morgado at any moment)² half a dozen live pigs, as many other in dried strips, some lard, beef, fried or other, as you see fit, not forgetting a few bags of *gaogao*;³ indeed, I have no *gaogao* at all left, and I need some as a most important item to to present as gifts in Manila to those persons who will be necessary there to present and follow up the claims and requests on behalf of the garrison.

What I solicit from you and what I have mentioned here, there is no reason to consider it as something secretive, and so, if you choose to write to the Governor[-elect] and remit said articles to him, I am sure that he will consider it proper. I now go on to another matter.

Regarding the bad behavior and management that Gobernadorcillo [Deputy Mayor] Songson has manifested toward the natives, I have arranged for him to be dismissed and appointed Lieutenant Felipe de la Cruz in that post of Gobernadorcillo, and as ocicial Mayor of said Island, I have appointed Lieutenant Francisco Arceo. I have also decided to send the latter with the schooner as leader of the expedition [to the northern islands]. You are to collaborate with him and with Iglesias to expedite the loading operations so that the schooner may return as quickly as possible.

Lieutenant José Garrido goes as captain of the ship,⁴ and entrusted with helping you as much as he can, for instance, to see that every hole and corner of the ship is filled to capacity, or to complete the load by stuffing those with split coconuts [i.e. copra].

1 Ed. note: It appears that this man was then Mayor of Tinian and Saipan.

2 Ed. note: The name of this brig was the **Alerta**. She did visit Guam in June 1823.

3 Ed. note: *Gaogao* is a Filipino and Chamorro word meaning starch, in general, and arrow-root in particular.

4 Ed. note: This schooner was the former **Buena Constitución**, renamed **Señor San José**.

I have entrusted Iglesias with the job of remitting those items or articles that I have listed above as being necessary to me to serve as food supplies for this voyage and mine to Manila, and this said, I beg God to keep you alive for many years.

Agaña, 21 April 1823.

José de Medinilla

3. Enclosure N° 4—Deposition of the Mayor of Umatac and Merizo

Original text in Spanish.

Numero Quarto.

Yncontinenti en dicha villa dicho dia mes y año el referido Señor Sargento mayor, hiso comparecer ante si, al Sargento Luis Arceo, a quien por ante mí el presente Secretario se le recivio juramento que lo hizo por Dios nuestro Señor y una señal de Cruz en forma, y conforme à derecho por el qual ofrecio decir verdad en todo cuanto supiere y le fuere preguntado y siendolo por su nombre estado empleo, edad, patria, y religion. Dixo llamarse Luis Arceo su estado el de Casado, su empleo Cavo primero graduado de Sargento de la Segunda Compañia de Ynfantería Española, que guarnese este Real Presidio, y por Comision Alcalde Administrador de esta Villa de Umata, y Pueblo de Merizo, su edad de quarenta y ocho años, que es natural de la Ciudad de Agaña, su religion Catolica Apostolica Romana.

Preguntado dijese que sementeras tiene, que cosechas hace, en que se Ynvierten, que casas se hallan a su cargo, y en qué los distribuye: dixo que en seis años que se hallo en esta Administracion de Umata, siempre à sembrado maiz[,] palay, mongos[,] raizes de Dago y Nica, plantanos, Sandias y Melones, y de las Cosechas deja un poco de maiz para gasto de la Administracion, y un poco de rayses para semilla, y todo lo demas lo entrega a los Reales Almacenes y al Señor Governador, lo mismo hace con las crías que son Bacas[,] Puercos y Gallinas.

Preguntado: Declare menudamente que renglones y que cantidad son las que entriega al Señor Governador, y quales las que entriega en los Almacenes ó en alguna otra parte?

*Dixo: Que de la cosecha que hace de maiz lo entrega a los Almacenes y al Señor Don Jose de Medinilla, como treinta Chiguiguites en cada cosecha por haverseles ordenado asi, diciendo era para mantener sus puercos; tambien estubo manteniendo de Pan y Carne muchos meses a **los Carolinos que estaban balateando en Merizo** para el mencionado Señor, sele mandó al declarante el año pasado le llevase a su Casa setenta Chiguiguites de maiz y veinte y cinco con un torete a una Fragata Ynglesa que estaba fondeada en la Caldera de San Luis de Apra, y Don Jose Montilla pidio veinte Chiguiguites para mantener sus Puercos que son ciento y quinze lo que les dio a los dos mencionados Señores, y no entrego nada en los Almacenes por no haver cosechado mas: el Palay que cosecha anualmente lo reune con el de Oño, que siempre se pasa a esta de Umata y el declarante lo conduce a Agaña, y en cada viaje a su llegada dava*

parte al Señor Medinilla de los cavanos que conducía y este le ordenaba en donde lo había de dejar, que por lo regular era en los Almacenes la mayor cantidad, a casa de dho Señor unas ocasiones cincuenta cavanos, y en otras menos, y al Colegio ha llevado Palay, pero el declarante no se acuerda quantas ocasiones y quantas en cada una de ellas, pues solo tiene presente la última remisión que fué en Agosto del año pasado que habiendo conducido ciento ochenta y dos cavanos, los ciento se llevaron a la casa de dicho Señor Medinilla[,] cincuenta y dos a los Almacenes, y treinta al Colegio.

Preguntado: Dixese si [de]mas de la que lleva dicho, hayan sacado de su Administración los dos mencionados Señores algunos renglones para invertirlo en objetos que no sean del Real servicio presente las ordenes se les han mandado por escrito. Dixo: Que siempre le han mandado de palabra, y si alguna ocasión fué por escrito no conserva las papeletas, y aunque no presente orden ninguna, consta por los mozos que han conducido las especies, quienes podrán declarar en caso necesario; y así dice que el Señor Medinilla además de lo que arriba lleva dicho saco tres puercos encerrados que se llevaron a una Fragata Ynglesa que estaba fondeada en San Luis de Apra, cuyos puercos los borró el Señor Medinilla en el Estado mensual, y no se dataron, de la cosecha del presente año de la sementera de Oño, recibió el declarante trescientos cincuenta y dos cavanos de Palay, los doscientos sesenta que entregó Don Antonio Guerrero diciendo que eran de los dos Señores Don Jose Medinilla y Don Jose Montilla, y noventa y dos que entregó al Alcalde de Dandan[,] Onofre Pangilinan; y como este dió parte al Administrador Don Juan Garcia Saenz, juzgó el declarante ser del presidio pero habiendo conducido a los Almacenes treinta cavanos de esta última partida, y dado cuenta al Señor Don Jose Montilla, este le dijo que aquel Palay era de su pertenencia, por lo que el declarante ignora quien es el verdadero Dueño, que solo puede decir que aquel palay es cosechado en Oño terreno que anualmente sembraba el presidio, y el presente año no sabe si fue labrado ó de cuenta de los dos mencionados Señores[,] Don Antonio Guerrero (hace pues meses cuya fha no tiene presente) se llevó dos Novillos grandes diciendo que era orden de Don Jose de Medinilla, cuyos novillos los ha visto el declarante en Sasá.

Preguntado: Dixese como se maneja para bajar en el Estado mensual las especies que se consumen en servicio particular: dijo Que los tres puercos que sacó Don Jose de Medinilla, como el mismo los borró del Estado antes de entregar sus cuentas, no se dieron por baja[,] los dos Novillos la dió por baja diciendo se habían sacado de orden del Señor Medinilla, y el Señor Montilla dijo que estaba bien, y el torrete que mandó a la Fragata Ynglesa, habiendo dado parte el declarante al Señor Montilla, este le dijo que no lo diese por baja que el Señor Medinilla era un pobre, y el declarante por si mismo remplazo con el primer que nació.

Preguntado: dijese si sabe el motivo en que se fundava el Señor Don Jose Montilla para decir que el palay que se había cosechado en Oño era de su pertenencia: Dixo: Que el mencionado Señor dice ser suyo alegando haver sido trabajado por sus Barangies.

Preguntado: Digese si sabe quien trabajo la sementera de palay en Oño, y si es hecho por gente particular, porque no lo ha trabajado la tropa como tienen de costumbre[.]

dijo: Que sabe que en la dicha sementera han trabajado los Barangayes, pero ignora si estos han hecho el todo, como igualmente ignora si han trabajado la tropa.

Preguntado: Dijese quienes son esos mozos de la Administracion que dice han conducido el Ganado y granos para el Señor Don Jose de Medinilla: Dijo: Que como son en distintas ocasiones y los mozos se alternan cada mes ó cada quince dias, no puede con certeza nombrarlos, pero segun se recuerda son el Governadorcillo Domingo Quinata, Mariano Aflagui, Francisco Chargualaf, y Julio Aguon.

Preguntado: Dijese si tiene mas que decir Dijo: Que no, que lo dicho es la verdad so cargo del juramento que fecho[;] tiene leyda que le fuè esta su declaracion desde el principio hasta el fin, dijo ser la misma que acaba de dar[;] que no tiene que añadir ni quitar, y que en todo se afirma y ratifica bajo el juramento prestado y lo firmo con dicho Señor y el presente Secretario de que doy fee.

[Luis de] Torres.

Luis Arceo.

Translation.

[Enclosure] N° 4.

Immediately thereafter, in said twon and on said date, the above-mentioned Sergeant-Major caused Sergeant Luis Arceo to appear before him, and before me, the present Secretary, he was sworn in, swearing to God our Lord and making the sing of the cross, according to law, by which he promised to tell the truth in everything that he knew and would be asked about.

Asked to state his name, age, place of birth, and religion: He Declared that his name was Luis Arceo, was married, employed as a Corporal 1st class but officially filling the post of Sergeant of the 2nd Company of Spanish Infantry of this Royal garrison, and commissioned as Mayor-Administrator of this Town of Umata, and Village of Merizo, was 48 years of age, born in the City of Agaña, and his religion was the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church.

Asked to declare which plantations he has, which harvests he has, how much he spends in them, how many houses are in his charge, and how he makes his distributions: He Declared that, during the six years that he has been in charge of the administration of Umata, he has always planted corn, rice, mongo beans, roots of *Dago* and *Nica*, bananas, watermelons and melons, and that as far as the harvests are concerned, he kept a little corn as expenses of the administration and a few rotts to use as seeds, and everything else he delivered to the Royal Warehouses and to His Lordship the Governor; he did the same thing with the domestic animals, the coes, pigs and chickens.

Asked to declare in detail what items and what quantities he delivered to His Lordship the Governor, and which ones he delivered to the Warehouses or to anywhere else: He declared that from each harvest of corn, he delivers to the warehouses and to Don José de Medinilla about 30 *chiguiguites*,¹ because said gentleman has ordered him to

1 Ed. note: A unit of measure of unknown capacity, perhaps a sackful, with the bags being made of cow-hide.

do so, saying that it was to maintain his pigs. Also he had been providing bread and meat over many months to some **Carolinians who were billeted in Merizo** and were maintained by said gentleman. Last year, he ordered the declarant to deliver to his residence 70 *chiguiguites* of corn and 25 [others] with a small bull to an English frigate that was anchored in the basin of San Luis de Apra, and Don José Montilla asked for 20 *chiguiguites* to maintain his pigs that number 115, and that is what he gave to both of these gentlemen, and he did not deliver anything to the warehouses, because that was all that was harvested [in corn last year]. He combines the rice that is harvested annually with that from Oño¹ which is always brought over to Umata and the declarant takes it to Agaña, and at every voyage, upon arriving there, he would report to Mr. Medinilla how many cabans he had with him then and the gentleman would tell him where he had to deliver same, which generally was the largest quantity to the Warehouses, up to 50 cabans to the residence of said gentleman. Sometimes the College would get rice, but the declarant does not remember how often or how much each time; in fact, he only remember the last delivery which was made in August of last year, when he had taken 182 cabans of rice, 100 of which went to the residence of said Mr. Medinilla, 52 to the Warehouses, and 30 to the College.

Asked to declare if, in addition to what he has just said, the two above-mentioned gentlemen had taken a few items to spend in purposes that were not of the Royal service [and if so] to present the orders he had received in writing: He Declared that they have always given him verbal orders, and if on some occasion they did so in writing, he did not keep the pieces of paper, but, although he did not present any written order, the record can be clarified by questioning the boys who trasported the merchandise, if necessary; in addition to what he has already declared, he said that Mr. Medinilla also took 3 pigs that were in pig-pens and they were taken to an English frigate that was anchored in San Luis de Apra; said pigs were crossed out by Mr Medinilla from the monthly report, and they were not counted. From the harvest of the present year from the plantation of Oño, the declarant received 352 cabans of rice, 260 were delivered to Don Antonio Guerrero who told him that they were for the two gentlemen Don José Medinilla and Don José Montilla, and 92 that he delivered to the Mayor of Dandan, Onofre Pangelinan; and as the latter submitted a report to the Administrator, Don Juan García Saenz, the declarant thinks that they were for the garrison, but, when he took 30 cabans to the Warehouses recently, and reported them to Don José Montilla, the latter told him that said rice belonged to him; that is why the declarant does not know who is the true owner and the only thing he can say is that said rice was harvested in Oño, in a field that the garrison would plant every year, but this year he does not know if it was ploughed or on the account of both of the above-mentioned gentlemen. Don Antonio Guerrero (many months ago, but he does not remember the exact date) took away

1 Ed. note: Oño was the name of a rice field in the district of Merizo. It was probably located in one of the small river valleys, e.g. that of Bile or Geus.

two big calves, saying that it was upon the order of Don José de Medinilla; said calves were later seen by the declarant in Sasa.¹

Asked to declare how the goods consumed in the service of private persons are discounted in the monthly report: He Declared that the three pigs that Don José de Medinilla took away, he personally crossed them out from the report, before delivering his accounts and they were not marked down; the two small calves were not marked down either, as he was told that they were taken away upon the order of Mr. Medinilla, and Mr. Montilla said that it was OK; and about the small bull that was ordered sent to the English frigate, when the declarant reported it to Mr. Montilla, the latter told him not to mark it down, that Mr. Medinilla was a poor man, and the declarant decided for himself to replace it in the account by the first calf to be born afterwards.

Asked to declare if he knows the reason used by Don José de Medinilla to declare that the rice that had been harvested in Oño belonged to him: He Declared that said gentleman told him that it was his, alleging that it had been worked by his work parties.

Asked to declare if he knows who worked the rice plantation in Oño, and if they were private individuals, because it was not done by soldiers, as they usually did: He Declared that he knows that said plantation has been worked by work parties, but he does not know if they did the whole thing, or whether or not some soldiers had taken part.

Asked to declare who are those boys belonging to the Administration whom he says transported the cattle and grain on behalf of Don José de Medinilla: He Declared that such took place on different occasions and the boys are changed every month or every 15 days, and he does not remember for sure who they were, but he does remember some; they were: his Deputy, Domingo Quinata, Mariano Aflagui, Francisco Chargualaf, and Julio Aguon.

Asked to declare if he has anything more to say: He Declared in the negative, saying that what he has just said is the truth, under the oath that he took. After his declaration was read back to him from beginning to end, he declared that it was the same that he had just made; that he had nothing more to add, or remove, from it, and that he affirmed and ratified the whole, under said oath, and he signed it, along with said gentleman and the present Secretary, for which I vouch.

[Luís de] Torres.

Luís Arceo

4. Enclosure N° 5—Restitution of animals distributed by previous Governor

Original text in Spanish.

Numero quinto.

1 Ed. note: An ancient place name on the eastern coast of the bay of Apra.

Relacion de los Yndividuos que han recibido ganado en el reparto, y no lo han entregado, pero prometen entregarlos.

Jose Flores[,] quatro puerquecillas, dos lechones.

Lorenzo de la Cruz[,] un caponcillo.

Jose Pasqual[,] una puerca y un lechon.

Paulino Mendiola[,] dos lechones.

Bernardino Lizama[,] quatro lechones, un barraco[,] dos puercas[,] siete pollitos.

Mariano de Tovez[,] dos lechonas, dos lechones[,] dos puerquecillos.

Joaquin Crisostomo[,] tres lechones.

Josefa de los Santos, dos lechones.

Micaela Pangilinan, tres lechones.

Claudio Quitano, un caponcillo.

Jose Aguon, dos caponcillos.

Jose Nego[,] dos lechonas.

Jose de los Santos y Tenorio, cinco lechonas, quatro lechones, ocho pollos, cinco pollitas, seis pollos recién chocados.

Nicolas de Castro, un barraco, una puerca.

Juan Flores[,] quatro lechones.

Benigno Ada[,] una puerquecilla[,] un lechon.

Demetrio de Castro[,] dos puercas, dos gallinas, dos pollas, roncás.

Felipe Fejarang, quatro lechones, dos lechonas.

Agaña siete de Febrero de mil ochocientos veinti siete.

Manuel Sanz

Translation.

[Enclosure] N° 5.

List of the individuals who have received cattle during the distribution, but have not yet returned them, but they promise to do so.

José Flores, 4 small sows and 2 piglets.

Lorenzo de la Cruz, 1 small capon.

José Pascual, 1 sow and 1 piglet.

Paulino Mendiola, 2 piglets.

Bernardino Lizama, 4 piglets, 1 boar, 2 sows, 7 young chickens.

Mariano de Tovez, 2 female piglets, 2 male piglets, 2 small pigs.

Joaquin Crisostomo, 3 piglets.

Josefa de los Santos, 2 piglets.

Micaela Pangelinan, 3 piglets.

Claudio Quitano, 1 small capon.

José Aguon, 2 small capons.

José Nego, 2 female piglets.

José de los Santos y Tenorio, 5 female piglets, 4 male piglets, 8 chickens, 5 young chickens, 6 young cocks that had recently been in a cockfight.

Nicolás de Castro, 1 boar, 1 sow.

Juan Flores, 4 piglets.

Benigno Ada, 1 small sow, 1 piglet.

Demetrio de Castro, 2 sows, 2 mature female chickens, 2 young but dumb female chickens.

Felipe Fejarang, 4 male piglets, 2 female piglets.

Agaña, 7 February 1827.

Manuel Sanz

5. Enclosure N° 6—Stock in the Government storehouse in 1826

Original text in Spanish.

Numero sexto.

Como encargado que soy de los Reales Almacenes de este Presidio, certifico que en fin de Julio del presente año a el cesar en el mando de estas Yslas Don Jose Ganga Herrero haria de existencia tres arrovas nueve libras de carne fresca, catorce arrovas doce libras y doce onzas de carne seca, con dos gantas y seis chupas de maiz, y que en el mes de Agosto proximo pasado ingresó en dicho Almacen diez y siete puercos, treinta y ocho surrones de carne seca, setenta y quatro bombones de azeite; tres de sevo [rather cebo,] diez cueros de baca, quarenta cuernos de idem y un cavan de palay todo procedente de la expedicion de Tinian; que havia despachado dicho Don Jose Ganga y regresó en el citado mes. Y para los fines que convenga a dicho Señor a su solicitud doy la presente que firmo en Agaña à treinta y uno de Diciembre de mil ochocientos veinte y seis.

Juan Camacho.

La firma que antecede es legitima y el relato conviene con los asientos de Almacen que tengo reconocidos, y para que conste lo firmo fecha ut supra.

Manuel Sanz

Translation.

[Enclosure] N° 6.

As the person in charge of the Royal Warehouses of this garrison, I certify that, at the end of July of the present year, when Don José Ganga Herrero ended his term of office as Governor of these Islands, the stock then consisted of:

- 3 *arrobas* and 9 pounds of fresh meat,
- 14 *arrobas* and 12 pounds of dried meat,
- 2 *gantas* and 6 *chupas* of corn.¹

¹ Ed. note: 1 arroba = 25 lbs, or 11.25 Kg; 1 ganta = 25 cabans = 25 Spanish bushels.

During the month of August last, there came into said Warehouse the items that were the result of the expedition to Tinian that said Don José Ganga had despatched there but returned only that month, as follows:

- 37 [live] pigs,
- 38 *zurrones* [i.e. leather pouches] of dried meat,
- 74 *bombonas* [i.e. carboys] of [coconut] oil,
- 3 *bombonas* of tallow,
- 10 cow-hides,
- 40 cow horns,¹
- 1 *caban* of rice.

And for whom it may concern, at the request of said gentleman, I give the present, signed with my name in Agaña on 31 December 1826.

Juan Camacho

The above signature is genuine and the description corresponds to the items that I inventories in the Warehouse, and for the record, I signed it on said date.

Manuel Sanz

6. Opinion of the Royal Accountant, dated Manila 14 June 1828

Original text in Spanish.

Excelentísimo Señor.

El Contador Mayor ha examinado los dos planes de reforma que obran con este expediente, el primero presentado por Don Jose Medinilla, y el segundo por Don Jose Ganga Herrero, y si bien encuentra en el segundo todos los principios de la felicidad que deben esperar los Marianos del Gobierno de Vuesa Excelencia[,] en el primero, todo le parece inapreciable y ridiculo, manifestandose el interes particular defendiendo su propia causa asi que desentendiendose el que subscribe de quanto dice Medinilla, y el Capitan Don Manuel Sanz[,] conviene en que se adopte el plan economico de Ganga Herrero, cuyos puntos cardinales son la libertad absoluta de comerciar con las nacionales y extrangeros, la distribucion de las tierras, y el arreglo de una respetable Milicia Urbana que imponga a los enemigos de naciones estrañas, ó a los reboltosos de las Américas, si intentasen hostilizar aquellas Yslas. Pero Señor Excelentísimo todas estas reformas serán inútiles, si aquellos que deban plantearlas, no estubiesen dotados de una hambría de bien a toda prueba; la reforma de las personas debe preceder à la de las cosas, y sin este orden natural nada se conseguiria. Finalmente si asi se verificase dentro de poco tiempo producirian aquellas Yslas para mantenerse sin situ-

¹ Ed. note: From the 20 cows killed, 10 of the hides were probably made into containers for the meat.

ado alguno, y los intereses del Real Erario al mismo tiempo que los de aquellos habitantes se encontrarian notablemente mejorados.

Contaduria mayor del Real tribunal y Audiencia de Cuentas de Manila a catorce de Junio de mil ochocientos veinti ocho.

[José Brilly]

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The Senior Accountant has examined the two reform plans that appear in this case file, the first one presented by Don José Medinilla, and the second one by Don José Ganga Herrero. Inasmuch as he finds that the second plan has all the elements for the happiness that the Marianos expect from the Government of Your Excellency, he finds the first one totally inappreciable and ridiculous, because it shows a personal interest and a defence of his own cause. So, not paying attention to what Medinilla, and Captain Manuel Sanz, say, **I agree with the economic plan proposed by Ganga Herrero** whose cardinal points are: the absolute freedom to trade with nationals and foreigners, the distribution of the land, and the organization of a respectable Urban Militia that might resist any enemies, either from foreign nations, or rebels from America, if they should attempt to attack those Islands. However, Your Excellency, all of these reforms will be useless, unless those assigned to implement them are persuaded of their righteousness; **the reform of the persons must precede that of the things, and without this natural order nothing will be achieved.** Finally, if that is done, within a short time those Islands will produce enough to maintain themselves without any subsidy, and the interests of the Royal Treasury will at the same time as those of those inhabitants will find themselves notably improved.

Office of the Senior Accountant, Royal Tribunal and Audiencia of Accounts, Manila, 14 June 1828.

[José Brilly]

7. Opinion of the Fiscal, dated Santa Cruz 13 June 1828

Original text in Spanish.

Excelentísimo Señor.

El Agente Fiscal de Real hacienda ha visto el Expediente formado sobre el arreglo de gastos de las Yslas Marianas en consecuencia de lo dispuesto en la Real orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete, y dice:

Que evaquado como ya lo estan los informes pedidos por la Junta Superior en acuerdo de treinta de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte y producidos otros que dan toda la ilustracion posible a la materia; comprende que el Expediente se halla en estado de volver a la Junta Superior, para que tenga efecto la formacion del nuevo plan y arreglo que deberá establecer la debida economia en los gastos de las Yslas Marianas, y cerrar la puerta à los abusos[,] fraudes, estafas; y monopolios que se cometen en el gobierno

de ellas; asegurando así el cabal cumplimiento de lo mandado por Su Magestad en la ya citada Real Orden, en la carta acordada del Real y Supremo Consejo de Yndias de veinte y siete de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y seis y en otras Reales Cédulas, ordenes y resoluciones expedidas en diferentes épocas sobre el asunto. Así se servirá Vuesa Excelencia mandar, ó resolverá lo que estime mas arreglado.

Santa Cruz y Junio treinta de mil ochocientos veinte y ocho.

Lizenciado Ramirez Florentino.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The Legal Advisor of the Royal Treasury has seen the case file that was opened regarding the arrangement of the expenditures of the Mariana Islands, in response to the disposition of the Royal order of 9 September 1817, and Declares:

That the reports requested by the Superior Board, in their decision of 30 June 1820, have been produced, and others as well, and they have studied all possible aspects of the matter; he therefore thinks that the case file is now ready to return to the Superior Board, in order for the new reorganization plan to be finalized, one that will establish a proper economic plan for the expenditures of the Mariana Islands, and forever stop the abuses, frauds, seindles, and monopolies that are being committed in their administration; in this way, His Majesty's above-mentioned Royal order, contained in the letter issued by the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, dated 29 October 1826, and in other Royal decrees, orders and decisions issued at different periods regarding the matter, will have been complied with. Your Excellency will be pleased to order same, or decide what may seem more suitable to you.

Santa Cruz, 30 June 1828.

Licentiate Ramirez Florentino¹

8. Council meeting of 21 October 1828

Original text in Spanish.

En el Real Palacio de Manila a veinte uno de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y ocho años.

Haviendo sido convocados por orden del Excelentísimo Señor Superintendente general Subdelegado Don Mariano Ricafort a Junta Superior de Real Hacienda, los Señores Don Jose Manuel de Arizaga que regentea esta Real Audiencia por enfermedad del Señor Regente de ella, y muerte de los Señores Decano Don Juan de Mata Ramos, y Don Mateo Jose de la Portilla, Don Pedro del Aguila è Yeasa[,] Fiscal de su Magestad y de Real Hacienda, Don Jose Brilly[,] Contador mayor del Real Tribunal y

¹ Ed. note: In August 1828, the Council members were asked to give their opinion in writing, in order to inform the King. In October, a full council meeting was then held to settle the issue once and for all.

Audiencia de cuentas, y Don Jose de Eguía[,] Ministro Contador de la Contaduría general de Egercito y Real Hacienda; y hallandose Juntos y Congregados, di cuenta del Expediente creado sobre el nuevo arreglo de gastos para la conservacion de las Yslas Marianas, en consecuencia de lo prevenido por Real orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete, de que enterados dichos Señores con presencia del Plan formado por el Gobernador actual de dichas Yslas Don Jose de Medinilla, en union con el Capitan Don Manuel Sanz, en virtud de la Comision que les ha conferido este Superior Gobierno, y de los que han presentado el Ministerio de Real Hacienda, y el Ex-Gobernador de las mismas Yslas Don Jose Ganga Herrero con lo expuesto por el Señor Contador mayor[,] dijeron:

Que debian aprobar y aprobaron el Plan propuesto por el Gobernador suspenso de las Yslas Marianas Don Jose Ganga Herrero que consta en su informe y estado ... con las siguientes modificaciones:

Primera: Que la supresion de las Haciendas de Su Magestad y el repartimiento de tierras realengas, haya de estenderse solo en la Ysla de Guajan, que es la principal de Marianas, y la unica que promete por su poblacion y circunstancias poder cultivar con aprovechamiento el terreno que se contribuya a sus moradores.

Segunda: Que este repartimiento de tierras de labor, se haga por la Junta que designa el expresado Ganga Herrero concurriendo como Vocal de ella el Administrador de Real Hacienda, pero que se entienda sin perjuicio de los que con legitimo derecho poseen y estèn trabajando algunas, como el Gobernador y el Padre Cura en lo respectivo a las huertas y terrenos que de tiempo antiguo disfruten en las proximidades de sus respectivas havitaciones, ni de las Comunes o Ejidos que correspondan a los Pueblos. Todas las restantes se distribuiràn en suertes proporcionadas a los Indios casados que carezcan de ellas por sí y por sus mugeres, con prohibicion de enagenarlas para que las hereden sus hijos y descendientes, pues la voluntad de Su Magestad ès que todas las familias tengan bienes raices y que conservandose en la Corona el solo dominio directo disfruten del util, con tal que cultiven por si mismos y en su propio beneficio el terreno que se los adjudique, pues no haciendolos se les quitarà y darà a otros mas aplicados, como esta prevenido en el articulo sesenta y uno de la ordenanza de Yntendentes de Nueva España, y en el noventa y dos de la general de Yntendentes de Yndias.

Tercera: Que el repartimiento de ganados de toda especie se haga por la expresada Junta, previa tasacion y obligandose los compradores a pagar su importe en cierto numero de años; y bajo las seguridades que ofrescan las circunstancias del paiz, aplicandose este corto producto a beneficio del Hospital de San Lazaro que carece de dotacion, y es necesario proporcionarsela.

Quarta: Que la habilitacion de instrumentos de labranza se haga por una sola vez, remitiendose un surtido de ellos con arreglo a la nota que debe exigirse del Gobernador Ganga Herrero, y que su distribucion, la verifique la referida Junta a costa y costas, obligandose los compradores a reintegrar su valor a la Real Hacienda que hace el suplimento sin otro interes que el de ampararlos y favorecerlos.

Quinta: Que se conserve la Administracion de la Ysla de Tinian que esta desierta de hombres y poblada de ganados, aumentandose su costo de trescientos diez y ocho pesos anuales al Plan de foxas trece¹ bajo la calidad de que las carnes saladas y frescas que colecta dicha Administracion se expendan en Almoneda publica por el Administrador interesado por el Gobernador aplicando su producto en favor del Hospital de San Lazaro, que resultará dotado competentemente sin apelar a contribuciones.

Sexta: Que suprimida la Administracion de la Ysla de Rota, se conserve en ella un Alcalde con doce pesos mensuales y dos mozos de a diez reales cada uno al mes, para que cuiden de aquellos pobres naturales, que quedan libres de cultivar la tierra que quieran, criar ganados, y ser dueño de su propia industria; pero si se le repartieren algunos ganados de Su Magestad por existir acaso en la Ysla, deberá ser bajo las reglas contenidas en el articulo tercero.

Septima: Que el Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas lo mismo que el Administrador de Real Hacienda, queden privados enteramente de la facultad de comerciar que han tenido los primeros, los cuales gosarán de mil ochocientos pesos anuales por razon de sueldo y ademas quinientos pesos cada año para gastos de Embarcacion que les sirva en sus comunicaciones con las Yslas de Rota, Tinian, Seipan, y Costa de Guajan; pues de este modo no molestaran a los pobres naturales, ni tendán disculpa para separarse del Plan de gobierno que se adopta.

Octava: Que se restablesca el empleo de Administrador de Real Hacienda, o llamese Veedor pagador de las Yslas Marianas con cinquenta pesos de sueldo al mes, para que reciva los efectos que haya existentes de los que estuvieron a cargo de Don Juan Garcia Saenz, y los situados que se remitan de esta Capital en las epocas y del modo que determine la Superintendencia general Subdelegado, debiendo ser el primer envio en plata y ropa por mitad, para que no carescan de nada aquellos naturales a quienes se les cargaran el precio señalado en las primeras instrucciones, mientras ellos no pueden adquirirlos, y para que haga y formalize los ajustes, Remitar pagamentos, distribuciones y demas relativo a la Real Hacienda y Hospital de San Lazaro, intervenido siempre por el Gobernador, ó por el Padre Cura en los casos en que aquel se hallase impedido, remetiendo con computos, o cuentas, y comunicando noticia de todo lo relativo a su cargo al Ministerio principal de la Real Hacienda de estas Yslas, cuyas ordenes debe obedecer.

Novena: Que se declaren Puertos habilitados los de Apra y Umata, en la Ysla de Guajan, para que entren y salgan los navegantes del Mar del Sur compren y vendan lo que neseciten sin adeudar derecho alguno por el termino de diez años, quedando abolido el derecho de Anclage, de cuyo producido [sic] se hará cargo al Gobernador actual, pues lo que conviene es el fomentar la concurrencia de Embarcaciones que estimulen la aplicacion è industria de aquellos naturales, cuya felicidad se desea, hasta que puedan las Yslas Marianas sostenerse con sus propios productos.

Decena: Siendo interesantisima la conservacion del Hospital de San Lazaro en un Paiz donde tanto abunda la Lepra, y no bastando parà dotarle el valor del poquisimo

1 Ed. note: The pagination of the transcript is slightly different.

ganado que debe repartirse, ni los productos de la Ysla de Tinian se conservará para este solo objeto la pención que se cobra por el juego de gallos, y se autoriza al Gobernador para que de acuerdo con el Administrador de Real Hacienda, y el Padre Cura de la Ciudad, situe dichos Lazarinos donde mejor les parezca, dispensandoles toda el favor y proteccion que nesecitan en su triste situacion, para que no infesten los demas, y reciban el socorro y consuelo a que son acreedores.

Undecima: Que aprobado el Plan de foxas treinta y tres y aumentado hasta el completo de los ocho mil pesos anuales señalados por Su Magestad en la Real orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos dies y siete se forme otro del total de Plazas y gastos a continuacion de este acuerdo con declaracion de que no siendo posible entregar a nadie en Manila el situado de las Yslas Marianas por no haber comunicacion alguna con ellas, ni ser dable que la haya en muchos años por su situacion geografica, que las coloca al Oriente de Filipinas a quatro cientos leguas de distancia, sin que produzcan nada que pueda servir de aliciente al comercio se entienda que el gasto que origine la Embarcacion de Su Magestad ó tomada por su Real cuenta para la conduccion de situados cada dos ó tres años, no esta ni puede estar comprendido en la suma designada por la Real orden de veinte nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y siete, a que se ha ceñido esta unta Superior en el arreglo de la Planta economica de dhas Yslas como tampoco deberá estarlo el que ocacione algun Destacamento de Artilleria, visita militar, ó qualquiera otra providencia accidental ó interina que se sirva tomar para su seguridad y defenza, el Excelentisimo Señor Capitan General de estos Dominios por efecto de circunstancias particulares.

Duodecima: Que el Señor Superintendente general Subdelegado de Real Hazienda se sirva actuar un Expediente sobre la dotacion del Colegio de San Juan de Letran existente en la Ciudad de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, con tan poco fruto y tan cortos adelantamientos que acaso convendrá, suprimirlo y aplicar sus fondos a la prosperidad y fomento de aquellas Yslas menesterosas de auxilios directos que no se halla en estado de subministrar la Real Hacienda.

Decima tercia y ultima: Que teniendo presente el Plan propuesto por Don Jose Ganga Herrero y este acuerdo que le adicciona se estienda de uno y otro, el Reglamente ó nueva planta de gobierno de las Yslas Marianas para que se imprima y distribuya a las oficinas que deben cuidar de su cumplimiento y a todas las autoridades civiles, militares y eclesiasticas de las Yslas Marianas.

Estado de la fuerza militar, y empleados politicos y de Real Hacienda à que deben quedar reducidas las Yslas Marianas, con arreglo al plan acordado en Junta Superior de veinte y uno del mismo.

<i>Clases</i>	<i>Al mes</i>	<i>Al año</i>
<i>1 Gobernador a</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>1800</i>
<i>1 Sargento mayor a</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>300</i>
<i>1 Ayudante mayor a</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>144</i>

<i>1 id. 2º a</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>1 Capitan a</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>168</i>
<i>1 Teniente a</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>1 Subteniente a</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>108</i>
<i>1 Sargento 1ª a</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>3 id. 2ª a</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>216</i>
<i>2 Cavos 1ª a</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>2 Yd. 2ª a</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>2 Tambores a</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>96</i>
<i>44 Soldados a</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2112</i>
<i>1 Capitan del Puerto a</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>96</i>
<i>1 Secretario de Gobierno a</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>108</i>
<i>1 Tenedor de Almacenes a</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>108</i>
<i>1 Mozo faginante a 2-4</i>	<i>30</i>	
<i>1 Maestre Armero a</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Ynvalidos a</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>290</i>
<i>Surtidos de hierro y demas gastos ordinarios y extraordinarios</i>		<i>200</i>
<i>1 Administrador de Real Hazienda ó Veedor pagador Gefe de Almacenes con</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>600</i>
<i>1 Alcalde Administrador de Tinian a</i>	<i>12</i>	
<i>+ 12 Mosos a peso</i>		<i>318 {total Tinian}</i>
<i>+ 2 Ydem a diez reales a</i>	<i>2-4</i>	
<i>1 Alcalde de la Ysla de Rota con</i>	<i>12</i>	
<i>+ 2 Mosos a dies reales cada uno a</i>	<i>2-4</i>	<i>174 {total Rota}</i>
<i>Para gastos de visita y Embarcaciones</i>		<i>500</i>

<i>Total pesos</i>		<i>8016</i>

Con lo qual se concluyo esta Superior Junta y firmaron dichos Señores de que doy fee.

Ricafort

Arizaga

Aguila

Brilly

Eguia

Ante mi Juan Cecilio.

Translation.

In the Royal Palace of Manila, on 21 October 1828.

The following gentlemen, having been called together by order of His Excellency the Deputy Superintendent General, Don Mariano Ricafort, to a meeting of the Superior

Board of the Royal Treasury: Don José Manuel de Arizaga, acting as Regent of this Royal Audiencia, as a result of the illness of its Regent, and the death of its Dean, Don Juan de Mata Ramos, and of Don Mateo José de la Portilla; Don Pedro del Aguila e Yeasa, Fiscal of His Majesty and of the Royal Audiencia; Don José Brilly, Senior Accountant of the Royal Tribunal and Audiencia of Accounts; and Don José de Eguía, Minister Accountant of the General Accounting Office of the Army and Royal Treasury; they having gathered and congregated, the case file created regarding the new arrangement for the expenditures toward the preservation of the Mariana Islands, and as a consequence of the dictates of Royal order of 29 September 1817, was reported upon. Once said gentlemen had been made aware of it and of the plan proposed by the present Governor of said Islands, Don José de Medinilla, with the collaboration of Captain Manuel Sanz, by virtue of the Commission that had been conferred upon him by this Superior Government, and the plans presented by the Ministry of the Royal Treasury and by ex-Governor of the same Islands, Don José Ganga Herrero, and the opinion of the Senior Accountant about them, they Declared:

That they had to approve and they did approve the Plan proposed by the former Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don José Ganga Herrero, as it appears in his report and Enclosure ... [n° 1] with the following modifications:

Firstly, that with respect to the abolition of the King's ranches and the distribution of Crown lands, only the Island of Guam, which is the largest island in the Marianas, must be understood, as it is the only island whose population and circumstances are such that it can be cultivated profitably by its inhabitants.

Etc.¹

...

This done, this meeting of the Superior Board came to a conclusion and said gentlemen signed their names, for which I vouch.

Ricafort

Arizaga

Aguila

Brilly

Eguía

Before me, Juan Cecilio.

¹ Ed. note: The rest is almost an exact copy of the printed regulation that appears in Part I above, and therefore, there is no point in translating it again.

Documents 1828B4

Administrative reform of the Mariana Island government—Part 4

Sources: AHN 5853, exp. 3; cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 7, p. 543.

1. Request made to Ciriano Gonzalez Carbajal, dated 14 December 1828

Note: This gentleman then lived in retirement in Seville. He had served in the Philippines as Superintendent of the Royal Treasury (see B&R 30:56-57; 32:69-70; 50:56) and left Manila in 1789; he then served in Mexico, before returning to Spain and serving as Minister of Overseas until the Civil War.

Original text in Spanish.

Yslas Marianas—14 de Diciembre de 1828

A D. Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal.—Se le piden cuantas noticias tenga de libros, memorias, impresos, planos, cronicas y cualesquiera documentos relatibos á dhas Yslas.

Ministerio de Hacienda de Indias.

El Rey N.S. que tiene muy presente el celo con que le ha servido V. S. y con particularidad en el tiempo en su Superintendente Subdelegado de Real Hacienda en Filipinas, se ha servido mandarme pida á V.S. con urgencia como lo ejecuto cuantas noticias tenga de libros, memorias, impresos, planos, cronicas, cualesquiera documentos que haya visto, o de que haya oido hablar con relacion ú las Yslas Marianas.

Dios guarde &c

Madrid 14 de Diciembre de 1828.

[A] Sr. D. Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal.

Translation.

Mariana Islands—14 December 1828.

To Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal: He is being asked as much information as he can provide about books, reports, printed matter, maps, chronicles, and any other documents regarding said Islands.

Ministry of Finance of the Indies.

The King our Lord, who remembers fondly the zeal with which you have served him, and specially the time you served as Deputy Superintendent of the Royal Treasury in the Philippines, has been pleased to order me to request Your Lordship urgently (as I do) for as much information as possible about the Mariana Islands, by way of books, reports, printed matter, maps, chronicles, and any other documents.

May God save etc.

Madrid, 14 December 1828.

[To] Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal.

2. Acknowledgment from Gonzalez, dated Seville 24 December 1828

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

Por el superior oficio de V.E. de 14 de este mes, quedo entendido de lo que de orden de S.M., satisfecho de mis servicios hechos en Filipinas, me comunica V.E. para que remita à esa superioridad, cuantas noticias tenga, de libros, memorias, impresos, planos, cronicas y cualesquiera documentos, que haya visto, ó de que haya oido hablar con relacion à las Yslas Marianas. Con la brevedad que me sea posible egecutare quanto seme manda, aunque con el dolor de faltarme todo lo entregado à la expedicion de la buelta al mundo, mandado por el desgraciado Malespina [sic], y venta hecha de mis libros al retirarme de Filipinas, cuya libreria me compro aquella universidad, lo mismo que en Mexico con la que alli reemplace.

Con este motibo doy à V.E. gracias por la parte que tiene en esta confianza y señal del agrado de S.M.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Sevilla 24 de Diciembre de 1828.

Exmo. Señor.

Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Don Luis Lopez Ballesteros, Consejero de Estado y Secretario Universal de Hacienda &a. &a.

Translation.

My dear Sir:

By the superior letter of Y.E. dated 14th instant, I have been made aware of the order of H.M. who, satisfied of my services in the Philippines, has asked Y.E. to get in touch with me and ask me to remit to that superior government, as much information that I have, and books, reports, printed matter, maps, chronicles and any other documents that I may have seen, or have heard about, regarding the Mariana Islands. I will comply as fast as possible with this order, although I am sorry that I no longer have all the material that I delivered to the Voyage around the world under the command of the

unfortunate Malaspina, and the books I sold to the university when I retired from the Philippines; I had reconstituted a library in Mexico but sold that one as well.

That is why I thank Y.E. for the part that you played in this show of trust and pleasure shown by H.M.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Seville, 24 December 1828.

Your Excellency.

Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal.

[To] His Excellency Don Luís Lopez Ballesteros, State Counsellor, and Universal Secretary of Finance, etc.

3. First report on the Mariana Islands, dated 21 January 1829

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

Como hasta aqui habia observado el avandono con que nuestro Gobierno miraba las Yslas Marianas, cuando he visto el empeño con que V.E. toma la indagacion del estado presente de ellas, me llena de consuelo haverme conserbado Dios la larga vida que he gozado, hasta tener à la vista un Ministro sabio, que conociendo la importancia de aquellos establecimientos, desea fomentarlos, sacandolos de la nulidad y apatia con que hasta ahora se han mirado.

Debo ante todo manifestar à V.E., que distando como unas trescientas leguas de Manila, se ha estado haciendo la comunicacion con estas Yslas por Acapulco, como si para ir à Madrid, desde Cadiz, se tomase el rumbo por los Pirineos ú otro mas largo, de suerte, que el Navio que llamaban de la carrera, que con los efectos del comercio para Nueva España salia de Manila en Junio ó Julio, llebaba la correspondencia y los efectos que tenia pedidos aquel Governador, unico Mercader en aquel punto, a su comisionado, y completando en Acapulco, los pedidos que dicho Governador hacia tambien à su Apoderado en aquel Reino y el situado, à su buelta para Manila, arribaba sobre ellas, dejandoles, todo lo perteneciente que conducía para las mismas, y recogiendo su correspondencia y algunos cortos renglones para el comercio de China, seguia en derrota hasta el puerto de Cavite, de manera, que el año que, ó no podia arribar por que se lo impedian los recios temporales, ó por que no hubiese hecho viage por alguna aberia u ó otro accidente que le obligase à enmendarla en algun otro punto, carecian en dos y tres años de toda correspondencia, y sin recursos para la celebracion de los Santos Sacramentos, por falta de vino, trigo y aceyte que todo eso se conducia de Acapulco.

Como estoi persuadido, por este empeño que veo en V.E., de que no puede menos de haber leído, quanto los sabios yngleses autores de la Historia Universal, despues de describir la situacion de todo este grupo de grandes Yslas al rededor de las Marianas, han escrito con gran critica y juicio, me abstengo por ahora, de hablar mas, de las ven-

tajas que podriamos sacar de aquellos paises, subrogando en alguna parte, sino tan grande, no poco pequeña, lo mucho que hemos perdido por otros rumbos, por que no son los mas felices los paises que abundan en oro y plata: y por que haciendo asimismo reflexion, con las inmensas riquezas que sacan los Yngleses de sus establecimientos precarios de la Yndia, y los productos de los Chinos que tampoco tienen minas, al cabo convence, que en este Ymperio y en la Yndia, se reunen los cuantiosos tesoros que sacamos de la America, sin que tengan minas.

Como nada me previene V.E. sobre mi modo de pensar acerca de los medios y arbitrios que trate de tomar sobre aquellos establecimientos para hacerlos utiles, me abstengo tambien de hablar de este punto, sobre que tenia trazados mis planes; persuadido por otra parte, que mejor que yo, habran podido instruirle, sugetos, que poco tiempo hà haian dejado aquellos paises, cuando hace cuarenta años que me retiraron de ellos con arto dolor mio.

Sin embargo, lo unico que he encontrado entre mis papeles que han corrido fuertes perdidas y destrosos, entre tantas aduanas y destinos, es el adjunto plan ó estado num^o 1^o de la poblacion de aquellas Yslas, que me acompaño con su oficio num^o 2^o el governador de ellas. Por este, advertira V.E. que sin embargo de que le habia pedido varias noticias, en su contestacion se desentiende, lo que atribui, a que, como colonia meramente militar, no me consideró autorizado para tales encargos, y aunque creo que sobre esto le reconvine amistosamente[,] mi retirada de aquel destino me privo de esta correspondencia.

He encontrado entre mis papeles, esos dos originales que asimismo tengo el honor de acompañar à V.E., con los numeros 3^o y 4^o sobre las Yslas Palaos inmediatas à las Marianas, para los efectos que puedan convenir à su sabia ilustracion y fines que se propenga.

Son varios los autores que han escrito alguna cosa aunque muy poco de aquellas Yslas, y son las cronicas, y los tratados, y las descripciones de algunos viageros, como Gemeli-Carrery, Anson, y el naturalista Acosta, igualmente que el Jesuita Colin en la segunda parte de la Historia y cronica de la Compañía en aquellos dominios, pero, de la parte politica, apenas nos dan estos una ligera noticia de ella; ademas de que, ni el modo, ni el estilo interesan; tampoco dan ideas, de nuestro gobierno, leyes, establecimientos, fundaciones && que acreditan la sabiduria de nuestros Monarcas y Consejos, y esta parte politica y filosofica de nuestra historia, esta totalmente omitida en ellos. Y asi, la ultima cronica de los Agustinos Recoletos de su Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino escrita por el Padre Provincial Fray Juan de la Concepcion que se imprimio y publico por los años de mil setecientos ochenta y tantos, nada adelantó, en este punto, ni yo tengo noticia de autor alguno, que pueda llenar los deseos de V.E., por lo que, creo, y estos intimamente convencido, de que, nada hay mejor ni que ilustre mas en este punto, que la citada obra Ynglesa traducida al frances, en su tomo 16, seccion 9^a y en que, aunque en punto menor, tras agregadas las cartas Geograficas de aquellas Yslas; sin que yo tenga noticia de otras mas exactas, tanto como las de Apres: bien que en el deposito hidrografico, se hallaran acaso planos y cartas de toda esta parte.

*Por ultimo Exmo. Sor. seame permitido, aunque parezca una digresion ó preven-
cion importuna, decir que en toda esta parte de dichas Yslas y su immediato Archipe-
lago Filipino, aunque la canela, por criarse silvestre, no sea de la calidad de la de Ceylan,
abunda, en todo ramo de especeria fina, de Algodon, de esquisitas maderas, de mucho
carey, concha y perla; alguna Azucar, Yervas medicinales, una multitud de mariscos,
que se consumen en la China, del nido de pajaro, pues conocido en Europa y que los
Chinos pagan à peso de oro la onza, algun cacao, cera y otros articulos, que seria largo
referir, pudiendose dar à estos ramos, toda la estension que se quiciera, lo mismo que
al mucho oro que producen los rios y placeres: estos ramos, por si solos, fomentados y
sin necesidad de trasladar otros de la China y de la Yndia, aumentarian la riqueza de
aquellas Yslas a un grado el mas superior y asombroso.*

*Si sobre todo, quiere V.E. mas extension, estoi pronto à obedecer sus preceptos, de-
seandole los mayores aciertos en los graves y delicados encargos de su Ministerio.*

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Sevilla 21 de Enero de 1829.

Exmo. Señor.

Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal

*[A] Exmo. Sr. Don Luís Lopez Ballesteros del Consejo de Estado de S.M. y su Sec-
retario del Despacho Universal de Hacienda &a.&a.*

Translation.

My dear Sir:

Since I had observed that our Government had so far neglected the Mariana Islands, when I saw the desire of Y.E. to carry out a research project on their present condition, I was pleased that God has kept me alive for so long as to be able to witness a wise Minister who, knowing the importance of those establishments, wishes to promote them and take them out of the neglect and apathy shown toward them until now.

Beforehand I must tell Y.E. that, as they lie at some 300 leagues from Manila, communication with these Islands has taken place by way of Acapulco, as if to go to Madrid from Cadiz, one would first head for the Pyrenees or some other farther point first; this was done with the Ship of the run, as it was called, that carried the merchandise of the Trade for New Spain, which left Manila in June or July, carrying the correspondence and the effects that that Governor, being the only trader there, had requested from his agent, and, after a supplement had been loaded in Acapulco, from the requests that said Governor had also sent to his agent in that Kingdom, plus the subsidy, during her return voyage to Manila, and upon arriving there, she left all of said supplies that she carried for them and, picking up their correspondence and a small amount of items for the China trade, she resumed her voyage and headed for the port of Cavite. Now, any year that she could not stop there, either because of stiff storms, or because she had not made the voyage on account of some damage or other accident, but delivered her load somewhere else, then the Islands remained without communication for

two or three years at a time, and without resources for the celebration of the Holy Sacraments, for lack of wine, wheat and oil, as such supplies all came from Acapulco.

As I am persuaded, by this project of Y.E., that you cannot have missed having read everything that the wise English authors of the History of the Universe have written with a great analysis and judgment, describing the situation of this whole archipelago of large Islands around the Marianas, I abstain for now from talking more about the advantages that they might be gotten from those countries, to substitute in part, for the great loss that we have suffered in other parts of the world, because the countries that have gold and silver in abundance are not the happiest ones, and I bring your attention to the huge wealth that the English take out of their establishments in India, and the products from China that has no mines either, to show that in said Empire and in India, they gather fabulous treasures, though they have no mines.

As Y.E. does not give me any lead to guide my ramblings, regarding the means and decisions that should be made regarding those establishments, to make them useful, I abstain also from talking about this point, as I had originally intended, persuaded as I am that there would be better individuals than I, to brief you, persons who have come back from those parts more recently than myself, who has left those countries 40 years ago, when they retired me, much to my regret.

Nevertheless, the only thing that I have found among my papers that have not been lost or destroyed while going through so many customs inspections and postings, is the enclosed plan, or statement n° 1, regarding the population of those Islands, which their Governor had addressed to me, along with his letter (n° 2 attached).¹ This document will show to Y.E. that, notwithstanding the fact that I had asked him for more information, in his answer, he ignored my request, something which I attributed to the fact that the Marianas are simply a military colony, and he did not consider me authorized to make such requests, and, although I remonstrated with him in a friendly manner, my retirement from that post deprived me of his correspondence.

I have found among my papers, those two originals that I also have the honor to send to Y.E., bearing n° 3 and n° 4, regarding the Palaos Islands, next to the Marianas, for the effects that may be suitable to the wise information and the purposes you have in mind.²

There are various authors who have written something, though very little, about those Islands, for instance, the chronicles and the essays and descriptions of some travelers, such as Gemelli-Careri, Anson, and the naturalist Acosta,³ besides the Jesuit Fr. Colín in the second part of his history and chronicle of the Society of Jesus in those dominions, but there is hardly a mention of the political system in any of those; furthermore, neither their manner and style of writing is interesting, nor their ideas about

1 Ed. note: That is, Governor Arleguá, same as his population census, published herein as Doc. 1787I.

2 Ed. note: Enclosure N° 4 was the report of Fr. de la Hera (same as my Doc. 1730A1).

3 Ed. note: This man may be the same as the Acosta the African who wrote a book on Asian Plants in 1578.

our government, laws, establishments, foundations, etc. that reflect favorably on our Monarchs and Councils; indeed, this political and philosophical part of our history is totally omitted in them. So it is that the latest chronicle of the Augustinian Recollects of their Province of San Nicolás de Tolentino written by Father Provincial Fray Juan de la Concepción that was printed and published in the 1780s, did not fill this gap. I do not have knowledge of any author who could fulfil the desires of Y.E.; that is why, I believe, and am intimately convinced, that there is nothing better, that illustrates this point better, than the above-mentioned English work translated into French, Tome 16, Section 9, where those Islands are briefly mentioned, and a chart of them attached.¹ Unfortunately, I do not know of any other, more precise, references, such as those of Apres, although one could perhaps find maps and charts of those areas in the Hydrographic Office.

Finally, Your Excellency, allow me, although this may seem like a digression or superfluous information, to say that in the whole of said Islands and the neighboring Philippine Archipelago there can be found some cinnamon, though a wild variety, not as good as that of Ceylon, all kinds of fine spices, cotton, exquisite woods, much turtle shell, sea-shells and pearls, some sugar, medicinal herbs, all kinds of seafood, others consumed in China, such as the bird's nest that is even known in Europe and sells for its weight in gold, some cacao, wax and other articles that would take too much time to describe. Any of those branches of commerce could be developed, the same as for the gold that is produced in the rivers and sandbanks. Any of those branches could be developed, without the need for bringing any others from China or India, and would increase the wealth of those Islands to a high and amazing, degree.

Should Y.E. wish more information on anything, I am ready to obey your orders, and I wish you the best success in the serious and delicate charges of your Ministry.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Seville, 21 January 1829.

Your Excellency.

Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal

[To] His Excellency Don Luis Lopez Ballesteros of the State Council of H.M. and his Secretary of the Universal Office of the Treasury, etc.

4. Follow-up report, dated Seville 28 January 1829, about a lost History of the Philippines, etc.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor.

Aunque en el informe que tengo remitido à V.E. hable con respecto à las ordenes de S.M. de los autores que trataban de las Yslas Marianas, omiti, con obgeto de hacerlo por separado, de una obra hasta aora inedita, de que convenia dar separada idea, afin

¹ Ed. note: The author is not mentioned, but it could be Dalrymple.

de ver, si podia conseguirse en hallazgo. Esta es la Historia politica civil filosofica y natural de todas aquellas Yslas, escrita y trabajada por Don José García Armenteros, sugeto de mucha instruccion y de grandes luces, que fue mi Secretario en aquellas partes.

Este sugeto, que fue uno de los auxiliares que pasaron de estos reinos para aquellas oficinas Reales, à poco tiempo de ocupado en ellas, le destino aquel gobierno, al desempeño de una de las Alcaldias mayores de las Yslas Bisayas, donde afianzo mas sus conocimientos para emprender su obra.

La esquisita libreria que yo poseia, que entre otras comprendia la Historia general de los viages, y la universal de los Yngleses, de que tengo hablado à V.E., su lectura empeño mas y mas à llevar adelante su empresa al espresado Armenteros, sobre la que lo alente bastante, hasta el punto, de que extinguida la Yntendencia antes de retirarme el año de 89 para estos reinos, tube la mayor satisfacion de que me presentase los ultimos cuadernos de su obra concluida, obra mas exacta todavia en muchos articulos, que la de los Yngleses, y con observaciones sobre marea, ó flujos y reflujos del Mar de aquellas partes y otros puntos, que ningun otro autor ha tratado.

Retirado ya, à mi nuevo destino en nueva España, por los años de 92 ó 93, recibí carta del espresado Armenteros, dandome parte de su nuevo destino de Secretario de la Real Compañia de Filipinas; y recordandome su obra, y que ya la tenia en limpio, correcta y acabada, me proponia, que pues, no tenia medios de imprimir en aquel pais, así, por falta de recursos, como por lo informe y escaso de buena letra, queria hacerme cargo de abrir una subscripcion en Megico, corriendo con su impresion, para que esta fuese la mas exacta y libre de erratas. Contestele que me hallaba pronto à todo, pues, aunque no tan interesado como el, tendria la mayor satisfacion en dar à conocer al publico unos trabajos tan utiles y sabios, y de tanta instruccion para los literatos y amantes de los bienes de su Nacion.

En mas de dos años, no tubimos correspondencia de aquellas Yslas, y cuando la hubo, fue con la desgracia de avisarme la temprana muerte de este sugeto, y de consiguiendo, nada se me dijo tampoco de mi deferencia [sic] à la impresion de la obra. Y sin embargo de que trate de que su heredero y Albacea, que me digeron habia sido un sobrino suyo, me la remitiese, jamas pude conseguirlo, y aunque me vali de otros medios, desesperado de lograr mis ideas, suspendi ya toda otra diligencia, mas, luego que se me nombro Secretario de Ultramar, aunque volvi à la carga, con la provabilidad que debia darme aquel destino, y este fuese tan corto que a un tiempo se sabra en aquella inmensas distancias, el corto periodo de su subsistencia, se hizo inutil esta diligencia. Y como ocurrieron despues las novedades sucedidas à la entrada de S.M. en el Reyno, en que fui embuelto, nada mas pude hacer. Jamas logre saber, por cuantas diligencias hice, si se habia contestado ó no.

Sin embargo, serenadas ya las cosas, y cuando ya pude acercarme à esas Secretarias, pase oficio en que acompañando el prospecto de la indicada obra, en que proponia se mandase oficio à aquel Governador, que hecha una averiguacion, ó perquiza del paradero de la citada obra, se le pidiese de orden de S.M. à la persona que la tubiese, ofreci-

endole corresponder à este servicio, ó bien, que sele interesaria en el producto de su impresion, la que se haria en la imprenta Real por cuenta de S.M. Tampoco he savido hasta aora el resultado de estas diligencias hechas por mi.

Pero, no habiendo podido encontrar aora, entre mis papeles, el citado prospecto de dicha obra y conviniendo mucho à V.E. y à la Nacion toda su lectura, libertandola asi de que la compre alguno de los muchos extrangeros de todas naciones que concurren à aquel punto, y la publique como suyo, me tomo la livertad por la confianza que me prestan sus deseos del bien de aquellos dominios, y acordando con S.M. comunique las mas estrechas ordenes à aquel Capitan General, para que, tomando las medidas indicadas, descubra su paradero, sin escusar, [pero] sin violencia, medida alguna, para el logro de este laudable obgeto.

Y como convenga tanto que V.E. se instrua del plan de la citada obra, si se conviene con mi propuesta, podra pedir à los respetibos archivos de las dos Secretarias de Hacienda, y Gracia y Justicia, à las que se han unido las de las Secretarias extinguidas, que sele busque y sele enb[fi]ja dicho prospecto, ó recurriendo à tiempo mas remotos, que se solicite la consulta que con dicho extracto hice desde Filipinas al Sor. Marques de Sonora, cosa fecha de 20 de Diciembre de 1785, vajo el numero 86.

Sentiré haber distraido à V.E. de sus gravisimas é interesantes tareas, quedandome el consuelo y satisfaccion de que puesto de parte del fin que me conduce en este paso, se dignara dispensar y disimularlo.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Sevilla 28 de Enero de 1829.

Exmo. Señor.

Ciriaco Gonzalez Carbajal

[A] Exmo. Sr. Don Luís Lopez Ballesteros del Consejo de Estado de S.M. y su Secretario Universal del Despacho de Hacienda &a.

Translation.

My dear Sir:

Although I apoke, in my previous report to Y.E. with regards to the orders of H.M., of the authors who wrote about the Mariana Islands, I omitted, with the intention of making it a separate report, to mention another work so far unpublished, and which subject matter could be appropriately treated separately, to see if a search could be made to find it. This manuscript is about the political, civil, philosophical and natural history of all those Islands. It was written and researched by Don José García Armenteros, a very educated and brilliant person, who was my Secretary in those parts.¹

This person, who was one of the public servants posted from these kingdoms to those Royal offices, had spent but a short time there when that government chose him to

¹ Ed. note: Apparently, this manuscript history of the Philippines was written in the 1780s, but lost by his nephew in Manila (see B&R 53:378).

become Senior Mayor of one of the larger districts of the Visayan Islands; it was there that he deepened his research, and began to write his work.

The exquisite library that I owned, which among others included the General History of the Voyages,¹ and the Universal History of the English, which I have already mentioned to Y.E., was used by said Armenteros to deepen his research and make progress with his manuscript. He had my full support until the post of Intendent was abolished, but before I retired in the year 1789 to return to these kingdoms, I had the pleasure of being presented with the last of the notebooks of his concluded work, one that is the most comprehensive that had yet been produced, better than that of the English, and with remarks about many subjects that no other author had covered, such as the tides throughout those seas, and other points.

Once I had retired, and was occupying my new post in New Spain, during 1792 or 1793, I received a letter from said Armenteros, in which he informed me of his new post as Secretary of the Royal Philippine Company, and referring to his manuscript, which he had revised and rewritten in final form, ready for the press, he asked me if I could help him, since he had no means to publish it in that country, not only for lack of funds, but also lack of educated persons who might be interested. He wished me to take charge of opening a subscription in Mexico, to finance its publication, one that could be of the best quality and free of typographical errors.² I answered, telling him that I stood ready for anything, and, although I was not as interested as he was, it would be my pleasure to publish such useful and learned books that would be of interest to educated persons and those who appreciate good works by their countrymen.

For the next two years, I did not get any news from those Islands, but when I did, it was with regret that I received the news of the early death of this man;³ of course, no mention was made about my intention of helping with the publication of his work. It was without success that I wrote to his heir and executor, whom I had been told was one of his nephews, to forward it to me, but it never happened. Although I used other means, despairing of ever succeeding in my project, I gave up making further efforts but, when I was appointed Secretary of Overseas, although I renewed my queries, hoping that my new title would give them some weight, the distances are so enormous and the delays so long that, during the short time that I was in that post, this effort was fruitless. And, since the events that followed the return of H.M. to the Kingdom, events in which I was involved, I could learn nothing more about it. No matter how many letters I later wrote to find out if my requests had been answered or not, I did not get any information back.

Nevertheless, when things had calmed down, and I could again approach those Secretariats, I wrote a letter, enclosing a copy of the prospectus of said work, in which I proposed that an official request be sent to the Governor overthere, for him to order

1 Ed. note: Either that by La Harpe, or that of De Brosse.

2 Ed. note: This reminds me of similar reasons I had to have most of the volumes of the present series printed in Mexico.

3 Ed. note: Armenteros died ca. 1795 without his history books having been published.

that an investigation, or search, be made to find out the whereabouts of said work, that it should be by order of H.M. and addressed to the person then in charge, and suggesting that it would be in the interest of his service, or reputation, to have said work printed by the Royal press on the account of H.M. Until now, I have not learned anything about the outcome of my efforts.¹

However, I have been unable to find a copy of the prospectus in question among my papers. It would be very convenient for Y.E. and the whole nation to read said work, and to prevent anyone of the many foreigners of many nationalities who visit that place from buying it and publishing it as his own work.² I therefore take the liberty, trusting in your desires for the welfare of those dominions, to suggest that H.M. be approached so that the strictest orders be issued to that Captain General, so that, by taking specific measures, he might discover their whereabouts, using any means, short of violence, to achieve this praiseworthy purpose.

And, since it would be convenient for Y.E. to consult the plan of said work, if you agree with my proposal, you could ask the respective archives of the two Secretariats of the Treasury, and Religious Affairs and Justice, to which have been combined those of the abolished Secretariats, to have them make a search for said prospectus, and send it to you. Now, by going further back, one could also look for the consultation that I sent from the Philippines, enclosing said extract, to the attention of the Marquis of Sonora, dated 20 December 1785, and bearing n° 86.

I am sorry if I distracted Y.E. from your most serious and interesting tasks, but I remain with the consolation and satisfaction that, given the high purpose that moves me in this endeavor, you will be pleased to forgive me for it.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Seville, 28 January 1829.

Your Excellency.

Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal.

[To] His Excellency Don Luis Lopez Ballesteros of the State Council of H.M. and his Secretary of the Universal Office for the Treasury, etc.

1 Ed. note: A royal decree, dated 2 May 1821, had been issued to that effect to the Governor of the Philippines, apparently, but I guess that he had not been told about it. If an answer was received from Manila, a copy may exist in AHN.

2 Ed. note: There is a strong possibility that the Frenchman De Rienzi did just that, after visiting Manila (see Doc. 1828X).

Other documents about the Marianas, dated 1828.

1. Request made to the Jesuits to go back to the Marianas

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 6, p. 682.

Note: Letter to Fr. Mariano Puyal, Procurator at Court, dated 14 December 1828, asking him if he could send 10-12 missionaries to the Marianas. In his answer, dated 20 December 1828, he says that he cannot send any right away, but will look into the matter as it is one of the obligations of the Society.

2. Request made to the Jesuits for the loan of documents about the Marianas.

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 6, p. 683.

Note: Letter to Fr. Puyal, dated 14 December 1828 also, asking him for a list of documents in the hands of the Society regarding the Marianas. In his answer, dated 20 December 1828, he says that he will see what he can find, and, with a covering letter, dated 6 March 1828, he forwards over 18 documents, with an index that was used as a receipt. Said loaned documents were returned to him, under a covering letter dated 13 February 1832, receipt of which was acknowledged by a Fr. Ignacio Cayetano on 24 February 1832.

3. Similar request made to Manuel Bernaldez y Pizarro.

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 6, p. 684.

Note: The letter to this retired member of the Manila Audiencia was also dated 14 December 1828. His answer, dated 19 December 1828, gives a relation of the Mariana Islands, with a list of conference books, manuscripts, chronicles and other documents.

4. Similar request made to many Spanish Government ministries, dated 14 December 1828.

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 6, p. 683, and Fil. 7, pp. 538-545.

Note: This request resulted in the following answers.

- Letter from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Justice, dated 15 January 1829;
- Another letter from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Justice, dated 7 April 1829;¹
- Letter from the Ministry of State, dated 5 March 1829;²
- Letters from the Ministry of the Navy, dated 7 January and 9 March 1829;³
- Letter from the Secretariat of the Council of the Indies, dated 14 December 1829;⁴
- Letters from AGI, dated 18 February and 17 March 1829.⁵

1 They found nothing at first, but later sent maps and a file on the Marianas.

2 They found nothing.

3 They sent documents and maps of the Marianas.

4 Mentions a list of documents loaned on 22 January 1829. They were returned to them on 13 February 1832.

5 They mention loaned documents. They were returned on 13 February 1832.

5. Report on the Mariana Islands, by former Governor Alejandro Parreño

Source: AHN Fil. 5854; already translated by Marg Driver in JPS 51 (14:2) July 1991, pp. 27-29, 120-132.

Note: The covering letter bears the date Madrid 29 November 1828.

6. Request made to the Recollect Fathers.

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 6, p. 684.

Note: A letter was sent to the Commissioner General of the Augustinian Recollects of the Philippines on 14 December 1828, asking for a historical report for the 1770-1828 period (how his Order was sent to the Marianas, on whose authority, which buildings they occupy, if they received financial support from the Treasury, and how much). The answer of fray Francisco Vidal de San José, is dated 7 January 1829.

7. Request made to the Franciscan Fathers.

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. y, p. 684.

Note: The request was sent to their Father General on 13 December 1828. Fr. General fray Cirilo Alameda answered on 26 December 1828. Vice-Commissioner General of the Indies, Fr. Elias de Tapia, sent reports dated 19 December 1828 and 31 January 1829.

8. Request made to the Directors of the RPC.

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 6, p. 684.

Note: A letter, dated 14 December 1828, was answered on 13 January 1829. A request for then to establish a direct link with the Marianas was answered on 13 January 1829 as well.

9. Request sent to the Government Shipping Agent in Cadiz.

Source: Cited in Col. Pastells, Fil. 6, p. 685.

Note: A letter was sent on 14 December 1828 to Leandro José de Viniegra, Judge of Arrivals at Cadiz, asking him if there is any ship willing to make the direct voyage to the Marianas, carrying missionaries, soldiers, colonists, etc. The answer from Tomás Barreda is dated 30 December 1828.

 Documents 1828C

The first d'Urville expedition—The narrative of Captain d'Urville

Source: Voyage [de découverte] de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté par ordre du Roi, pendant les années 1826-1827-1828-1829, sous le commandement de M. J. Dumont D'Urville, Capitaine de vaisseau. Publié par ordre de sa Majesté. Histoire du voyage—Tome cinquième. Paris, J. Tastu, 1833.¹

Volume 5, Chapter 35 — Cruise from Vanikoro to Guam and stay at that island.

1828, 18 March

... Unfortunately, the crew is growing weaker day by day ...

26 March

... The hardships of this day and of the previous ones have reduced me to a pitiful state. Already Messieurs Lottin, Faraguet, Pâris and Dudemaine had yielded to the sickness. Today, Mr. Jacquinot himself, the second-in-command, is forced to stay in bed. The only valid members of my staff are Messieurs Gressien and Guilbert. Twenty-five crew members are lying on their cots, and among those remaining up, half of them are still so weak that they almost cannot help with maneuvers, so that we are left with hardly six or seven men on each watch.

This disastrous situation leads me to some serious thinking ...

In this part of the Pacific Ocean, there is not one anchorage where I can take the corvette with some chance of improving the fate of the sick. All the islands surrounding us are populated by wild, defiant savages, most of them cannibals; most of the navigators

1 Ed. note: This Voyage, consisting of 16 volumes (12 of text, 4 atlases) with 600 plates or maps, and is divided into 5 parts: Part 1 — Narrative of the Voyage, written by Mr. Dumont d'Urville: 5 volumes and 1 atlas (over 240 plates); Meteorology, Magnetism, Sea Temperature, etc.: Note written by Mr. Arago of the Academy of Sciences: 1 volume. Part 2 — Botany: Text by Messieurs Lesson Jr. and A. Richard: 1 volume and 1 atlas (over 80 plates). Part 3 — Zoology, written by Messieurs Quoy and Gaimard: 5 volumes and 1 atlas (over 200 plates). Part 4 — Entomology, written by Dr. Boisduval: 1 volume (12 plates). Part 5 — Hydrography, 1 volume of text written by Mr. Dumont D'Urville and 1 atlas with 45 maps.

who have made contact with them have been forced to resort to weapons to repel their attacks. Besides, no food nor refreshments can be found among them and, once anchored, it is probable that we would not have the strength to weigh our anchors. It is therefore preferable to stay at sea.

After long reflections and much worrying, I decided to head for Guam in order to give some rest to the worn-out crew. It is the sole European port at my disposal, the only one that appears to me suitable for the purpose in question. We all know about the obliging welcome that Mr. Freycinet received in that colony some nine years ago and how this stopover was useful to him in order to restore the health of his numerous sick. Such reasons make me decide to head north, on the 26th of March, bound for the Marianas.

As a result of this decision, I find myself in the position of having to renounce the idea of crossing the Torres Strait, because from Guam I cannot think of coming back toward this strait, against the tradewinds ...

17 April

... On the evening of the 17th, we crossed to the north of the equator, by 158° longitude East of Paris. During three days, we encountered currents running westward from 35 to 45 miles per day, then they slackened to 8 or 10 miles only.

One month has already elapsed since our departure from Vanikoro and we have not done more than 400 leagues in straight line. There are still 300 leagues remaining before reaching Guam, and the state of health of the sick has not improved, but one has to admit that it is no longer getting worse. Indeed, there has been some balance, over a few days already, between the number of those attacked by fever and those who recovered from it. However, for deck duty, there is a net loss, given that the convalescent ones, still suffering from weakness, cannot usefully replace the men who have remained healthy up to now.

At last, the spell that seemed to act upon us has lifted; at 2° Lat. N. and 156° Long. E, we met with regular NE breezes, and started to make some headway. The influence of a more even temperature had also some impact on the sick; my own fever abated, and from the recurrent state in which it had remained for so long, it passed to the third intermittent state.

22 April

At noon, I found myself on the latitude and about twenty leagues east of the position given for the Monteverde [Nukuoro] Islands on the Arrowsmith chart. I had placed myself on the latitude of this group in order to quickly close the 1-2 degree gap westward and sight it. However, at that moment the breeze failed us and we were becalmed most of the day. This vexation made me decide to resume my route NW, given that I would have had to lay to all night long and maybe lose 2-3 days, which was not realistic under our condition.

23 April

In the morning, the easterly came up, accompanied with heavy downpours. However, we made progress and this was good enough for us.

24 April

The next day was very beautiful and we saw many gannets that came to fly around the rigging, an infallible sign of land nearby.

25 April

To celebrate the second anniversary of our departure from France, I had a double ration of rum distributed to healthy crewmen at dinner. We noticed many dolphins, frigate birds, gannets, noddies and tropic birds.

Now, I planned my route so as to meet with the Hogoleu [Chuuk] Group, explored in 1824 by Mr. Duperrey. This navigator had charted most of this archipelago very satisfactorily, but the wind had forced him to leave the E and SE part in a vague form. I intended to fill this gap.

It is worthwhile, in the interest of hydrography, to make a remark at this point. When I returned to Europe, I was very surprised to see that, on his general chart of the Carolines, Mr. Duperrey had placed, some forty miles east of Hogoleu, a small low island to which he gave the name of D'Urville Island. The two officers aboard the **Astrolabe** who had been with me during the voyage of **La Coquille** had not been aware of this discovery either. However, when I checked my private journal, I saw indeed that on June 23, 1824, at sunset, the lookout man had announced a low island at a great distance.¹ If during the voyage of the **Astrolabe**, I had known about this circumstance, I would have figured my route so as to pass near this land, and checked if D'Urville Island does in fact exist. It would then have been easy since on the 25th we passed at no more than six leagues NE of it.²

We were making six knots heading west toward the Hogoleu Group and I feared that a rather thick fog hiding the horizon all around would be harmful to our aim. However, as early as 4:30 p.m., Mr. Dudemaine saw through the fog the summits of high islands seven to eight miles off. Soon afterward we began to perceive among the bars the four low islets that seemed to be those Mr. Duperrey called Gaudichaud, Quoy and Gaimard Islands (the fourth one remained nameless). At sunset, these islands were visible from the deck. We were then not more than nine miles to windward of the line of breakers that surround this group, and I remained all night under short tacks. I had to fear the effect of the current and I was not in a position to execute any quick or difficult maneuver in case of danger.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1824H.

2 The voyage of the American Morrell had just verified the existence of this island; on February 23rd, 1830, he sighted a group of three low islets surrounded by a common reef, which he named Westervelt Group and which is obviously identical to D'Urville Island of Mr. Duperrey. Ed. comment: D'Urville is wrong; what Morrell saw was Losap, just south of Nama).

27 April

The breeze was uneven and we had rain showers during the night. However, when daylight came back, I was pleased to discover that we had stayed at the same distance from the land as the night before. I headed NW as far as two miles from the breakers. Then at 7 a.m., we stayed put and Mr. Guilbert began his geographic work. At that time, we had a very detailed view of all the western islands of the Hogoleu Group. The four islands of Iros, Dublon, Falang and Chamisso are the only high islands; among them can be seen the sharp peak of Dublon. All the others, numbering from 18 to 20, are low islets, wooded and situated on the edge of the breakers. The largest of these islets has not more than one mile in diameter, and there are a few not longer than 100 to 120 meters that offer nothing but a small coral platform crowned by a tuft of trees. We had no bottom with a line of 100 fathoms.

Once the stationary work was done, I headed SSE in order to follow at a distance of three miles the long line of breakers that stretches at a distance of seven miles from the high islands. While we were quickly pushed by a fresh NE breeze, it was quite a spectacle to watch these numerous islands change their form and appearance at every moment, and so to speak, by passing one in front of the other, reminding one of a magic lantern show. By way of an orchestra, we had a long and deep wave pushed by the easterly winds that came to crash upon the coral wall built by the polyps, and that kept reminding us to watch out.

However, the reef having seemed to disappear westward, I had turned SSW, but soon the lookout announced that the breakers reappeared at two to three points to windward and I hastened to head once more toward SSE so as not to be caught in this elbow.

At 9:45 a.m., a second station occurred at 2-1/2 miles from the breakers. Then the four high islands mentioned earlier were far in the NW and, even farther in the WNW, there started to appear the high islands of Udot, Chazal, and above all the higher and larger mass of Tol Island. Near to us, and spread here and there on the edge of the breakers, a dozen low islands showed their pleasant greenery. Among these, only two, i.e. Givry and Cérisy Islands, had been seen by the **Coquille**; the others had remained unknown. Ninety fathoms of line did not reach bottom.

At noon, we took a latitude reading of only four miles north of the southern part of the group as a whole. AT 1:45 p.m., we rounded at 2-1/2 miles from it the low islet that is at the SE corner of the archipelago and for this reason we named it South Island. It is situated on the edge of the reef and the latter then suddenly veers off to the NW. At the time we rounded this sort of horn, not only were we convinced that the Hogoleu Islands ended at that point but the lookout could not even see any land for over fifteen miles off.

After having passed South Island, we headed NW in order to survey the southern part of the group. We continued to stay two miles off the breakers but then they sheltered us from the heavy seas and, though the corvette sailed very fast, she was so still that those walking on the deck could very well have imagined that we were at anchor inside the most sheltered harbor.

A third station took place at 3:40 p.m., 4-1/2 miles SW of Givry Island. Near these islands, the reef turns northward and seems to leave an opening leading towards the high islands in the center [of the lagoon]. How I regretted then that the crew of the **Astrolabe** was in such a pitiful state! I would have led the corvette to an anchorage and would have spent some fifteen days studying the customs of this population and the products of its territory. However, we would hardly have been able to raise a mooring anchor: stopping here was out of the question. My companions were already not too happy that, instead of making for Guam immediately, I still busied myself with geographical chores.

[Description of the Chuuk Islanders]

[Note: At this point, the author mentions the later (1830) visit to Chuuk of Captain Morrell, and thinks that he was too generous in his assessment of the islanders. He says the following in an end-note:]

It would be interesting to compare the flattering narrative that Captain Morrell has written about the Hogoleu islanders, with the few words I used myself in my journal aboard the **Coquille**, as a result of the contact we had with these savages when sailing in June 1824. Here is a literal transcription of what I wrote then about them: *"Although this group first appears to be rather large, in a matter of fact it is not much and must have an average population. Thus, we never saw more than from 12 to 15 canoes at a time, although during the first two days we hove to many times to make contact with the natives. These islanders have nothing special; they are of average size, many are misshapen and afflicted by disgusting diseases. Their intelligence appears limited and I believe this race to be inferior to that of Ualan. For good manners and bearing, the tamols of Hogoleu are no match for the uros and the tons of Ualan, though they have the same propensity for stealing. Everything indicates that they have seen Europeans before, nothing on board the vessel or on our persons seemed to excite their curiosity nor their admiration. Their maros and their ponchos are made with a strong and well-woven fabric. Their proas are well made, but their maneuvers are far from being noteworthy, either by their simplicity or their speed. We have not seen any weapons nor stone axes in their hands. I only noticed two slings made of coconut coir and these I purchased. It seemed to us that the authority of the chiefs over their subjects was rather strong, as the latter never failed to turn over to the former whatever they received as gifts or in trade. A few have tattoos, others nothing at all. Already not too interested in nails and even in knives, they seemed to covet only axes which they called "saran." They had no interest in mirrors, and they gave only trifles in exchange for fishhooks. They were wearing rather big wooden cylinders in their ear [-lobes], necklaces of various sizes around the neck which were made with small disks of coconut shell mixed with sea shells. Their cloth was dyed red, black and sometimes white. We could only get a few words in their language, but I doubt very much what they really mean."*

I had the sails set to get close to two low islands that I supposed were the Bory and Roland Islands of Mr. Duperrey. At 6:30 p.m., we were 6 miles SSE of Bory Island and 12 miles S of the peak of Tol Island. Four low islands, which must correspond to Mr. Duperrey's Bernard, Torres and Blois Islands, were in plain sight on the left of Tol. The gap that this navigator had left in his exploration of the Hogoleu Group was therefore

removed. Thus I headed west again, in order to reach Tamatam and Fanadik Islands whose position I considered important to link with those of Hogoleu and Guam. During our day of work, we have charted the layout of more than fifty miles of breakers and the positions of about 30 islands and islets. We have made excellent observations and we are in a position to believe that our work is as precise as can be done under sail.

However, when comparing it to that of Mr. Duperrey which took place on three different days, in which no stations were made and where the compass was used instead of the circle to take the bearing of the islands, one does not see a noticeable difference, except for points from which either one or the other ship was too far away to assign a precise position. Should not we be ready to conclude that, most of the time, the use of the compass would indeed be sufficient for surveys carried out under sail?

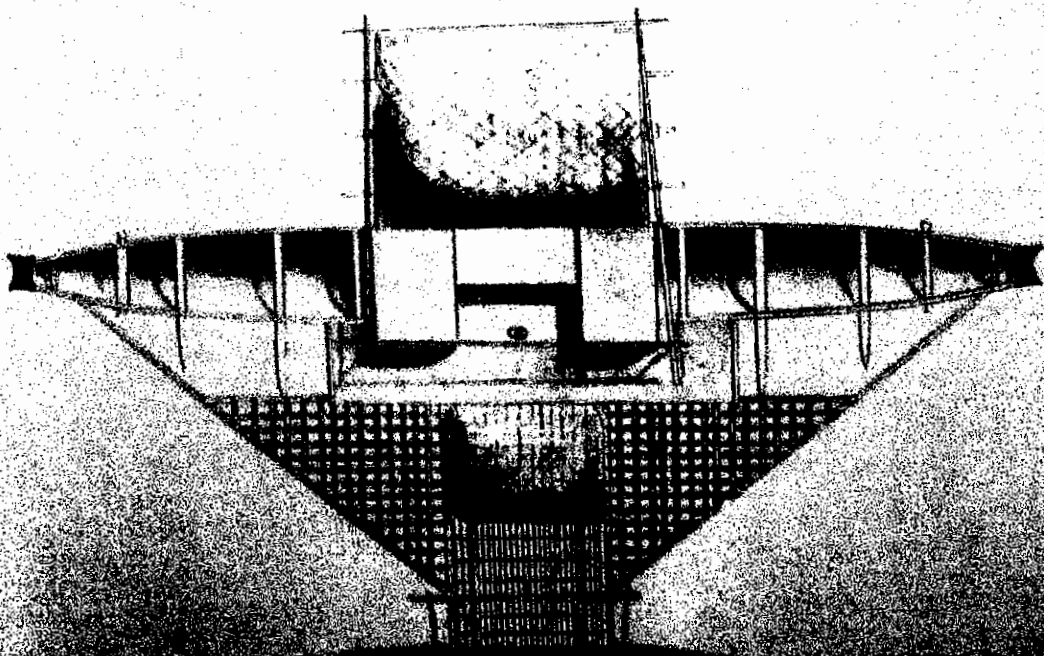
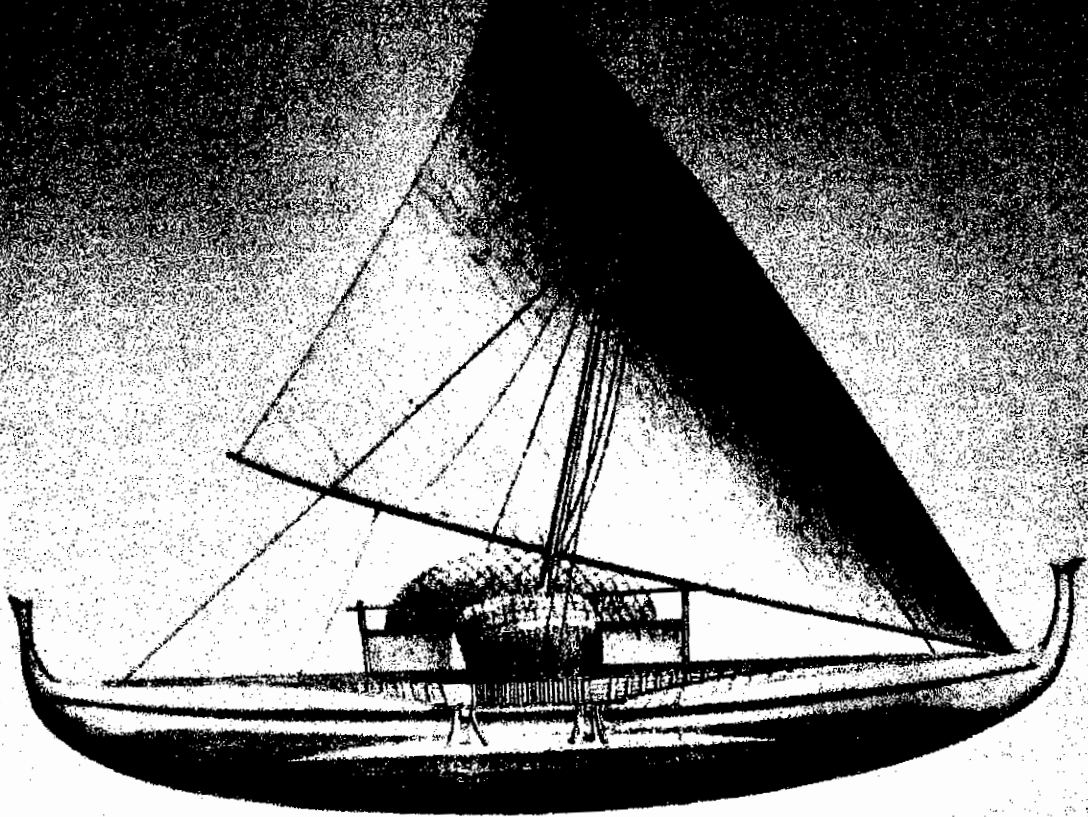
During the whole time that we were in sight of these islands, a single canoe appeared within the breakers, when we were on the eastern side. At that place, we could not stop and wait for it. I ascribe to the fresh breeze and to fog the fact that we were not visited during our survey.

In accordance with the development of my well-established fever, the attack was to re-appear today at noon. As I did not wish to quit the deck in such a critical moment, at 11 o'clock I settled myself up in the boat that was hanging in the davits on the windward side, and had my cloak brought in, as I was decided to throw it upon my shoulders, so as to rest at my post, until the shivering was over. However, having heard the 4 o'clock bell, I went down into my cabin to take a quick and light meal; it was only then that I realized that the attack had not taken place. As of that day, I was free of it. No doubt I owed this happy crisis to the fatigue and continuous intellectual tension that the survey of Hogoleu caused me. This happening was doubly happy for me because I recovered thereby all my faculties and the hope to be able to fully attend to my duties during the layover at Guam. Moreover, I had already paid my tribute to the fever, since it had kept me down for 52 whole days and had, so to speak, laid me flat for half that time.

28 April

Thanks to a beautiful NW breeze that accompanied me all the time, the 120 miles that separate Hogoleu from Tamatam were quickly covered. By 2:50 p.m., the lookout sighted the islands of **Tamatam**, **Olap** and **Fanadik**. One hour later, we made a station 10 miles east of these islets. Then, we headed NW and passed at 3 miles NE of Olap.

These three islands form a small group of 7 miles in breadth, in a N-S direction. The greatest part of this distance is occupied by a reef. Olap and Tamatam, the two largest ones, do not have more than 1.2-1.4 kilometers in their longest dimension, and Fanadik is at least half as big. However, in spite of their small size, these islets are covered with wood and feed a robust, active and intelligent population. At the time we went by Olap, 7-8 canoes left the shore and sailed towards us. However, as I decided not to stop and wait for them, only two, each manned by five men, continued on their way towards us. These savages followed us for about one hour, and from time to time called to us and



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showed us some small models of their proas which they wished to exchange for iron; they were laughing and dancing as if they were happy to see us.

At that time, the corvette was making 6 knots close by the wind and with a running sea. However, the **native proas** were following us without any sign of being overworked by the sea. It was easy to see that, if required, they could have made as many as 7-8 knots; that is sufficient to give some idea of the good quality of these craft.

Among the ten savages who were aboard these two canoes, none presented the nimble, slender and gracious shapes that are a characteristic of the Carolinian race at its best. They were vigorous and appeared very healthy but their features were rough and their overall appearance had nothing pleasant.

At 6 p.m., we passed 4 miles west of the place where Mr. Freycinet indicates that land was seen from the topmasts, aboard the **Uranie**, and therefore about 10 miles closer than he had done. We had a clear horizon and saw nothing. One must conclude that this land must certainly not exist.

29 April

We were not any happier the next day with regard to Lamurrek [Lamotrek]. At 6 a.m., we passed on top of the position assigned to it on the Arrowsmith chart and saw no sign of land. Moreover, the work of Captain Lütke has shown that there was a mistake about the Lamurrek, or rather Namurek, Group; it exists much more to WSW of this position, very near the small island of Satawal.

As the currents were from then on pushing us over the incredible distance of 30-35 miles a day in a SW direction, I took care to place myself early on the latitude of Guam, so as not to miss this island. Otherwise, we would have had to pursue our route as far as Manila and thus delay for a long time the relief that each of the sick was expecting out of their stay in the Marianas.

2 May

Finally, on 2 May at 4:15 a.m., Mr. Gressien sighted the land of Guam in the WNW, and at 5 a.m., I realized that we were about 10 miles E of the northern part while making 6-7 knots with a nice easterly breeze and superb weather.

We noticed four big canoes that came from the eastern quarter; two of them passed very near us. We then recognized that they were manned by Carolinians on their way to visit Guam.

At about 10:30, we were skirting Cocos Island, at 1-2 miles from it. At 11, we rounded the SW point of the reef at one cable-length at most from it. Then, we tacked close by the wind under full canvas to reach Umata. We could already spot an English ship riding at anchor there.¹

1 Ed. note: The name of this English ship is unfortunately not given by d'Urville, but as he says below, it was a whaler. Perhaps this was the **Reynard**, Captain Grey (see STM, under 1828).

Full of confidence as I was in the wind that seemed favorable, I was counting on sailing right into the good anchorage in order to avoid some painful maneuvers to the crew, but upon arriving in front of Tonguen Point,¹ the breeze subsided and quit at the same time, so that I had to let go the anchor with bottom at 14 fathoms. Moreover, the sails not having been furled fast enough, even though we would have advanced a further 40 fathoms, the anchor dragged during a gust of wind and for a while I thought the **Astrolabe** would have to set sail again, without knowing when she could make it back to the anchorage. This moment was anxious for everyone, and specially for the sick men who, looking longingly at the shore, seemed to await their salvation from their stay at this land so long desired.

Happily the anchor stopped at 18 fathoms, some 400 fathoms from the anchorage point I wished to reach. The [whale-] boat and the big boat were lowered; the former went towards the harbor to place a kedge anchor, with three chains to tow us in as soon as the wind would allow.

José Flores, the Mayor of Umata, came to ask the usual questions, and we were all satisfied to learn that the present Governor of the Marianas was once more the noble and generous Medinilla who had welcomed and treated Mr. Freycinet and all his companions with such magnificent and unselfishness in 1819. I wrote to him right away to announce our arrival and ask for permission to put our sick men ashore and to obtain from the inhabitants all the food supplies that we needed by purchase or barter. I did not wish to ask him directly for these supplies, for fear that a feeling of liberality pushed to the extreme would make him go through considerable expenses, as those that he made for the **Uranie**, and for which he refused to accept compensation.

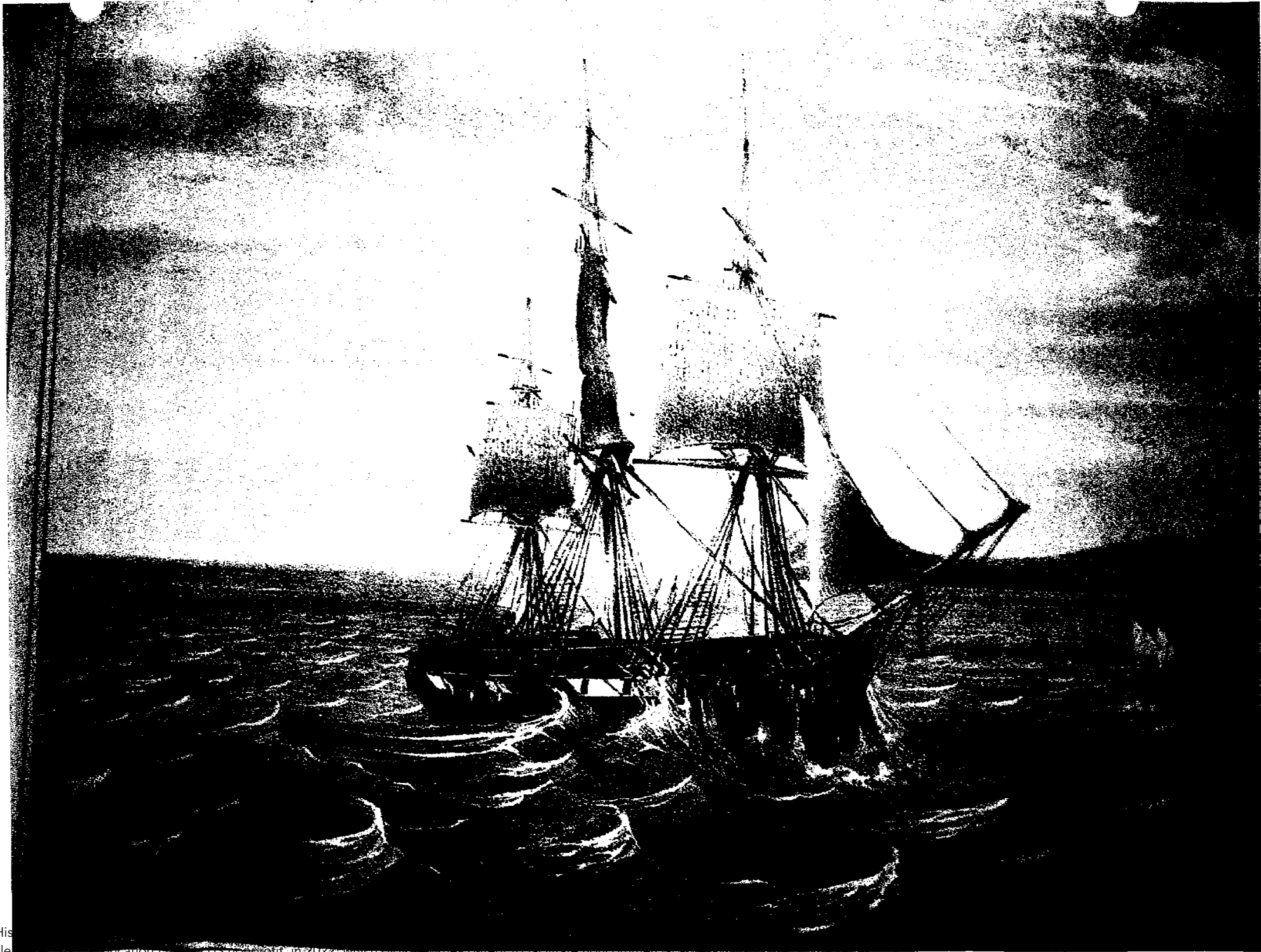
Upon leaving us, Flores promised to send us immediately a few refreshments for our tables and, as soon as the next day, some pigs for the crew.

It was high time we reached the anchorage; the number of those suffering from fever had not noticeably decreased, and the condition of many of them had seriously gotten worse. However, if we would have had to stay at sea a few more days, the death rate would certainly have been something frightful.

3 May

I took advantage of the good weather to put everybody to work as of 5 a.m. We towed ourselves with the chains and at noon, we were moored with four anchors, viz, one big anchor with a cable in the middle of the channel at 10 fathoms, another big anchor with the average-size chain at 7 fathoms towards Fort Santo Angel, the hybrid anchor with the small chain at 9 fathoms towards Tonguen Point; finally, the *gomotou* cable was stretched at the poop to the big mooring anchor, submerged at 12 fathoms. The three forward anchors were to hold the **Astrolabe** against the forces of the easterly winds, whereas the poop cable was to prevent us from turning on our anchors with the rising tide. Once the sic men were ashore, and with few healthy men who could be

1 Ed. note: Rather Tongua Point.



assigned to work off deck, the corvette could be exposed sometimes to a situation when would be only 4 or 5 men on board; it was therefore a must that she be free of any accident on account of the winds and currents.

Position of the anchorage: The isolated rock—N6°W; Fort San José—N26°E; Fort Santo Angel—N45°E; Church of Umata—N70°E; Fort La Soledad—S70°E.

No doubt I could have, as Mr. Freycinet did, gone and anchored in Apra Harbor, where I would have had nothing to fear from the elements, but firstly, it was doubtful whether this maneuver would have been possible for me, given the condition of my crew; secondly, I would have had to send the sick to the Agaña hospital, more than two leagues away, which would have incurred considerable expense and numberless disadvantages for the Navy. My intention was to stay on board as I had done at all the anchorages. Finally, and this was the crucial point, I did not wish to stay in Guam for three whole months as Mr. Freycinet had done.¹

Only Umata could make me avoid these various disadvantages, and besides, I found there a plentiful and easy watering place and a more pleasant and more temperate climate than that in the vicinity of Apra and Agaña. Everything seems to indicate that a stopover of 20 to 25 days would be sufficient to restore the health of most of my valetudinarians.

The good Governor did not delay his reply, because it arrived on board at the very moment that the mooring of the corvette had just been completed. After the usual greetings, Don José Medinilla placed his Umata palace at my disposal and the old convent for the sick, and he ordered the Mayor of Umata to supply us with all the things that we might need. At the same time, he warned me that the resources of the country were almost gone, on the one hand, because of the illicit trade of all kinds that his predecessor had kept with the English whalers, and on the other hand, on account of four months of a terrible drought.

The main thing was the permission to land our sick people and the offer of buildings fit to receive them. I hastened to make use of them and right away the boat took the following sick ashore:

Imbert.	Hamilton. ²	Martin.
Maille.	Williams.	Doche.
Reynaud.	Richard.	Cannac.
Fabry.	Vignale.	Lauvergne.
Gossi.	John. ³	Croc.
Grassa.	Jacques.	Bertrand.
Castel.	Mendiola. ⁴	Jacon.
Aubry.	Quemener.	Lisnard.

1 Ed. note: Mr. Freycinet remained at Guam for only 28 days.

2 Ed. note: One of 4 Englishmen on board.

3 Ed. note: John Maclean; this Scot will be mentioned again below.

4 Ed. note: Born in Guam, he had been recruited by the brig Concepción and stranded in Fiji for a while (see below).

Goux.	Escale.	Condriller.
Caravel.	Sper.	Vigneau.
Della Maria.	Deleuze.	Rey.
Bélangier.	Charles.	Spire.

Along with Messierus Gaimard, Lesson and Faraguet.

The first two on the list were very seriously sick; the next seven were much affected also and all the others were more or less sick.

Although they were far from being recovered, Messieurs Quoy, Lottin, Dudemaine and Bertrand, and Chieusse, Rivière, Boutin and Guérin preferred to remain on board. In addition, we could count about ten persons in convalescence and in a great state of weakness. One may judge therefore the severe and disastrous havoc that the deadly Vanikoro fevers had created.

However, it must be pointed out that not one of these men suffered from scurvy.

During the evening, we received the visit of a Frenchman, originally from Le Havre, whose name was Baptiste.¹ He was a former sailor who settled on this island where he has married the niece of Flores the Mayor. This man who does not lack intelligence told me that the people of Guam were in general very miserable but that they owe a large part of their misery to their laziness and lack of energy. However, they show themselves to be difficult and demanding in their trade with the persons who want to buy food and supplies.

Right now, there are in Apra Harbor two ships that were captured by Spanish Navy vessels away from the independent states of America.² They are to go to Manila but some [deck] hands are wanting to take them there.

I have found that deer meat was an excellent dish. All day the weather was nice and, as soon as there comes a breeze, the temperature is delightful, mainly aboard the corvette.

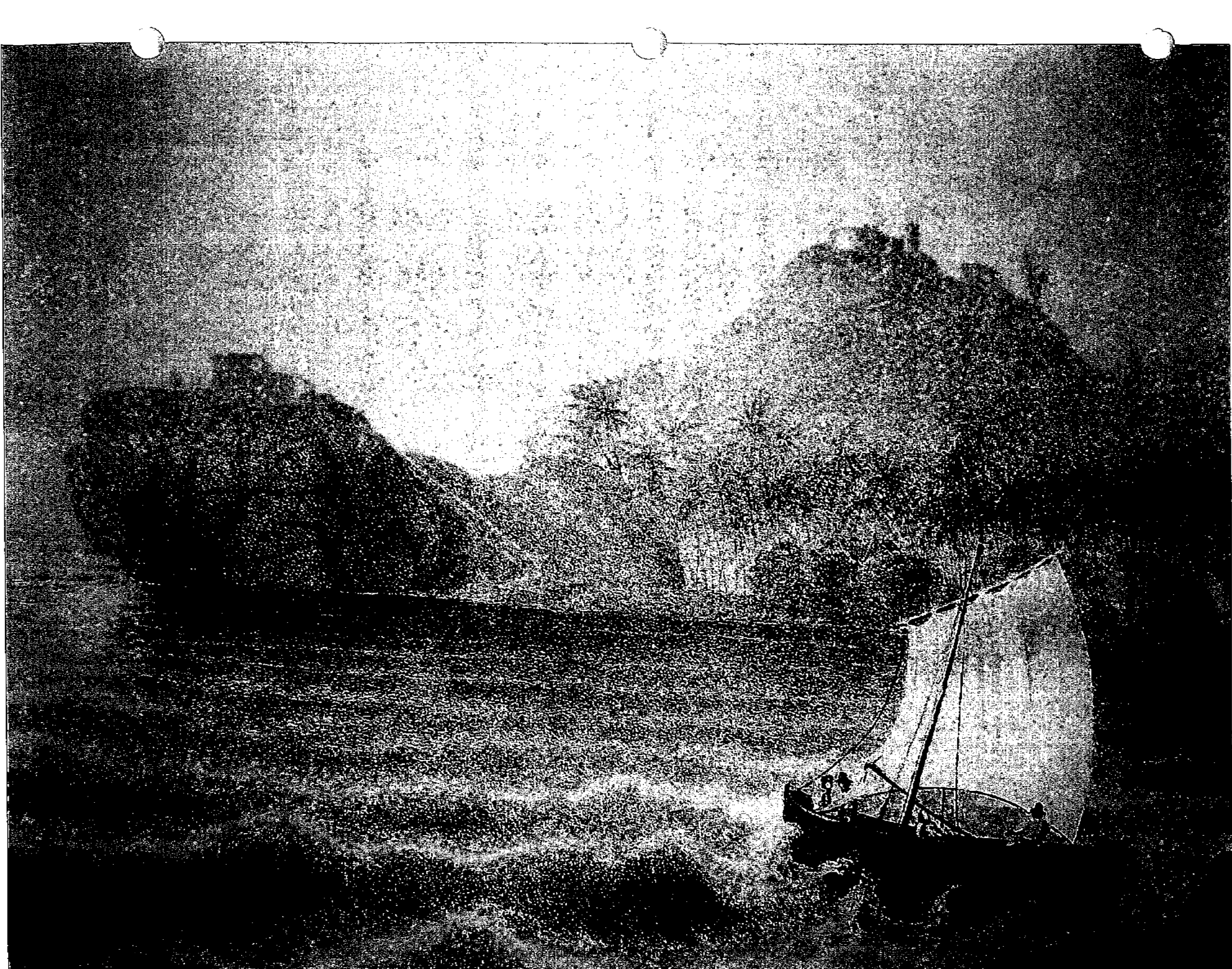
4 May

At 6:30 a.m., I went ashore with the Mayor, Mr. Jacquinot and the master sailmaker. First, I visited the hospital which I found very suitable for the purpose intended. This space was clean, large, ventilated, and the sick had been distributed by the physicians among various rooms, in accordance with the intensity of their illness. If they must get better, I think that this place was better than any other.

From there, I went on to the Palace which must have been a very pleasant place a long time ago, but one that seems as if it has been abandoned for a long time and that shows very few signs of its old splendor. However, it could have been a very comfort-

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- 1 Ed. note: This Frenchman was listed as Jean Baptiste in Doc. 1827G2. He had arrived at Guam in November 1826. He may have come there aboard a foreign whaler (listed in Doc. 1826A) or months earlier aboard the French whaler Triton, Captain Upham.
 - 2 Ed. note: The names of these ships are not given by d'Urville, unfortunately. However, according to a report by Governor Medinilla, they were three Chilean ships named: The Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias Griego, the Araucana, and the Figueroa (see STM 1828 a,b,c).

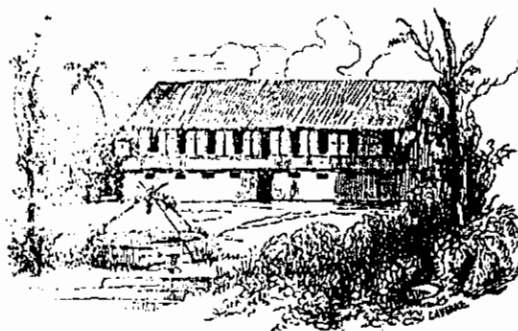




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able lodging for me if I had wished to settle on shore. The view from it is pleasant, the air very good and the rooms very big.



We then went to Fort Santo Angel; it is simply an isolated rock topped with a small platform upon which two small bronze guns have been placed.

Flores told us that the two other forts were unarmed. We had thought at first that we would install our observatory there, but Mr. Jacquinot brought to my notice the fact that the wind was strongly felt there and, besides, there was no convenient place to receive the instruments. It was decided to make the observations from the Palace.

Flores, the Mayor, remembered having seen the ships of Malaspina at Umata [in 1792], and this captain carried out his observation at Fort Santo Angel and at the site of the gun emplacement near the church.

While going to the fort and coming back, we crossed the village which consists of about 100 huts, lined up in two rows on either side of the road, and pleasantly located in the shade of beautiful coconut trees. These huts are made of wood, rather cleanly kept, covered with palm fronds and raised 2 to 3 feet off the ground to preserve them from dampness. Although poor, ignorant and lazy, the inhabitants seem to be generally happy, peaceful and content with their lot. Umata comprises, it is said, 298 inhabitants, whereas Merizo, located 2 miles to the south of it, at the southern tip of Guam, 303.

At 9 a.m., I returned on board and did not budge from it. In spite of the pleasure I felt when I strolled ashore, I found myself too weak to stay there, and very tired after having walked a few hundred feet.

The English whaling ship had sailed the previous evening without my noticing. Today, I was told that she had hastened her departure for fear of being infected by the contagious disease that we had just brought with our corvette and Flores himself seemed ready to entertain a few fears of his own. I tried to persuade him that our sickness had nothing contagious and the physicians supported my statements with all the force of their reasoning.

One of the Englishmen we had taken aboard at Hobart Town [Tasmania], named Jack, asked for his leave, and I consented.





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5 May.

Flores brought us, on behalf of Don José Medinilla, one pig, one dozen chickens, some eggs and fruits. Then he narrated to me how, in 1824, a Spanish fleet, out of Cádiz, had anchored at Umata. It comprised the frigate **Asia**, one corvette and two brigs¹ and was mandated to act against the independent states of South America; however, the crews mistreated the commander and forced him ashore with the officers and about 100 men who remained faithful to the royal cause. Governor Ganga went on board; he tried unsuccessfully to convert the rebels, but they sent him back with disdain and promptly sailed off to Peru to join the independents there.²

This same Governor Ganga allowed himself, a short time later, to let his people assassinate the captain of an English whaler who had spoken to him with insolence. This deed caused him first to be exiled to Merizo, then he was removed from office, taken to Manila, and finally replaced by Medinilla.³

It is true that Ganga was selling all the cattle belonging to the Government to the whalers and keeping the profit for himself; however, he also let all the inhabitants free to trade as they wished with the foreigners, something that pleased them very much. Medinilla, upon his return, was obliged to put the old laws once more into effect, and to forbid all kinds of trading. That is why the inhabitants, very unconcerned in reality about the reasons that might have brought disgrace upon Ganga, very sincerely regret his term.

6 May

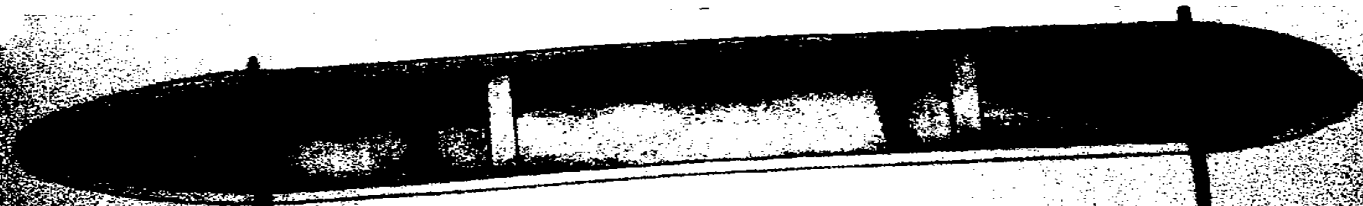
The big boat and the whaleboat were pulled upon the shore and sheltered under two tents. These craft are useless to us on board and they will be more in safety ashore.

At about 4 p.m., we watched three Carolinian canoes going from Agaña to Umata pass us by. In one of them we noticed one European with a white jacket, and I suspected that he was sent by the Governor. Indeed, one hour later, he came aboard with Flores and it happened that said individual was Captain Manuel Tiburcio Garrido who was bringing me, on behalf of the Governor, ten nice pigs, 72 hens or chickens, 70 eggs, two baskets of potatoes, one box of tea, one box of sugar weighing 48 pounds, one basket

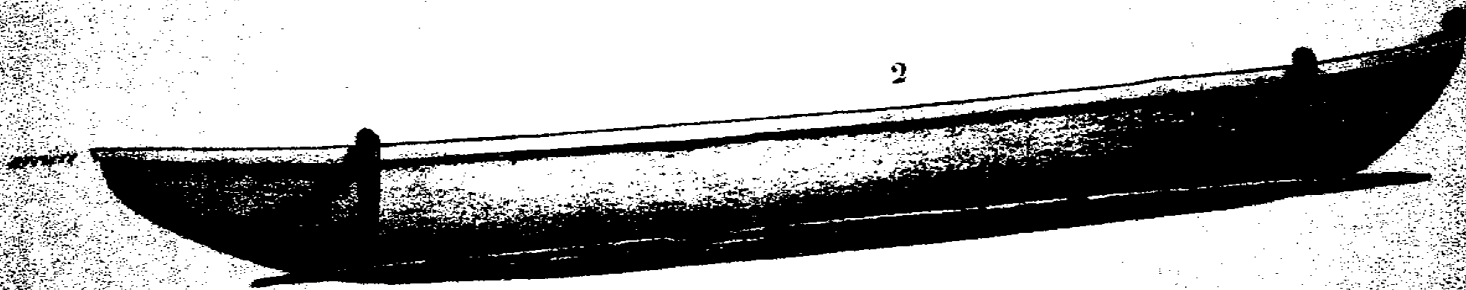
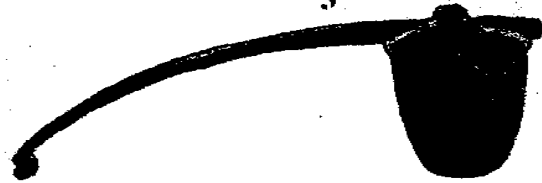
1 Ed. note: It was in March 1825 that this fleet (**Asia**, **Aquiles**, **Constante**, and **Caristo**) under the command of Captain General Guruceta stopped at Guam.

2 Extract from Mr. Quoy's Journal: "Since we had left Guam aboard the **Uranie** (1819), a few events have occurred. Mr. Medinilla received permission to return to Manila. Mr. Ganga replaced him. It was during his term that took place in Umata Harbor, the mutiny of the ship **Asia** and two brigs. This weak expedition that Spain had organized with difficulty to fight the independent corsairs of America was taken from her in a few minutes. There was almost no resistance and therefore few men killed; the General was wounded and broke his hip. He, his officers and about 100 men were sent ashore. After that, the mutineers reached America and joined the independents. Governor Ganga showed resolve by going alone on board the **Asia** to try and bring the crew back to their duty. His remonstrances were unsuccessful."

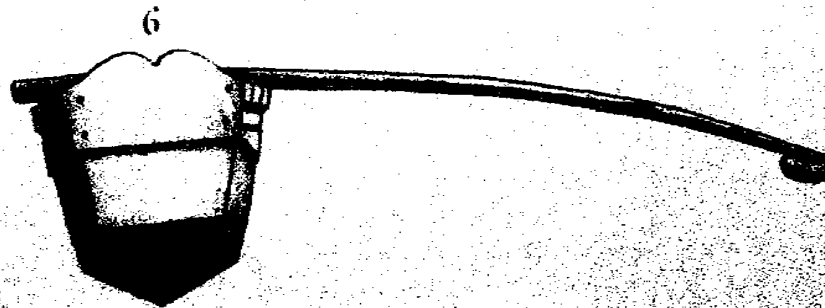
3 Ed. note: Governor Ganga Herrero personally killed Capt. Stavers of the English whaler **Coquette** in 1824.



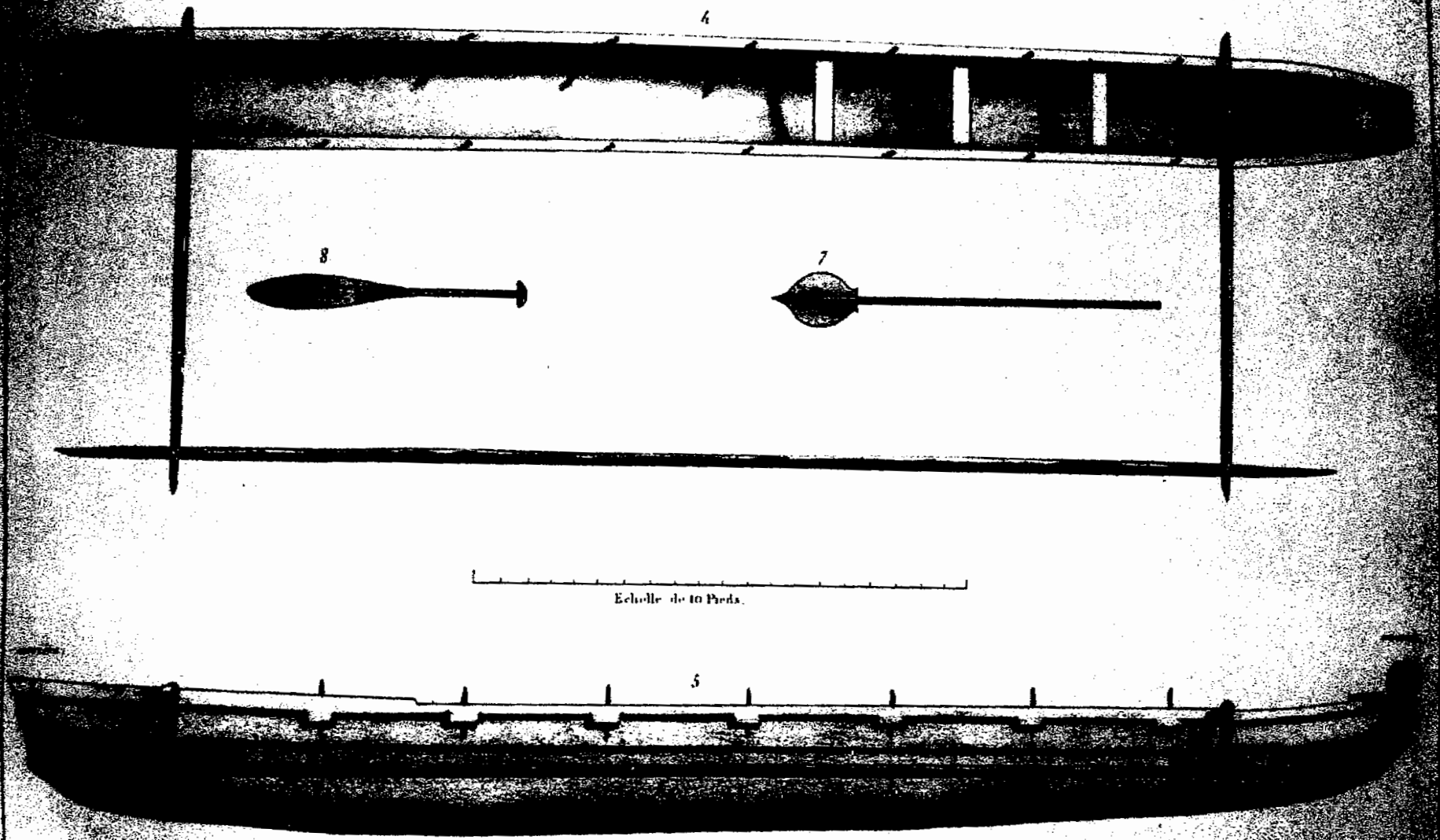
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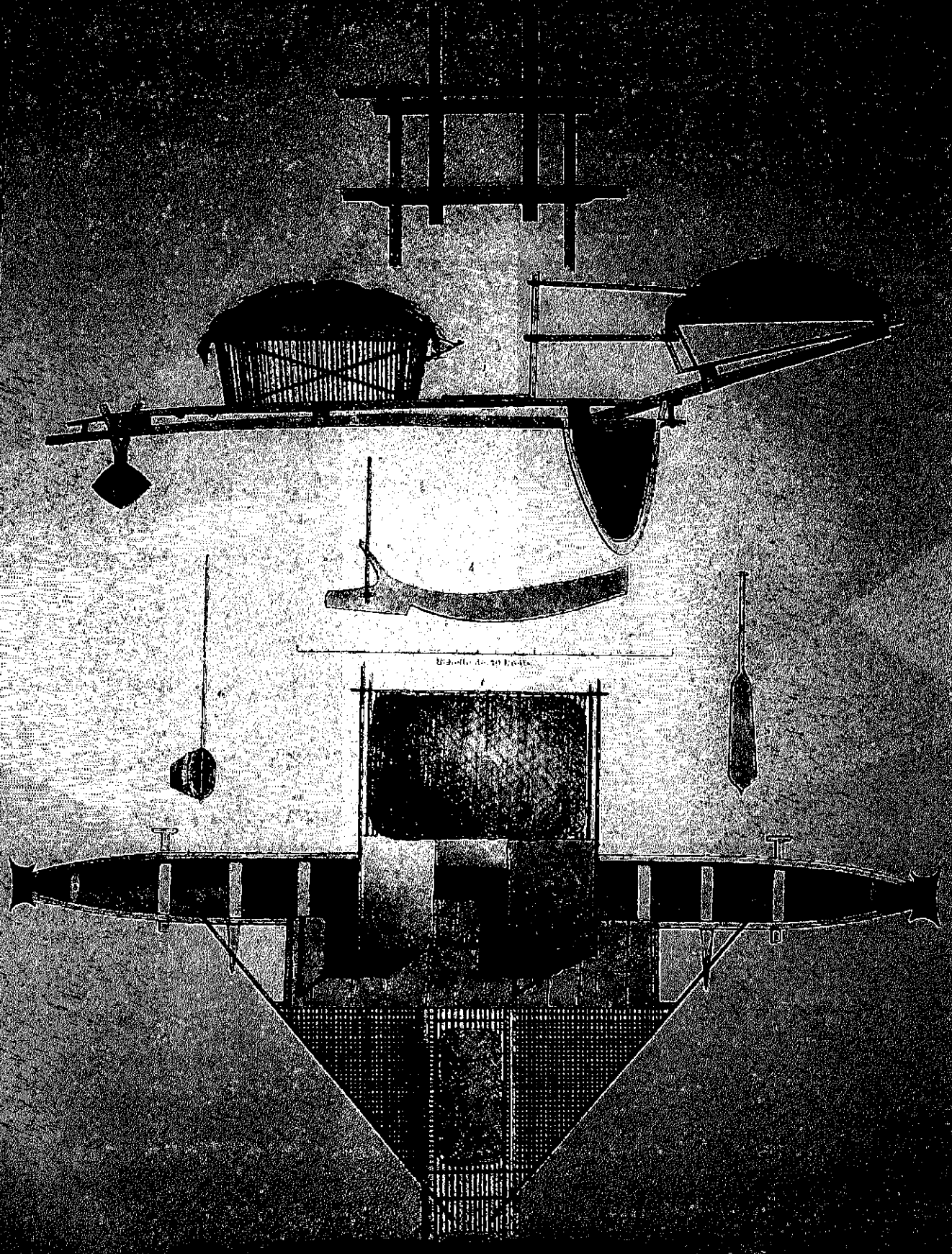


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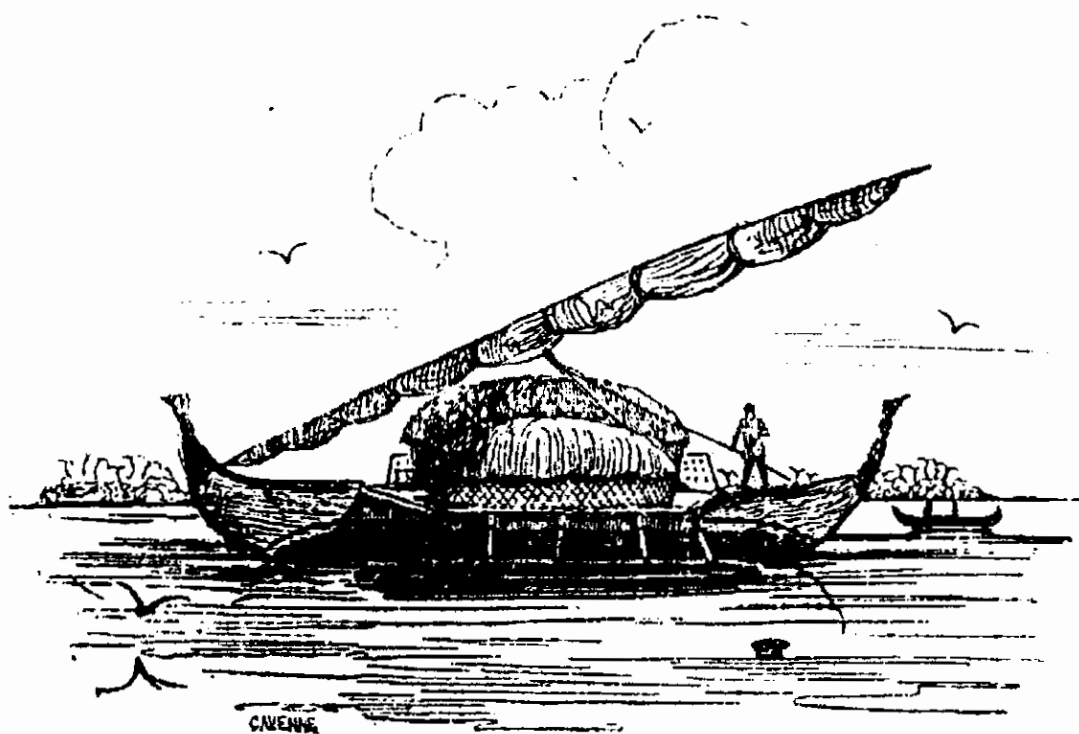
8. Plan et profil

128. Canoe de l'Amata, plan, profil et avant. 4.5. Canoe du Gouvernement, plan et profil.
6. vue par l'avant. 7. Avance. 8. Pagaie.



with 17 bottles of beer, and two flasks of anisette. I was moved with thankfulness for this mark of attention on the part of the good governor and these objects were immediately distributed among the various members of the staff and crew. However, a certain number of pigs were reserved for our departure so that we could have provisions when we would sail once again.

The Carolinian canoes are very useful to the Governor for sending messages a certain distance from Agaña, because the government boats are heavy, rough and very bad sailers. It is rather surprising that, while having under their eyes the charming and fast Carolinian proas, the present inhabitants of the Marianas can build only bad barks such as those.



7 May

At 10 a.m., the three Carolinian canoes undertook to return to Agaña with Don Tiburcio whom I asked to carry a letter of thanks to the Governor. During the afternoon, the mayor started to send us the firewood. It consists almost entirely in small hibiscus logs, a very light wood that burns like matches.

I received the visit of Baptiste who told me that the Governor was very worried about the nature of the sickness that prevailed on board the **Astrolabe**. It appeared that some false rumors had been spread about that; the whale ship that left Umata on the same day we arrived has tried to persuade him that this sickness was a contagious disease of the most horrible kind that could put the whole island in danger. No doubt that in spreading this rumor this crafty whaling captain, pushed by a feeling of ill-will, intended to make us suspect in the eyes of Medinilla and alienate us from his obliging disposition.

You may recall the young Mendiola, one of the four shipwrecked sailors of Laguemba whom I received aboard the **Astrolabe** last year and who, at Amboina, wished to stay with us. After having shared all our setbacks, after having been also attacked by sickness, he finally saw his country again and he fortunately found in good health his parents who had given him up for dead a long time ago. Mendiola promptly recovered, and he had come to visit me with two of his relatives to thank me for my kindness toward him. He was also bringing me a gift of fruits and chickens; I only took a few oranges and told him to keep the rest for himself. Moreover, I was pleased to receive the thankfulness of this young man whose behavior on board had always been very correct. I had his wages paid to him; they amounted to about thirty dollars, and this sum in cash constituted for him a small fortune on this island.

8 May

After my breakfast I went ashore for a while to visit the hospital. At my great surprise, and much to my regret, I did not notice any improvement in the condition of the sick. This sorry result was mainly due to the fact that it is impossible to offer a suitable diet to these men. One of the effects of this sad illness contracted at Vanikoro is to provoke a voracious appetite, whereas a strick diet would be necessary to cure it. Our sic too easily find the means to satisfy their monstrous appetite for fruits of all kinds, roots, eggs, and even meat. They laugh at the restrictions, they dodge all precautions, and by this conduct delay the time of their recovery. The physicians, more or less suffering from the disease themselves, are not able to stop those abuses by applying the required supervision and, it must be said, solicited themselves by their stomachs, they do not always show an example of moderation. Therefore, it is a disadvantage against which there is no remedy; it is best to look up to Providence from now on with respect to our future.

9 May

I received complaints from the mayor as well as from the physicians about the behavior of the sick in the village. Consequently, I have decided that one officer would be on duty every day at the palace in order to watch the goings-on of the men living ashore and to make them return to order as soon as they would deviate from it. Moreover, I announced that I would severely punish whoever would allow himself to use bad proceedings toward the islanders.

[1828Cter]

10 May

Today we received the rest of ten loads of wood that I had asked for; they cost us 24 reals, about 35 francs. However, I do not think that these ten canoe-loads were equal to six cords, as they were so light...

The sailor Quemener returned on board; he is the first man to have come back from the hospital.

11 May

Mr. Quoy forwards a letter he has just received from Mr. Medinilla in which, in spite of many protests of devotion and attention, there obviously transpire serious misgivings with regard to the nature of our sickness and the fear that we might be tempted to come to Agaña to see him. He mentions the regret he had of not having been introduced to him in a letter from Mr. Freycinet and he had been given to understand that Mr. Duperrey had been in command of an expedition whose purpose was to check the observations of the **Uranie**.

Mr. Medinilla was also letting me know that he was sending the police with the Englishman [sic] John Maclean, from the **Astrolabe**, who had left the corvette without leave to go to "Agaña in order to join a whaling ship. Maclean appeared before me with a rather confused state, but after having reprimanded him, I told him that, as soon as the mayor had returned, I would give him his discharge, given that I did not wish to keep any foreigner aboard against his will. It appears that it was this bad individual who had mostly spread the alarming rumors that had so worried the Governor regarding our sick people. Mayor Flores was called to Agaña to provide him with positive information on this subject.

12 May

We had received some showers and gusts of wind from the NE, but we are so strongly anchored that we fear nothing. If we were carried off, I do not really know where we would end up because it happens sometimes that we are only five or six on board, the rest of the crew being busy ashore doing various chores.

13 May

Flores came back from Agaña with the Englishman Anderson who fills the post of Captain of the port of Guam, and appears to enjoy the complete trust of the Governor. He is a man of prepossessing appearance, with decent manners, who speaks French rather well. He served for some time aboard the **Uranie** where he was helmsman and therefore already knew Mr. Quoy and Mr. Gaimard.

As I suspected that the main purpose of his mission was to find out what was the truth with regards to the alleged contagion aboard the **Astrolabe**, I had Mr. Quoy give him the most detailed explanations about it, then I added that in order to remove all worries from the mind of the Governor I renewed the proposal that I had already made

to Flores, that is, to forbid all kinds of contact between the sick and the inhabitants. A quarantine line would be set up around the convent and some Frenchmen and some Spaniards would be ordered to enforce it strictly, and the man who would not respect it would be severely punished.

However, Anderson, who no doubt had already had time to find out for himself that there was nothing contagious in the **Astrolabe** fever, hastened to declare that my proposal was perfectly unnecessary, given that the governor had no more suspicions in this regard and that he himself had been sent to give me this assurance on his behalf. This business was therefore completely over, and we should speak about it no more.

Anderson spent a large part of the evening on board. While conversing with him, I have collected some useful information that might be presented here.

“The Santa Rosa Bank, shown on Spanish charts at 10 to 12 leagues from Guam, and that Mr. Duperrey has kept on his general chart of the Carolines, appears not to exist. Various ships have passed over that position recently without finding anything.”

“Most of the Carolinians who come to Guam belong to Satawal Island. They generally go first to Iulai [Woleai], then to Lamurrek [Lamotrek], and from there they head for Guam. These people are kind, peaceful, incapable of aggression; they do not even have weapons. It is not the same thing with the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands who have become very daring. A few years ago, a whaling ship was attacked in the high sea by those savages.¹ A little more and it would have been cut off but it was saved thanks to the courage of a few sailors who climbed to the top from where they fired upon the natives, but above all to the quick wit of a negro who was the cook of the vessel: with his big ladle, he dipped into the boiling oil of the try-pots and liberally sprayed the face and shoulders of the attackers. The latter, confused by this new type of warfare and vanquished by the pain caused by the boiling oil, gave up the looting they had already started and fled while screaming out of rage and pain.”

“The two English sailors whom we had left, in July 1824, on Pis Island in the Hogo-leu [Chuuk] Group, went off to Guam in April 1825, and they gave news about the **Coquille**.² One of them is still here. I expressed the wish to see this man in order to extract some information from him about the customs of the natives, and Anderson promised that he would send him to me aboard the **Astrolabe**, but he warned me that this Englishman did not have any intelligence.”

“A whaling ship that was here a short time before us had on board two natives of the Matelotas [Ngulu] Islands and two others from the St. David [Mapia] Islands.”

“Any commercial vessel anchoring in Umata Bay must pay 17 pesos in anchorage fee; one third of this sum is for Anderson who receives, besides, a pilotage fee to guide the ship from Umata to Apra Harbor.”

1 Ed. note: The Syren, Captain Coffin.

2 Ed. note: In D'Urville's journal of 1824, he gave their names as Scotts and O'Brien.

“The winds from W and SW are felt in Guam only at the end of July or at the beginning of August. They are not very strong, and some years they do not even appear. The hold is so good in Umata Bay that the whaling ship that was there when we arrived was forced to leave her anchor behind, with 100 fathoms of chain, when she was unable to weigh it. This whaler had lost her captain at Cupang on Timor;¹ many crewmen had died and others had deserted, which had made her very weak... She had left Apra Harbor on the previous night so that we are presently the only foreign ship anchored at Guam.”

“The sailors aboard the whaling ships generally do not have a fixed pay but are on a lay, or profit-sharing basis. The captain, when he has no shares, has twelve percent of the oil taken during the voyage, in addition to his trading trifles and the profit he makes from the supplies he sells to the sailors on board. That is why such men are not much attached to their ship; as soon as they see that the captain does not lead his bark very well or that the hunt is not very lucky, they abandon her and seek their fortune elsewhere. Oftentimes, rather than following their ship, they prefer to stay at the islands they touch at, and to live with the savages, until they join the next ship that comes along to return to their country.”

I gave to Anderson the percussion rifle that belonged to the expedition for him to offer to the Governor on our behalf. It was the only object of some value that we possessed and this weapon was still unknown in Guam. We added the necessary tools and 5,000 caps. I had intended to add a certain quantity of powder and brandy, but Anderson made me change my mind by assuring me that these objects would be of no value to Mr. Medinilla. When he returned from Manila, he had brought with him more than 60,000 pesos' worth of articles of all kinds that he dispenses to the inhabitants of Guam; his business is good, given that he has no competitor in this trade. This monopoly, according to our customs, would not be very honorable on the part of a governor but has nothing shocking in the Marianas. From time immemorial, the governors have given themselves this privilege. Moreover, one must add that the good Medinilla, not having received any salary from overseas for a very long time, does not have any other means of getting out of trouble than by constituting himself the first and only trader in his island.

14 May

Anderson left to go back to Agaúa, bearing a letter that I wrote to the Governor to thank him for his good intentions.

AT 2:30 p.m., I went ashore with Mr. Jacquinot. While strolling behind the convent, in the middle of a thick and green bamboo grove, we made the discovery of a place where the small Umata River forms a very pleasant pool of pure fresh water. I took a bath in it; it did me so much good that I intended to repeat it every day until our departure.

1 Ed. note: The whaler Reynard, Captain Grey, was spoken to by the Amelia Wilson in the Timor Sea in March 1827 (ref. Jones' Ships, p. 84).

I made a visit to the sick and they appeared generally better.

As a result of the observations carried out by Mr. Jacquinet from May 5th to 14th, and by using the average readings of Chronometer N° 83 at Vanikoro and at Umata, the longitude of the latter place would be 142°12' E. [of Paris], and according to N° 38, 141°55' long. E.; however, the pace of this latter watch having varied a lot during the voyage, we will stop paying attention to it until further notice.

This result is 20 minutes less than that measured by Mr. Freycinet and it comes close to that of Malaspina. However, we must mention that this longitude was derived from the hypothesis that Vanikoro was located at 164°31'47" E., that of Guam, resulting from time change according to Chronometer N° 83, would be 132°27'47" E.

Be that as it may, for reasons expressed in the hydrographical part, we have established our observatory at Umata along 142°17'44" long. E. The unique measurement of latitude gave 13°17'43" lat. N. Mr. Freycinet's chart indicates 13°17' 19' lat. N.

16 May

Flores has brought me a letter from the Governor who thanks me in very polite terms for the rifle that I sent him, and renews his offer of help, it declaring that it is his wish that the sick should go wherever they please.

Today is Ascension Day,¹ a holiday much celebrated by the Spanish. Upon this occasion, the good Mayor Flores had thought it his duty to invite me to dinner. I thanked him politely and limited myself to going to take a glass of lemonade at his place in the evening. Messieurs Quoy, Sainson and Dudemaine had shared his banquet that had nothing sumptuous.

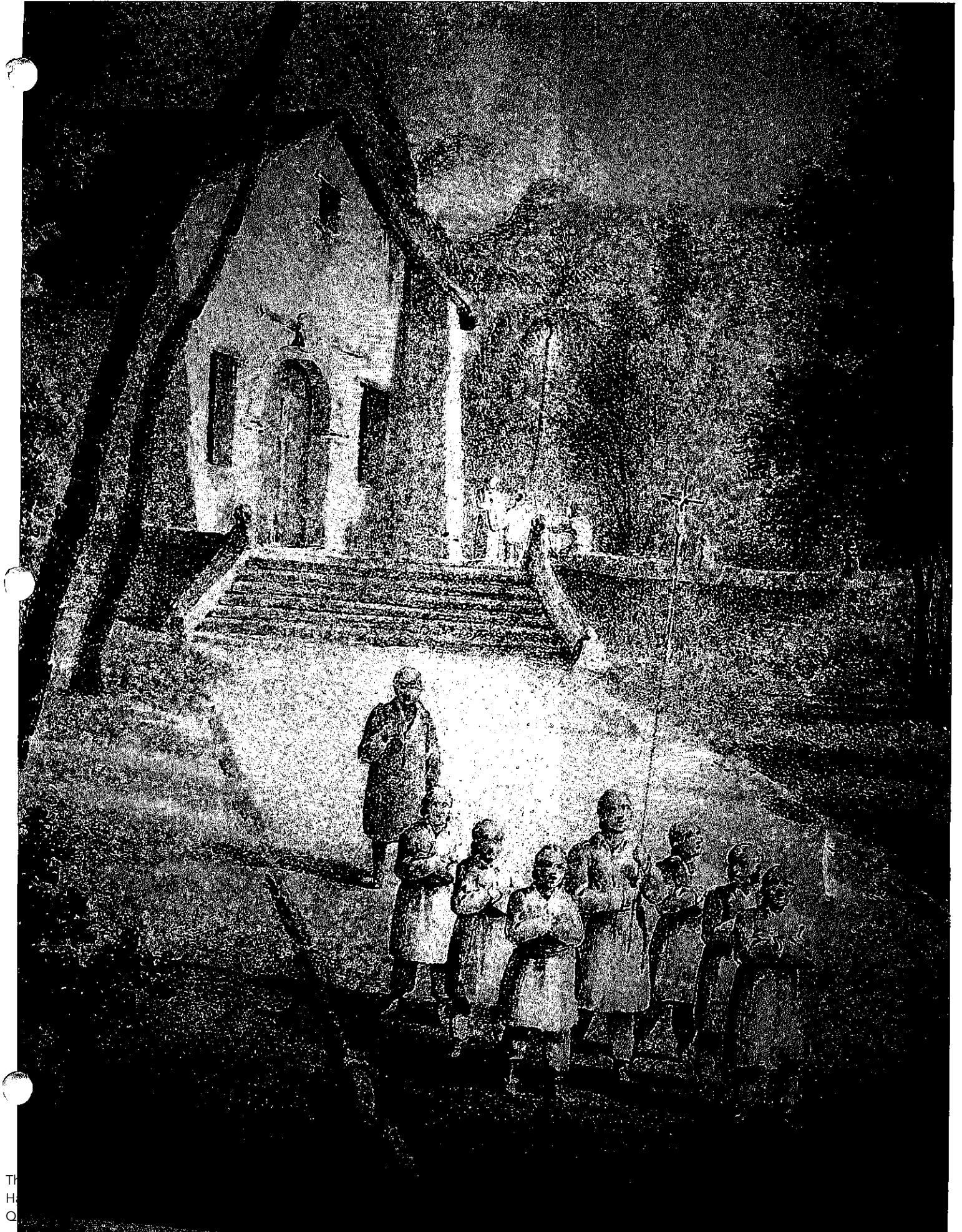
Those who have read the narrative of Captain Freycinet will no doubt find a huge difference between the distinguished welcome, the honors and the triumphs directed at this captain at Guam, and the modest and even obscure existence I led at Umata. However, one must note that Captain Freycinet travelled right away to Agaña where he was at court whereas I had remained in the back country. Moreover, Captain Freycinet was accompanied by a lady for whom the gallant Medinilla thought himself obliged to display all the marks of Castilian courtesy.

18 May

After having taken my usual bath, in the afternoon, I took a stroll along the river. The soil appeared to me to be very fertile, although cultivation was everywhere neglected, as one finds here and there only a few tobacco or taro fields or else banana plantations very little maintained. In the hands of a dynamic, industrious and trading people, it is probable that Guam could become one of the most pleasant spots from a population such as the one occupying this territory today, governed by absurd laws, and subject to the most discouraging of monopolies.²

1 Ed. note: The local date was 15 August, as the Spanish did not take the 180° meridian into account until 1845.

2 Ed. note: D'Urville did not know that a reform was under way.



The Englishman Hamilton is near his end, and his comrage (Williams) is also very weak.

19 May

During the morning, the wind which until then had been constant from the E. passed to NW, the W, and finally SSW. The whole night it blew from that quarter with sudden and violent squalls, continuous rain that fell in torrents, and a strong swell that came into the harbor. If our SE anchor were to fail, the corvette would go and crash against the rocks of Fort Santo Angel, and our worries can be imagined. No doubt, today when our materials as well as the crew are in a safe place, the catastrophe would not have been so disastrous as the one at Vanikoro. It would have been indeed painful if the **Astrolabe**, that had escaped so many perils, would have come to an untimely end upon the reefs of Guam, as the **Uranie** did before on the beach of the Falklands. It would have been what is called foundering in port.

20 May

The bad weather stopped during the morning, and I saw with much satisfaction that the wind was going back to its normal easterly direction.

At 9:30 a.m., I received a note from Mr. Quoy announcing the death of Hamilton, who died at 10 p.m. He became the first victim of the Vaniforo fevers, and I heartily deplored his fate. Hamilton had always had a good behavior on board; at Vanikoro, he had showed me much zeal and good-will. Either as a guide or as an interpreter, this Englishman had rendered real services to the expedition.

I asked Mr. Quoy to arrange with the mayor for all the formalities and ceremonies that it was appropriate to carry out for his burial, and I sent Mr. Dudemaine ashore to attend with a detachment of seamen to Hamilton's funeral procession. The ceremony took place in the afternoon; the mayor claimed four pesos for the expenses and they were reimbursed to him right away.

21 May

When I went to take my usual bath, I learned about Hamilton's death some details that proved to me that this unfortunate man had killed himself. A few days ago, during one of the visits that I had made at the hospital, Hamilton had begged me to loan him one peso so as to be able to buy a few oranges and some coconuts that he longed for, and that would do him some good, he said. When the physician told me that these fruits could do him no harm, I gave him the peso. However, instead of buying fruits, Hamilton had, the day before yesterday, bought a quart of coconut brandy and a whole quarter of deer meat that he succeeded in cooking in secret and keeping out of sight of the physicians. Then, in spite of the fever that racked his body, he ate all that meat and drank all the brandy with his two countrymen, Williams and Charles. We have seen that he has paid with his life for this excess, and Williams could very well

share his demise. Imbert, the steward is in a very desperate condition, and the seamen Maille and Martin are also very low.

Anderson has returned today in order to convince Mr. Quoy to go to Agaña where the Governor wishes to consult him with regards violent pains that torture him and prevent him from being able to undertake the trip. Anderson assures me that these pains have been the only reason that might have prevented Mr. Medinilla from coming himself to Umata to render assistance in person. He added that I would make him really happy to go myself with the corvette, at the time of departure, before Agaña in order to make it possible for him to visit me. Indications are such that I will be unable to accede to his wishes; the crew well then be still in a rather sad condition, and rather than wasting time tacking before Agaña, I would be wise to push on as fast as possible towards the Moluccas. My intention is to sail on the 28th of this month.

22 May

As we experienced much difficulty from now on to obtain, in Umata, the quantity of pigs necessary for our seasonal supply, I sent Mr. Gressien with the big boat to Merizo where we had been told these animals would be more plentiful and least costly than at Umata. Mr. Gressien's quest yielded only five very small ones that cost him fourteen pesos.

23 May

Anderson left this morning for Agaña, and Mr. Quoy went with him. For a few days, I had been feeling better and my strength had increased remarkably, but today I was attacked by rather violent belly aches.

24 May

In spite of my sickness, I went down to take my bath and I stopped for a while to converse with a militia sergeant who much amused me with his Castilian pride and the deep contempt he had for the people of the Marianas.

This man, who said he had been formerly with Lacerna's army in Peru, had left that country after the defeat at Cantarada and had sought refuge in the Marianas where he had married the daughter of the mayor of Tinian, a small woman who is very awake and rather fresh, and whom he had with him at the time. The armed force of the Marianas consists of 160 men, divided into three companies, as follows: one Jajor, who is Don Luís de Torres, well-known on account of the narratives of FKotzebue, Chamisso and Freycinet, three captains, three lieutenants, three second lieutenants, nine sergeants, three corporals, and the rest ordinary soldiers.

The pay of a sergeant is 6 pesos per month, that of a second lieutenant 8, lieutenant 10, and that of a captain 12. However, neither officers nor soldiers ever touch money as their emoluments are paid to them in kind, by means of various things that the Governor charges to their account at prices three to four times those at Manila, out of which he derives immediate and huge profits.

The Mayor of Agat is a lieutenant, Flores is only a "sargento secundo de la tercera;"¹ he aspires to be promoted to officer rank at the next anniversary of the King, just like Anderson who was so promoted recently. It is seen as preferential treatment, and he thinks that my recommendation would be very useful to him in getting such a promotion. In the Marianas, there are only three mayors bearing that full title: those of Agat, Umata and Rota. The mayor of Tinian is only an honorary mayor. The pay of a mayor is 12 pesos per month, same as for the captains; however, the profits made on the side as a result of their positions are much greater, and that is why such assignments are sought after.

My interlocutor took pride at every opportunity to state that, besides the Governor, he was the only true Spaniard on the island and, with comical disdain, called all the others "Chamorros" as if such a word meant some kind of vile animal, some completely degraded being.

It is indeed noteworthy that almost all the inhabitants of the villages have preserved the Chamorro language, even though there is a certain amount of Spanish blood mixed with that of the Chamorro race. As far as I could tell, this language seemed to me to have a rather close affinity with Malay; however, the reader will understand why I did not pay much attention to it, after the significant amount of work done by Freycinet and his companions in this regard.

Four to five men came back aboard the corvette from the hospital.

25 May

I had gone to bed with some discomfort but had nonetheless fallen asleep; however, at half an hour past midnight, I awoke with sharp and steady pains that reminded me of those I had suffered at Carteret [Island]. As they increased more and more, I decided to go down to the palace where I took residence in one of the rooms on the west side. There, I took, every hour, baths that relieved me; the better when they were hot and when I could stay in them longer. I was glad to benefit from the mayor's kind attentions.

The pain was intense until midnight.

26 May

Then they subsided, and from 2 to 4 a.m., I was able to sleep a few moments. During the rest of the day, I felt only more moderate pains but a great fatigue.

During the evening, Flores received the visit of Messieurs Quoy and Anderson who just came from Agaña and gave me a very obliging letter from the Governor. The good Medinilla sent me some fruits, above all a bunch of Luzon [Phil.] bananas which are reputed to be most delicious in this part of the world, and one *salakot*, a kind of hat worn by the fashion-conscious people of Manila when they go horseback riding. He also assures me that he is taking care to prepare provisions for our cruise.

1 Ed. note: That is, a Sergeant 2nd class belonging to the third company.

27 May

The state of my health is still about the same, that is, vague pains and heaviness in the lower part of the belly. This condition would not of itself stop me or worry me, but I fear a relapse. This reason, plus a westerly wind, make me decide to postpone my return on board until tomorrow. However, twelve of the sick who are suffering less than the others have returned on board the **Astrolabe** with their personal effects.

Mr. Quoy has passed on to me, on behalf of the Governor, an outline of the surveys very recently carried out in the Carolines by Captain Lütke of the Russian Navy; also a note about the "discovery" of two groups in the same archipelago, made by Captain James Duncan of the whaler **EWclipse**. One of these groups is obviously Hogoleu [Chuuk], seen by the **Coquille** and **Astrolabe**, and the other is 110 miles NW of it.

Mr. Medinilla has given orders so that as many men as I would request should be made available to help me weigh anchors and set sail, but I hope that I will not need any outside help.

28 May

At 6 a.m., I went on board where, in accordance with my orders, they were already working at weighing anchors. At 10 a.m., the two mooring anchors and their chains were already in their places; however, when we tried to veer on the cable, we noticed that it had been cut near the clinch. We then weighed the hawser anchor and we let go an anchor straight down in order to keep us anchored until we could recover the anchor whose cable had been cut.

The boat made two trips ashore, the first one to take all the sick with their effects back on board, the second to bring in the numerous provisions sent by the Governor and consisting of 9 beautiful pigs, 1 crate with 80 pounds of sugar, one crate of sago biscuits, 10 bags of fresh rice, 1 bag of sago flour, 20 bottles of Madeira wine, 6 dozen eggs, and a quantity of squashes, melons, bananas, pineapples, star apples, purslane, etc. Again, it was Captain Manuel Tiburcio who was in charge of this despatch. I gave him for the Governor two medals struck for the expedition, a silver one and the other in bronze, along with a few objects that could possibly please him, among them the portrait of the famous traveller, Alexander Humbolt, whom he had met at one time and even received as a guest while in America and of whom he spoke with great admiration. I also gave to Don Manuel, to the obliging Anderson and to the good Flores a few pieces of clothing made in Europe which seemed to please them a lot, in spite of their low intrinsic value.

At about 6 p.m., I sent Mr. Guilbert to try and find the anchor at the bottom of the sea but the sea was agitated; he came back without having seen it.

29 May

The sea being very calm, Mr. Guilbert went back early to look for the anchor but he returned again at the end of two hours of fruitless search. At 9 a.m., I myself went with the boatswain. The sea was so calm and the water so clear that I could easily see pieces

of crockery that had been thrown overboard, and even the furrows dug by the chains, but no anchor. The boatswain dragged at that place a long time but found nothing.

Sent once more at about 2:30 p.m., Collinet was luckier. At 4 p.m., the anchor was caught by the grapnel and at 6 it was back at the bow. Immediately, the whale-boat and the big boat were taken on board so that everything was ready to set sail the next day, weather permitting.

Messieurs Anderson and Tiburcio came to say goodbye to me, and I gave them my letter of farewell and final thanks for the generous Medinilla. I gave orders to load a big crate full of shells that he sent to the French Minister of the Interior.

The reader may be interested to know the effect that a 27-day layover of the **Astrolabe** crew, in a country where nothing was wanted from the point of view of a healthy climate, the nature of the food and peace and quiet. Here is the report that the physician gave me this morning.

Those still listed as sick, and therefore not on full ration, are as follows:

John. Cannac. Coche.

Imbert. Aubry. Gossi.

Maille. Castel. Grasse.

Martin. Charles. Rey.

Richard. Croc. Spire.

Williams. Delenze.

The stopover has produced very little effect upon these seventeen persons. The first seven are in a very bad state, and I specially pity the young Cannac, who is an excellent individual.

Moreover, those whose names follow have been returned to full rations, but are exempt from duty:

Viganle. Lauvergne. Bernard.

Moreau. Escale. Denis.

Reynaud. Divoli. Goux.

Jacon. Sper.

Finally, among the officers, Messieurs Gaimard, Bertrand, Lesson, Faraquet, Pâris and Dudemaine are not yet free of the fever. Mr. Quoy himself suffers some attacks from time to time.

In short, the stopover produced only four or five complete recoveries, and one death. I have already explained that such a sad result was due to the excesses perpetrated by the sick with respect to food, and to the impossibility of restricting them to a proper diet. On the other hand, the stay at Guam was very favorable to those whom the fever had bypassed or abandoned; the good air and good quality of the food enhanced the vigor of the former and quickly revived that of the latter.

All things considered, Umata is an excellent port of call for ships that anchor at Guam during this season, and for a few days only. Otherwise, it is better to go straight to Apra Harbor, where all the necessary articles can be obtained from Agaña, because they exist in greater quantity and cost less in that town.

The Madras handkerchiefs with red or blue squares, gun-poser, and blue cloth were the only objects that the inhabitants of Umata accepted in trade. It is true that all the rest was of such poor quality that even savages refused them. However, what could have been purchased for the miserable sum of 5,000 francs that had been assigned for that purpose when the **Astrolabe** was being outfitted?

After the important work that Captain Freycinet did on the Mariana Islands, it would be pretentious of me to want to cover this subject in detail. I will thus limit myself to add a few words about the present condition of this Spanish colony.

The whole Mariana archipelago is controlled by one Governor who must be appointed by the King and changed every five years. The present Governor is Don Jos). Medinilla y Pineda, the same one who was there when the **Uranie** visited in 1819, and who so nobly and greatly welcomed Captain Freycinet and his companions. It appears that at the time the Constitutional Party in Spain won, Medinilla was replaced by Ganga Herrero who allowed the inhabitants to carry on foreign trade and whom they remember for this reason. Ganga was dismissed on account of the murder he committed upon the person of an English whaling captain named Estevan [sic],¹ and maybe for political reasons, when the *Absolutos* of Spain took power. Medinilla came back to his old post in Guam and re-established the monopoly and the restrictions that his predecessor had abrogated.

A general store established in Agaña, on behalf of the Governor, and supplied with all kinds of European goods, satisfies all the needs of the inhabitants but at outrageous prices.

Some time ago the mother country provided for the support of this colony 18,000 pesos [per year] that were mostly absorbed by the Governor's trade. Today, this sum is either not paid or irregularly so, and the Governor's profits would be narrow indeed, or would be limited to payments in kind such as pigs, chickens, and agricultural products, if the whalers that appear rather frequently on the coasts of Guam did not spend a good number of dollars and shillings there, and sooner or later they end up in the Governor's treasury. However, if ever the whalers were to bring to Guam more goods than money, this monopoly will fall, never to rise again, and that is precisely what the Governor is likely to try and prevent by all the means at his disposal. In this regard, his opinions will be supported by the routine character, the limited mind and the stupidity of the islanders who prefer to pay exaggerated prices for articles of mediocre quality taken from the Governor's store than those offered by strangers for less money and higher quality. Perhaps these unfortunate beings know that they would be subject to harassment on the part of the authority, if he came to learn that they had obtained their supplies elsewhere than in his store.

The Governor maintains a semblance of a militia of 100 to 150 ill-clothed men whom he pays with cloth from his store and who would be incapable of offering the least resistance to the smallest regular force. No doubt a single frigate could easily take possession of the whole Mariana archipelago.

1 Ed. note: Capt. Stavers of the **Coquette**, as I have said earlier.

The main products of the island are pigs, chickens, rice, tobacco, arrowroot, bananas, potatoes, sago and a few other fruits. The excessive idleness of the inhabitants, added to the form of government, militates against any agricultural development; however, in the hands of an industrious people, the excellent soil of Guam would make all kinds of culture grow, such as sugar, coffee, cotton, and maybe clove and nutmeg.



It is a painful sight for the traveller to behold such a fine country in the hands of an apathetic people. As a proof of this excessive laziness, I will only say that in Guam land has a positive value only if there are coconut trees on it, with each trunk estimated at one peso each. All the other pieces of land are available to the first person who wants to cultivate them; suffice to put in a request to the Governor who grants it, without any side price or even any yearly tax. The taxes imposed upon the town inhabitants are fixed by regulations but those on the villagers are at the will of the Governor and mayors, that is, discretionary in nature.

There is a total of 4,000 inhabitants in the whole Island of Guam, of which 1,000 live in Agaña. The population is not one-tenth of what it could be, if the land were cultivated properly and if these islanders were under a more liberal and enlightened government. Leprosy, ulcers and goiters create terrible havoc on individuals of both sexes.

Chapter 36—Crossing from Guam to Amboina and stay at that colony.

30 May 1828

At 4:30 a.m., quarters took place; at 5:30, the anchor was weighed and, pushed by a variable breeze from ESE and SSE with some showers, we soon lost sight of the coast of Guam through the fog.

From now on, my intention was to get to the Moluccas to reach the anchorage of Amboina; however, I wished to make my crossing through the Western Carolines as useful as possible to nautical science. Therefore, I planned to survey the large Egoi [Uli-thi] Group shown approximately on the first sketch map of the Carolines by Mr. Freycinet, then the big island of Yap, the Matelotas [Ngulu] Group and the Palau Archipelago. With a crew as weak as that of the **Astrolabe**, it was impossible to conceive any stopover at those islands but we could at least fix new positions relative to the longitude of Umata and such results were worth the effort.

31 May

I therefore headed SW until the next day, when, during the morning, the heading was changed to SW1/2W, and in the evening, SW1/2S. We maintained a speed of about 6 knots.

1 June

At 4:50 p.m., the lookout indicated a low island to the south. I headed in that direction and, at 6:20 we found ourselves directly north of the body of this island, 10 miles from it. Covered with wood, it appeared to me to be hardly one mile in extent and 60 to 120 meters in elevation: the sea was beating violently on its eastern point. We gave to this islet the name of Astrolabe Island; however, it could have been **Fais** Island that appears at about the same latitude on most charts, but over 3 degrees further east than the position where we found it.¹

Fearing to run afoul of other islands during the night, we remained on short tacks under short sails.

2 June

At daybreak, we saw the island once more in the SE at the same distance, and we ran southward in order to come alternately abreast of its north and south points. At a distance of 7-1/2 miles, it appeared to Mr. Guilbert who inspected it from the topgallant yards to be surrounded by breakers. At 7, we headed again to SW, and as 12:30 W along the latitude of Egoi.

At 3:10 p.m., the lookout signalled a new low island to the NW, and we headed for it. At 4, it could be seen from the deck and we soon could recognize that it was part of

1 Captain Lxtke's expedition has shown that it was indeed Fais Island. We have since given it back its true name in our Atlas.

a rather large group of low islands sharing a common reef. We skirted the SE part of this group at 2 miles from it. Before nightfall, Mr. Guilbert, whom I had entrusted with all the work about the Carolines, had counted up to 13 islets in this group, all of them wooded, covered with coconut trees, and the larger ones not being more than 1 to 2 miles in circumference.

I was about to head offshore when, at 6:20 p.m., we sighted a canoe bearing down upon us. As I wished to have contact with the natives and to get from them at least the names of the islands in sight, I hove to and waited for them. They came alongside the corvette only at 7 p.m. and, although it was then completely dark, four of those natives came immediately on board. On account of their gaiety, their trust and their friendliness, they reminded us exactly of the inhabitants of Hogoleu, during the voyage of the **Coquille**. They named many times for us, and quite willingly, all the islands that made up their small archipelago, numbering about 18 or 20; however, as it was dark, we were unable to benefit from this information. Thus, on the chart drawn by Mr. Guilbert, I have limited myself to assigning numbers to these islets. However, as the name of Elivi¹ was repeated by the islanders more often than any other name, I have temporarily assigned this name to the whole group.

When we pronounced the name of Yap, they immediately pointed west. They also knew about Satawal, Fais, Mogmog, Lamurek, Iuli, etc. However, the name of Egoi was entirely unknown to them.² When we pronounced this name while pointing to their islands, their gesture indicated no, and they said: Elivi. The word *tamuel* for "chief" is also part of their speech, and *mamai* seemed to mean "good, correct."³

These good savages would have willingly communicated to me much more information, because they were very communicative, even talkative, but we did not understand their speech and, as we were in darkness, their gestures were lost on us. At the end of one hour, I pointed out to them that we were getting away from their islands. They left us with obvious regret, and they promised many times to come back the next day on board and to bring us beautiful fishes.

We spent the night running short tacks under the islands in a very calm and smooth sea.

3 June

In spite of this precaution, when daylight returned, I had the regret to notice that the current had taken us some 7 miles westward. I tacked close to the wind as much as N1/2E, but we were already 10 miles in the lee of the westernmost islands. Therefore, so as not to delay my voyage, Mr. Guilbert having finished his work at 7 a.m., I headed

1 This group is certainly identical to the Uluthii Group of Captain Lütke; it extends further north than what we were able to see ourselves.

2 Ed. note: The name Egoi probably came from the name of their Spanish discoverer, Captain Egui (see his story under 1711 and 1712).

3 Ed. note: Such words are better written *tamwol* and *mwamwai* nowadays.

WSW to close the gap with **Yap**. At 6 p.m., the lookout saw it straight ahead and, a short while later, we saw it from the deck in the shape of three low hills.

I estimated my distance to be from 18 to 20 miles, and, as I could count on drifting from 20 to 24 miles in 24 hours, as of 6:30, I had the lower sails furled and remained with topsails only on short tacks. The breeze became fresh and we received a few rain showers.

4 June

At about 2 a.m., the weather changed completely; some strong gusts occurred, with abundant rain. As I was anxious to survey Yap, I decided to wait until the storm was over in order to get closer to the land. However, at 8 a.m., having sighted it during a short break in the weather, I headed toward it until 10 when the bad weather forced me to hove to. Finally, at about 11, we continued our route and, from 2 to 4 p.m., we were skirting the southern part as close as the reef would allow, because on that side it extends as far as two miles offshore but further north it is not more than one mile off.

When I had rounded the south point, I suddenly tacked with the wind close to starboard in order to survey the western coast and, at 4 o'clock, hove to for a second station, the first one having taken place at 2 o'clock. Four canoes that had been coming toward us for some time took this opportunity to join us. Three of them were manned with only three to four men each, but the fourth, much larger in size, had nine men. All these savages climbed aboard without any hesitation and seemed to me not at all surprised to see us. These men had an open and happy countenance, and most of the mannerism of the other Carolinians. Judging from the rags that some of them wore, they had had frequent contact with Europeans. Indeed, one of them who spoke a little Spanish told me the names of six to eight ships that had appeared near his island, and he indicated to me the location of an anchorage in a cove on the eastern coast. This man told me that he had gone to Guam in one of their proas. He knew nothing about the Elivi Islands situated to ESE and that are, he said, four in number. He correctly indicated to me the respective directions of the Palau and Matelotas Islands but he told me that the latter are called "Gulu" [Ngulu] in his language, and that his own island is called "Guap". I would think that the sound "go" is but a prefix or article meaning "it is" or the "the" of the New Zealanders and the "O" of the Tahitians. Thus, the real names of these islands would be "Ulu" and "Uap", all the more because the savages of Elivi obviously pronounced it "Yap". However, until more information can be obtained, we will adopt the names of Guap and Gulu.

These natives are rather well made, hardly tattooed. Their complexion is very light and many of them wear conical hats like those of the Chinese. Their canoes are exactly the same as those of the Carolinians except that the two extremities are curved upwards much higher, much like the gondolas of Constantinople. They had brought nothing to sell, no fruits, no provisions, not even one article of their making.

However, their island offers a most pleasant and fertile look, specially in the south part which is low and almost entirely covered with fine coconut trees. From place to

place along the shore, very large houses of the Ualan type with huge roofs, could be seen. The northern part has more elevation, although the highest mountains do not appear to be more than 120 to 160 meters above sea level.

Guap is moreover much smaller than it appears on the Arrowsmith and Freycinet charts, because it is no more than 10 miles from north to south, and 5-6 from east to west. It is very probable, as this has happened often for other estimates of island size, that Spanish miles have been mistaken for leagues.

How I wished I could have been able to anchor at Guap and study for a few days the customs of its inhabitants and products of the land!... However, the **Astrolabe** was nothing but a hospital ship. A general depression had overtaken those on board. I therefore had to be satisfied with the quick look we gave to this piece of land, and then continue on our course to S1/2SE heading for the Gulu Islands. AT the moment we set out, all the natives on board quickly jumped into their canoes and hastened to go back to their beaches. It was as if they had feared to be taken away as slaves. It is possible that such tricks have occurred to them more than once.

[Ngulu atoll]

5 June

At 10:15 a.m., the lookout had not spotted anything yet when, from the main yard, I sighted a small low island in the WNW, and soon afterwards another one much closer, 10 to 12 miles away. I immediately headed in that direction and by noon we were precisely on the latitude of the northernmost islet, some 6 miles east of it.

As the weather was very stormy, I decided to round this group on the north side in order to survey the lee side, the more so because by looking at the Arrowsmith chart it seemed to me that it was the least known. Soon we were but one mile from the reef that encircles these islets and we followed it at that distance for about 25 miles.

The two northern islets are but sand and coral platforms, covered with trees, each of them about half a mile in circumference. We passed less than one league from them and did not notice any sign of life.

While we were following the reef, we experienced violent gusts, so loaded with rain, that we completely lost sight of the breakers, in spite of their proximity, and the ship was making as many as 9 knots under only the topsails reefed for the chase. Being completely unaware of our true direction, such showers caused us grave concern; I shivered to think that an unforeseen shock would suddenly stop this astonishing speed.

Finally, at 6:15 p.m., we had reached the westernmost part of the breakers and we fixed the position of the four southern islets. There, I put a stop to our work on the Gulu Group and headed again to SW to close the gap with the Pelew Islands.

During the whole of our difficult voyage, I do not think I met a group more dangerous for navigation than that of the Gulu Islands. Indeed, it presents a huge reef that is pockmarked with only five or six islets that are so small, so low and so far apart that, by foggy or rainy weather, one could find oneself upon the shoals without having seen any land. In the whole length of the breakers that we have followed, we only noticed a

couple of breaks, but we have assumed that it would be easy to go through these two passes into the lagoon and, based on the calm waters inside, we have estimated that a reef also marks the boundary on the windward side.

During the following two days, the weather was very bad. The wind blew violently from ESE with almost continuous gust and showers. This bothered me deeply, on account of the work I hoped to carry out on the Pelew Islands, and I was getting closer to them with a sort of anxiety.

[Palau]

7 June

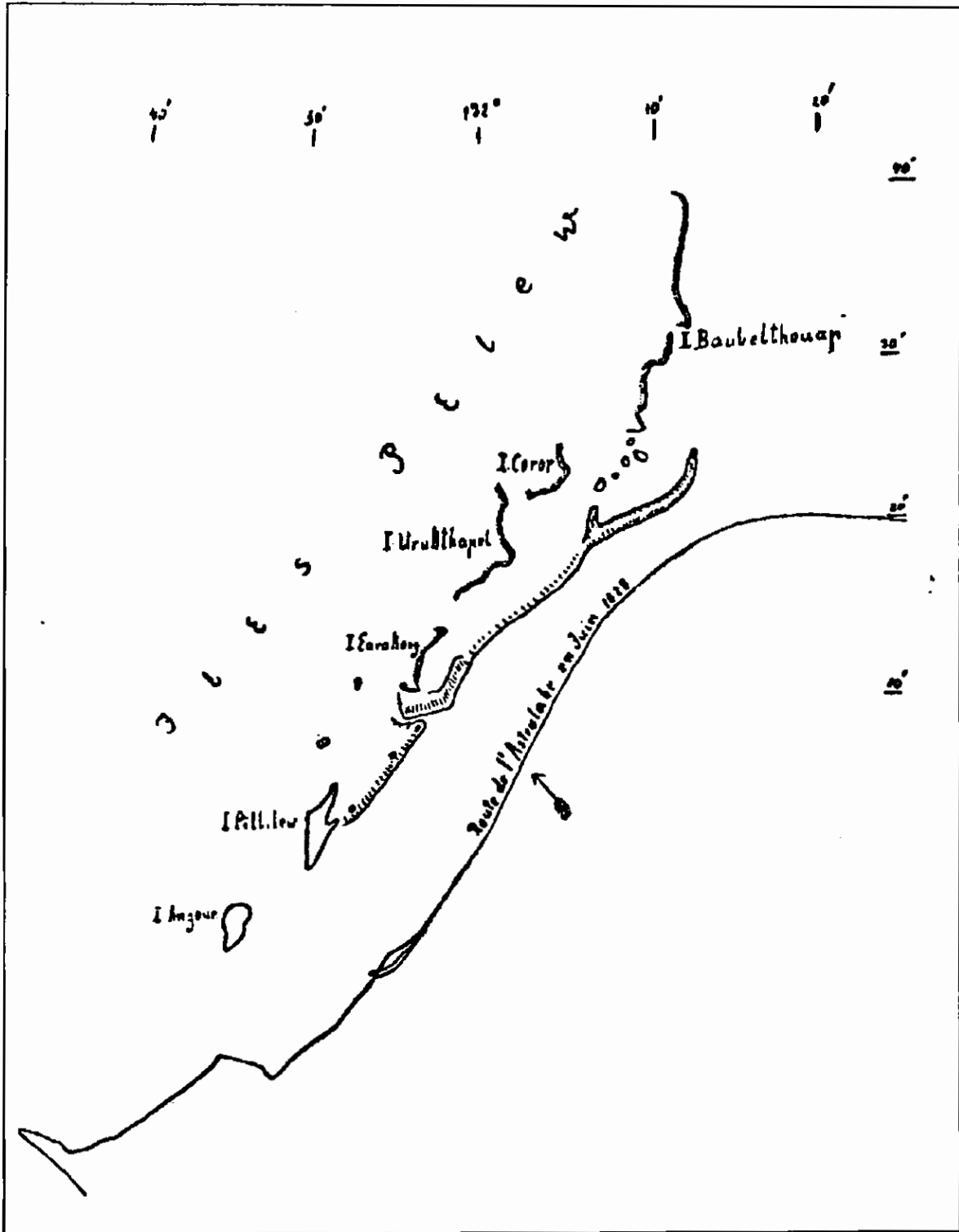
However, on the 7th, at 6 a.m., I estimated my position at about 20 leagues ESE of Angaur Island and I was heading NW in order to see this island at least. Let the reader judge how surprised I became when, at 10 o'clock, the lookout signalled land in the WNW; I saw it at the same time from the deck. This land appeared to be a high and big island that was no more than 7 to 8 leagues away. This description could fit only the northern islands, and I then realized that a very strong current had carried us a long distance NW, during the 48 hours when we could not take our bearings. It can easily be judged to what dangers we would have been exposed had we dated to get nearer the islands during the night. Anyhow, I headed west to get near the land. At 1:30 p.m., the easternmost lands of Baubelthup were four miles directly north of us, and those of Koror were about six miles WNW; we were no more than 2-1/2 miles from the breakers. As the sky was overcast and rain showers were almost continuous, I did not think proper to get any closer to this formidable barrier. We continued to skirt the line of breakers at 3 to 4 miles from it. During the short breaks in the weather, Mr. Guilbert was hurrying his sightings upon the islands, and he thus succeeded in making a chart of them, incomplete it is true, but one that came closer than one would have thought possible to that left by Macluer. However, the size that Macluer ascribe to Pielw and Angaur are slightly bigger than on our chart. Besides, he shows five islands of equal size on the outer reef between Earakong and Pililew whereas we only saw three small islets there.¹

The breeze, very fresh during the day, softened up in the evening, and left us almost becalmed seven miles SE of Pililew. It even changed to SE and ESE, which forced me to maneuver constantly all night so as to keep upwind for fear of being pushed on the reefs by the currents.

8 June

Daylight came to calm my worries, by revealing to me that during the night I had succeeded in maintaining myself almost at the same point where we were the night before. At 7:37 a.m., finding ourselves at precisely six miles south of the southern point

1 Ed. note: That is, on the fringing eastern reef. They are labeled H3, H4 and H5 in Bryan's Place Names.



Map of the east coast of Palau, by Lieut. Guilbert, 1828. (From Plate 36 of the Hydrographical Atlas of the Voyage).

of Angaur, we took the sun, thus linking the position of the Pelew Islands with that of Umata.

The observations of the day proved that the currents had carried us 42 miles NW during the last three days; it is probable that the greater part of this drift occurred during the first two days because the proximity of land must have neutralized it somewhat during the past 24 hours.

Having completed our work on the Pelew Islands, I could not think of anything else but to stand in for the Molucca Strait between Gilolo and Celebes as soon as possible, while taking note of Sonsorol, Pulo Ana, Pulo Mariere, Nevil and Morty Islands along the way.¹ With the easterlies and currents from the same quarter, I thought that the cruise would be easy but I was very much disappointed. It seemed as if the Pelew Islands marked the boundary where these fresh breezes from the E and ESE that had pushed me since Umata would come to die. After leaving these islands, we experienced only calms or foolish breezes from the NW to SW with currents from E and SE that impeded us for whole days, and they were all the more difficult as this kind of weather was accompanied by sweltering heat.

However, the number of sick on board was decreasing and their condition was seemingly becoming better except for two or three of them whose condition was still alarming.

9 June

As of the 9th, we only had 18 men on the sick list.

12 June

On the 12th, the sea was covered with sargasso (*sargassum granuliferum*) and the observations proved that we had experienced a 48-mile drift from the current in 24 hours in a SSE direction!... During the three days that followed, there were 20 to 26 miles of drift S and SSW. At my great regret, these mishaps were forcing me once again to fall back upon the coasts of New Guinea.

14 June

The sea was covered with sargasso, pieces of wood and weeds, fruits, and many *hydroids* could be seen.

16 June

From the 15th to the 16th, the current pushed us back 30 miles ESE, which did not give us any headway. Fortunately, the good weather and the calm sea made sailing an easy chore. The crew was delighted to have fresh food every day, thanks to the liberality of Don José de Medinilla.

1 Ed. note: Neville's Island is Tobi. Morty may be a misprint for Morotai.

17 June

At daybreak, in spite of a distance of 50 to 60 miles, we already could see covering the whole horizon to the south the high mountain chain that stretches from Dorei as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

18 June

The **Astrolabe** was once again precisely under the Line, the heat was stifling, and inside our cabins the thermometer stayed at 31° and 32° day and night. The sea water temperature was the same.

...

Document 1828C2

The first d'Urville expedition—Summary of the period of discovery, up to 1831

Source: Dumont d'Urville, Capitaine de vaisseau. Voyage pittoresque autour du monde. Résumé général des voyages de découvertes... (Paris, Tenré, 1834).

**Voyage around the World.
General summary of the voyages of discovery**

by Magellan, Tasman, Dampier, Anson, Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Bougainville, Cook, La Pérouse, G. Bligh, Vancouver, D'Entrecasteaux, Wilson, Baudin, Flinders, Krusenstern, Porter, Kotzebue, Freycinet, Bellinghausen, Basil Hall, Duperrey, Paulding, Beechey, Dumont D'Urville, Lxke, Dillon, Laplace, B. Morrell, etc.

**Published under the supervision of
Mr. Dumont d'Urville, Navy Captain.**

Accompanied with charts and numerous engravings made after sketches by Mr. De Sainson, draughtsman with the Voyage of the Astrolabe.

**Paris, L. Tenré
1834**

Editor's preliminary notes.

As the title of the 1834 edition of this work, above, explains, this voyage is fictitious and is meant merely as a summary of previous voyages of discovery. Therefore, only the introduction by d'Urville and the useful historical notes throughout the text have been translated here.

The original book was re-edited by Furne and Co. in 1853, after d'Urville's death, but the fictional character of this voyage was not made clear, and may have misled some historians into thinking that it was real. In fact, d'Urville had led a second expedition to Micronesia (see Doc. 1839F); it should not be confused with the present fictional voyage either.

INTRODUCTION

To go around the whole world that we inhabit, to visit various countries, to come in contact with the various races of men who inhabit occupy it, and to contemplate successively the varied sceneries that nature, in its three kingdoms, has reserved for the observer, who among us, at least once in his life, has not been moved by this idea and has not wished he had a ship under his command, to procure himself such enjoyments? It is due to their visits to the countless islands of a limitless ocean that the names of Cook and Bougainville have become so famous. But the discoveries of other navigators are generally forgotten. However, the works of Vancouver, D'Entrecasteaux, Baudin, Flinders, etc. had results just as worthy and interesting. Lately, they have had many imitators; without mentioning Hall, King, Beechey among the English, Krusenstern, Kotzebue and Lüke among the Russians, France has a few years ago, paid a glorious tribute to science by carrying out the scientific expeditions of the *Uranie*, the *Coquille*, and the *Astrolabe*, and publishing them. Nevertheless, these big and perilous endeavours remain little known; they do not get all the publicity they deserve, one must say, on account of the de-luxe editions themselves, a luxury out of reach of the public and often a delay in the publication date itself.

It is to obviate this disadvantage and to make as popular as possible the knowledge of the great expeditions of discovery undertaken until now that we publish this inexpensive "Voyage around the world." Our traveller, a sort of circumnavigating Anacharsis, a fictitious personality, a rather independent one, features in our book only to allow us to use the first person and thus make our narrative more lively and realistic.

Before we launch ourselves upon the high seas with our traveller, we thought that the reader would appreciate getting a few notions about the famous navigators who have in turn ployghed the Pacific Ocean, main theater of our descriptions, and whose successive works have involved our knowledge. A rapid overview, stating the period and the results of their navigations, will at least have the merit of familiarizing the reader with the names that he will see appearing often in our narrative.

Thanks to the efforts of the Spanish navigators toward the West, America was known for the most part and in the Orient the Portuguese had penetrated as far as the islands of the Indian archipelago and on the coasts of China. However, a spread of over 100° in longitude, i.e. almost half of the surface of the globe, was still unknown. How was this huge space occupied? Ultimately, did the waters of a limitless ocean occupy alone this vast portion of our planet? Was a third continent located there? Or else, were Asia and America, that tended toward each other in the north, perhaps joined in the south to form a point similar to that of Africa?

The intrepid **Magellan** in 1520 was the first who dared to venture upon the waters of the Pacific Ocean, after having crossed the strait that bears his name. Along the way he met with only three or four small islands, but when nearing the coasts of Asia, he discovered the archipelagos of the Mariana and Philippine Islands. His expedition established, at that time, that no continent could exist north of the equator in that expanse of the globe.

In 1525, García de **Loaysa**, Sebastián **del Cano** and Alfonso de **Salazar** crossed this ocean without making any noteworthy discoveries. The following year, Alvaro de **Saavedra** went from Mexico to the Moluccas; it is generally thought that it was when he came back from Tidore to Mexico that he first sighted New Guinea.

About an expedition undertaken seven years later in the same ocean, there has been kept hardly more than the names of Captains **Hurtado** and **Grijalva**. Above all, it is regrettable that no authentic document has recorded the numerous discoveries made by Juan **Gaetano**, in 1542, and the continuous survey of New Guinea that he must have made.

It is to **Mendaña** that we owe, in 1587 [rather 1568], the knowledge of the famous Islands that he explored carefully and whose position, though, remained for so long after him an enigma for geographers. Alvaro de Mendaña, in a second voyage in 1595, could not find his Solomon Islands again, but he discovered the Marquesas or Nuka Hiva Islands, a few other small islands, and finally the beautiful Island of Santa Cruz, where he made useless efforts to found a new colony. His observations assigned still narrower limits to the [possible] existence of an austral continent.

In 1600, **de Cordes** and **Van Noort** crossed the South Sea and made no discoveries. However, in 1608 [sic], Fernando **Quirós**, pilot of Paz de **Torres**, carried out important discoveries south of the equator. To this voyage, we owe specially the first knowledge of Tahiti and the Espiritu Santo Islands, the Cyclades of Bougainville. It seems certain also that Quirós' vessel carried out its return voyage through the Indian archipelago by way of the strait that separates New Guinea from New Holland [Australia], and that took its name from that navigator.¹

The voyage of **Speilbergen**, in 1615 and 1616, did not produce anything for geography, but it was not so in the case of the voyage undertaken by **Schouten** and **Lemaire** at the same time, as they brought out the knowledge of many new islands. They had also skirted almost the entire northern coast of New Guinea and traced its outline approximately.

From 1619 to 1629, various navigators, **Hertog**, **Edels**, **Nuitz**, **Witt**, **Carpenter** and **Pelsart**, all Dutch, explored successively various points of the great land that had received the name of New Holland.

Tasman, navigator in a distinguished class for his century, in 1642 and 1643, discovered New Zealand, many of the Tonga and Viti [Fiji] Islands, and skirted part of the northern coast of New Guinea; this voyage was particularly useful in fixing a limit on the extent of New Holland in the east. In a second voyage, Tasman must have made important discoveries on the southern coast of New Guinea, but they have remained buried in the archives of the Dutch Company.

1 Ed. note: The year was 1606; it was Torres, of course, who separated from Quirós and went through Torres Strait. As for Quirós, he returned to America by way of the North Pacific.

In 1683, **Cowley** made his name known with regard to Oceanian geography, by accurately surveying the Galapagos Islands, little known until then.¹ The Spanish, in 1696, gained the first knowledge about the Palaos, or Pelew, Islands through the inhabitants of this group, thrown by a storm upon the coast of Samar, one of the Philippines.

Dampier, the most assiduous, the most judicious of the navigators of that era, after having visited the Pacific Ocean for a long time as a simple adventurer, was dispatched in 1699 with a mission from his government to make discoveries there. In that expedition, he recorded many new islands north of New Guinea and New Britain, and was first to cross the strait between these two islands. His narratives offer a precious collection of interesting observations. Eight years later, upon the same seas, he served as pilot to Captain **Rogers**.

In 1710, **Padilla** began the exploration of the Pelew Islands but he could not finish it.

La Barbinais crossed the Pacific Ocean in 1716 and did not make any discovery.² More fortunate was the Dutchman **Roggevein** in 1722; he discovered many islands, a few of which are still to be re-discovered [in 1830].

Admiral **Anson**, in 1741, also crossed this ocean without meeting with any new land, but the narrative of his voyage, written with care, provided useful information about the different places that he visited.

Up to this time, greed alone had inspired those great and adventurous expeditions. From now on, more generous feelings were to preside over the organization of those we will mention; the love of glory, the desire to complete the knowledge of the globe by methodical explorations, were about to enlarge the field of science.

The instructions given to **Byron** had already been conceived in that spirit. He sailed in the South Sea in 1764 and 1765, but his voyage was not very fruitful and added only a few small islands to geography. **Wallis** followed him immediately. His discoveries were more numerous, and he had the honor to give us the first positive information about the pleasant Tahiti, whose name has become so familiar to all the lovers of voyages. In the same year of 1767, his companion **Carteret**, with the most restricted resources, carried out noble works on his own and increased considerably the list of the known islands in Oceania.

Imitating the example of England, France sent **Bougainville** to those seas. His voyage was fruitful in important discoveries; he was first to record many islands of the Dangerous archipelago, today called Pomotu [Tuamotu], the Navigator [Samoa] Islands, the Louisiade and the Anachoreta Islands. He re-discovered the lands of Santo Espiritu and the Solomon Islands, almost lost to geography since Mendaña. A lively narrative, full of interest, gave much celebrity to this voyage.

1 Ed. note: The captain of that ship was Eaton; Cowley was the chronicler.

2 Ed. note: The French themselves have remained more or less ignorant of the many other voyages carried out by their own countrymen during this period (see Vol. 17 in this series, for details).

Finally, **Cook** arrived and in three consecutive voyages between 1769 and 1779, had the glory to complete, almost by himself, the general knowledge of Oceania.¹ An accuracy as great as the methods used in his time could give presided over his work constantly. Thus, all his discoveries have been authenticated and only a few minor details have been rectified by those who followed his steps. The discovery of New CAledonia, the New Hebrides [Vanuatu], the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands, and his beautiful explorations of New Zealand, of the eastern coast of New Holland, the islands of Tahiti, Tonga, Nuka Hiva, the straits of Torres, Cook and Behring, are all impressive titles that Cook has offered to the eternal admiration of navigators and geographers alike. However, while rendering justice to this great man, one must not forget the good works of Banks, Solander, Anderson, and above all the two Forsters; one might even say that the observations of all kinds made by these knowledgeable naturalists have been the principal merit and assured the brilliant success of the beautiful publications that made known the voyages of Captain Cook.

While Cook was carrying out his great operations, **Surville**, in 1769, re-discovered the Solomon Islands, and discovered Ududu Bay on the NE part of New Zealand. **Marion**, in 1771, examined a large extent of the New Zealand coast and met his death at the Bay of Islalnds where his companions collected precious information about the natives and the products of this austral land. The Spaniard **Boenechea**, in 1772 and 1773, visited Tahiti and recorded a few new islands in the vicinity. Finally, **Perez** discovered in 1774 the entrance to Nootka.²

Maurelle was no doubt a navigator with little learning and very incorrect in his determinations, but his name must be preserved for his discovery, in 1781, of many islands in Oceania, and specially the Vavau Group [in Tonga].

Jealous of the success of England, the French government prepared the expedition that **La Pérouse** headed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788. However, La Pérouse was not meant to see his country again, and science lost much as a result of the disaster that robbed us of the fruits of his research. It is known only that he had discovered two large islands in the Navigator or Samoan Islands, and that he had carried out courageous explrations in the Tartar Channel and on the Northwest Coast of America. Before he was lost up[on the reefs of Vanikoro, no doubt some important operations must have been recorded during his crossing from Botany Bay as far as this island of fatal memory.

During the same years, **Portlock** and **Dixon** crossed the Pacific Ocean and collected information on the Hawaiian Islands and particularly on the Northwest Coast of America. **G. Bligh**, in 1788, discovered the small Bounty Group and Whytutaky [Aitutaki]. Having, by his violence, caused a mutiny among part of his crew, he was thrown by the rebels into a launch; upon this frail boat, he went back to Timor and discovered a few more islands during this astonishing passage, including the Banks Group.

1 Ed. note: Unfortunately, Cook ignored Micronesia completely.

2 Ed. note: On the west coast of Vancouver Island.

Edwards, sent in 1730 on the trail of the *Bounty* mutineers, added also, the following year, many islands to those already known in that ocean. The merchant captain **Marchand** explored, in 1791, part of the Nuka Hiva Islands, and the publication of his voyage by the learned Fleurieu gave him a celebrity that he would never have had without this happy collaboration.

Vancouver, in 1791, discovered still a few more small islands and carried out beautiful explorations of the NW coast of America. To his companion **Broughton**, we owe the knowledge of the Chatham and Vavitu Islands. The results of this expedition were published on a grand scale and one can only find fault with Vancouver's narrative on account of its overly detailed prolixity.

During the same period, **D'Entrecasteaux** was visiting the Pacific Ocean in order to discover traces of the unfortunate La Pérouse and to attempt new explorations. The first objective of this voyage was not accomplished, but many works were made noteworthy by their scope and precision; the most important ones were the exploration of the southern coast of New Holland, of the western coast of New Caledonia, the Admiralty Islands, Santa Cruz or Nitendi, many islands of the Louisiades, a small part of New Guinea and a large part of the Moluccas. The discovery of many islands or islets then unknown must be added to that.

In 1792, **Bligh** made a second voyage to the South Sea and discovered more new islands, specially in the Viti [Fiji] archipelago, but this voyage was not published, and the details have remained unknown. In 1798, **Wilson**, charged with the transport of missionaries to the islands of Oceania, discovered many new islands. His narrative is full of information of the greatest exactitude on the customs, manners and opinions of the islanders. **Turnbull**, a simple supercargo aboard a merchant vessel, also collected, between 1800 and 1804, useful matter, particularly on the events that had occurred at Tahiti since the last visit by Cook until the time he was himself there.

At that time, both France and England independently resolved to complete the exploration of Australia. **Baudin** for France, and **Flinders** for England were charged with this important task. The hydrographic works of the English navigator were much superior in precision to those of Baudin, but the observations of the French naturalists, recorded in the narrative by Péron, threw great lights upon the physical nature of the Australian continent.

Russia, in turn, showed her flag upon that ocean. **Krusenstern**, in 1804 and 1805, was in charge of an expedition, both diplomatic and scientific. No new land was recorded but useful geographic information was collected. Besides, this expedition led to the compilation of an excellent reference work by Krusenstern on Oceania.

The expedition of the American **Porter** to those seas in 1813 and 1814 was purely military and caused huge damages to the English commerce. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Porter recorded in his journal the most detailed and curious information about the Nuka Hiva islanders, still not well known.

A little after, **Kotzebue**, led the brig *Rurik* to those seas, fitted out at the expense of a simple individual, Romanzov. The discovery of various islands, notably in the east-

ern Carolines, crowned the efforts of Kotzebue in 1816. The observations of the learned Chamisso added a lively interest to the Captain's narrative.

In 1819, Mr. **Freycinet** commanded the *Uranie* during her navigation through this ocean. The results of this voyage, as far as geography was concerned, were mediocre, and were limited to the survey of two or three islets in the Carolines, the Mariana Islands, and the discovery of the Rose Reef. Some rich materials in natural history were the result. Moreover, Mr. Freycinet's narrative offers a huge collection of documents about each of the places visited, but their publication, begun in 1821, will not be completed any time soon.

At about the same period, the Russian **Bellinghausen** was visiting Oceania. He discovered many new islands, among them, Ono Island south of the Viti archipelago. His narrative is unknown to us. Between 1818 and 1822, **King** successfully completed the exploration of the parts of Australia vaguely traced until then. His work is a model of patience and courage, and his narrative presents curious details about Australians and the nature of their country.

In 1822 and 1824, Mr. **Duperrey** crossed the South Sea with the *Coquille*. He recorded a certain number of new islands, specially in the Carolines, and made some partial surveys, the most important of which were the Mulgrave [Mili] Islands, the Hogoleu [Chuuk] Group and the Schouten Islands on the coast of New Guinea. This expedition surpassed that of the *Uranie* by the objects of natural history that were brought back. As we took part in this voyage, we will be able to extract from our private journal certain unpublished pieces to enrich this "Picturesque Voyage."¹

The American **Paulding** has written the narrative of the voyage made by the schooner *Dolphin*, sent in 1825 and 1826 to search for the mutineers of the whaling ship that was to have settled on the Mulgrave Islands. This narrative indicates only one discovery, that of the small Hull Island, but it contains a few new details about the Mulgrave Islands.

The Englishman **Beechey**, in 1825, 1826, and 1827, crossed the Pacific Ocean aboard the *Blossom*. He added a few islands in the Pomotu archipelago, which already counted so many of them, and carried out some respectable work on the faraway corner of NW America. His book is full of interesting details of the geological nature of the islands of Oceania, and on the customs of its inhabitants.

In 1826, 1827, and 1828, the **Astrolabe**, under our command, ploughed the seas of Oceania. In the geographical area, the results of this expedition have been the continuous exploration of 400 leagues of the New Zealand coast, of the Viti archipelago, the Loyalty Islands, the southern part of New Britain, the northern part of New Guinea along a stretch of 300 leagues, the Vanikoro, Hogleu and Pelew Islands. As a result of these surveys, about sixty islands, islets or reefs still unknown, were recorded for navigation. The number of objects of natural history, deposited in the Museum in Paris] at our return, encumbered the halls of this institution, as reported by Cuvier. The French-

1 Ed. note: The part about Ualan, or Kosrae, Island has been translated by Ritter.

men who were part of this expedition moreover had the satisfaction of raising to the memory of La Pérouse and of his unfortunate companions a monument at the very spot where they perished, after having verified this sad event by all possible means. The narrative of this long and arduous expedition is [in 1830] almost finished; we cannot ourselves judge its merit, but we can only say that it will make available many documents to our [fictitious] traveller.

The Russian **Lütke**, during the same years, carried out good navigational researches in Oceania, specially in the Caroline archipelago that he explored very carefully. However, we only know about the hydrographical results; the narrative of the voyage which we are eagerly awaiting, has not yet reached us.¹

In 1826, the Englishman **Dillon** obtained, at Tikopia, the first information about the shipwreck of La Pérouse. The [East] India Company entrusted him with the ship **Research** to undertake definitive research regarding this disaster. He carried out this mission during the years 1827 and 1828 and published the results when he returned to Europe. With the exception of certain details about New Zealand and Vanikoro, his book offers few positive details. Every sensible person will particularly regret that, instead of indulging himself in meaningless digressions about discussions held with the naturalist Tytler, Mr Dillon had not given more information about the natives of New Zealand and of the Viti Islands, with whom he had lived for a long time.

We will mention the voyage of Mr. **Laplace** carried out in 1830 and 1831. Although this was not a scientific expedition, nevertheless useful work was done in the China seas. The narrative of Mr. Laplace, now under publication, contains very wide information about the various places that he visited.

Finally, we will mention the voyages of the American **Morrell** which have just been made known to the public, and whose last voyage, in 1829 and 1830, took place in Oceania. One finds in this navigator little exactitude in his nautical positions, and a great tendency to exaggerate everything. However, one finds many details, often curious, on certain little-known points.

Here ends the review that we had undertaken of the voyages that took place until now to Oceania. We do not pretend to have made it complete, and there are no doubt a few expeditions that we have not mentioned, either because they have not come to our knowledge, or because they have not had important results, or finally because they have not been sanctioned by authentic narratives. However, the list we have just given will suffice for the purpose we had conceived, to initiate the reader in the knowledge of the names that we will have the opportunity to mention more or less frequently, and to point out summarily the works carried out at different periods in the whole of the Pacific Ocean.

For now, there remains only a few explanations to give with regard to the maps that accompany this "Picturesque voyage" ...

¹ Ed. note: It was published in French only in 1835.

[Micronesia first defined]

Before making maps of Oceania, two main questions first had to be settled: which divisions to adopt, and which names to mention? With regard to the first point, we did not hesitate to adopt the divisions that we have proposed for the first time in our Paper read before the Société de Géographie in the session held on 27 December 1831. In this paper, we proposed the division of the whole of Oceania into four main parts which we named: Polynesia, MICronesia, Malaysia, and Melanesia. We repeat here in summary the reasons upon which we based ourselves.

Firstly, all travellers without exception who have visited the Pacific Ocean have notices two varieties of the human species very different from each other and, according to the numerous and essential features which characterize each of these two varieties have separated them immediately into two distinct races.

The first one presents men of average size, with a yellowish complexion more or less light, straight hair, most often brown or black, with rather regular shapes and well-proportioned limbs, often organized into nations and sometimes into monarchies.

The other race consists of men who are very dark-brown, often fuliginous, sometimes almost as black as the Kaffirs, with hair that is curly, frizzy, fluffy, but rarely wooly, with unpleasant features and shapes, and the limbs often frail and lacking proportion. Those men usually live in small tribes; they are almost never organized into nations and their state is always close to barbarism.

Then, among the men of the first race, one soon notices two quite distinctive sections. On the one hand, all the peoples who occupy the easternmost islands of the Pacific Ocean, from the Hawaiian Islands to those of New Zealand in one direction and in another from the Tonga and Samoa Islands to Waihu [Easter] Island, have obviously the same origin and form but one family. Their complexion, features, shapes and languages are the same. All these peoples recognize the *tapu*; all use the *kava* or *ava*, and the use of bows and arrows as war implements is unknown to them. Finally, they all had reached a degree of civilization more or less pronounced and, among a few of them, the rules of etiquette had already attained a surprising development.

The second section of the copper-colored race consists of the tribes disseminated along this chain of small islands that have received from travellers the names of Gilbert, Marshall, Carolines, Marianas, as far as and including the Pelew Islands. These islanders generally differ from those in the east by a little darker color, a longer face and more slender shapes. The *tapu* is unknown to them; their language, which varies markedly from one archipelago to another, differs much from that which is common to the men of the preceding section. The *kava* is still used under other names in the eastern part of this section but in the western part it has been replaced by the betel and areca [nuts].

Finally, among the copper-colored peoples, a third division has already been formed long ago under the name of Indian Archipelago or Great Asian Archipelago, and including the islands known by the name of Philippines, Moluccas and Sunda Islands, occupied almost entirely, at least on the coasts, by a Malay population.

Such considerations, based on the moral and physical characteristics of the peoples concerned, have naturally led us to divide Oceania first into four main and basic divisions, viz:

1) Eastern Oceania for which we keep the name of **Polynesia**, already adopted by many geographers in a wider context. We will restrict the application of this name to the yellow or copper-colored peoples who recognize the *tapu*, speak the same language and occupy the whole of the eastern region of the Pacific Ocean. This division includes the Hawaiian, Nuka Hiva, Pomotu, Tahiti, Samoa, and Tonga archipelagos, New Zealand, Chatham Islands, and many others spread between these groups.

2) Northern Oceania, which we name **Micronesia**, because it contains only small islands, of which Guam in the Marianas, Punipet [Pohnpei] in the Carolines, and Babelthuap in the Pelew Islands are the main ones. Therein are enclosed the peoples who differ from group to group by their customs, government and language. The very large majority of these peoples are simply copper-colored; nevertheless, Captain Lütke has recently met some black men on the high Island of Punipet and, if credence is given to Morrell, this race would also be found on the Hogoleu [Chuuk] Group. The main groups of this division are those of the Gilbert, Marshall, Mariana, Pelew Islands, and all those known under the name of Carolines, including a large number of uninhabited islands, as far as 40° latitude North.¹

3) Western Oceania, or **Malaysia**, containing the Philippine, Molucca and Sunda Islands, occupied by peoples whose origin is obviously Malay, at least on the sea shores, because in the interior of most of these great lands there still exist peoples who are much akin to those who occupy the following division.

4) Southern Oceania, which includes all the oceanic peoples with more or less black skin, curly or frizzy hair, and with limbs often frail and misshapen, to which we impose the name of **Melanesia**. There, the manners, customs and language vary to infinity; these men have almost always remained in a sort of barbarism. No government, no laws, no regular ceremonies, constant and pronounced hatred of Europeans. The most philanthropic observer is forced to recognize a huge difference between the intelligence of these men and that of the peoples simply yellow or copper-colored. Australia or New Holland, sort of austral continent, forms the nucleus of this huge division, to which are added the islands of Tasmania, New Guinea, Louisiades, New Britain, New Ireland, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Loyalty, Nitendi and Viti Islands.

Our system of division seems to us to have, when compared to those that have been proposed until now, the real advantage of not being arbitrary but, to the contrary, be based upon positive considerations, on well-established and almost always constant natural relationships between peoples comprising each division. Thus we will know right away that copper-colored peoples are involved, speaking a common language and

¹ Ed. note: To the contrary, the definition retained by De Rienzi at about this time, extends Polynesia to the Marianas and keeps the word Micronesia only for the then-uninhabited islands north of them. Needless to say, the definitions of d'Urville have become standardized.

slaves to *tapu*, or Malay nations, or finally Oceanic blacks, in accordance with the names of Polynesia, Micronesia, Malaysia, or Melanesia. In our opinion, it is already of great help to memory when an important designation recalls by itself one of the main characteristics of the objects or beings to which it must apply.

The four great divisions of Oceania having been decided, we had only to establish a detailed nomenclature. In this respect, an inextricable confusion begins to prevail in the designation of the islands of Oceania, and we could mention one island that has already received four or five different names, without any of them having definitely prevailed. As a matter of principle, this abuse has resulted from the ignorance of the first navigators and the lack of perfection of the means available to them in order to determine in a satisfactory manner the land they sighted. Thus, more than once, they have looked upon as a discovery a land seen by others before them, have imposed a name upon it, and this name appeared on the charts drawn in accordance with their information. Cook was too enlightened, and operated with too much judgment and precision to err about the real value of his discoveries, but he should have established a standard nomenclature, to which his authority would have given a huge weight. However, out of a deplorable weakness in a man of such a high order, he almost never respected the rights of the first discoverers; he allowed himself to impose new names to lands already sighted, and sometimes these names are in bad taste. This example has been followed more than once since Cook, and one is very astonished, for instance, to see on the Arrowsmith charts in the Louisiades some names due to recent and obscure navigators, instead of the authentic names assigned by D'Entrecasteaux. Even today, not one year goes by without some whaling ship or other trading vessel cruising that ocean and coming back to announce as new discoveries islands that are already known. On the other hand, one must admit that such errors were excusable up to a point, given that for a long time no exact and complete chart of this part of the world had been published.

These various reasons led us to draw the general chart of Oceania which accompanies our atlas, in the Voyage of the *Astrolabe*. Our intention was to state by this document the exact state of our knowledge about Oceania at the beginning of 1830, time of its publication. Our purpose has been found very satisfactory because, after about one year since this chart was published, out of more than twenty islands supposedly new and recorded as such by various navigators, there is not one that cannot be found among those we have traced. To the contrary, it is probable that we have indicated a certain number that will have to be removed, after a more severe examination and new research. It was already our opinion in indicating them, because we accompanied them with a question mark, and our purpose was to call the attention of travellers on these so-called lands, in order to recognize their non-existence.

The limited dimensions of the frame imposed to our chart did not allow for the synonyms found on the Arrowsmith charts and even on those of Krusenstern. WE were therefore obliged to take a definitive decision with regard to nomenclature, and here is what we adopted as most convenient and most equitable. Every time we could obtain the name used by the natives, we did not hesitate to adopt it and substitute it to all those

that had been proposed, whatever the navigator from whom they came. However, when it was impossible to know the native name, then we kept religiously the name given by the first discoverer, as long as his rights were however established. Already we acted thus during the course of our voyage aboard the *Astrolabe*, and we allowed ourselves to impose personal denominations only on the places whose primitive names were unknown to us, and that had not received any from none of the preceding navigators. Still we have considered our designations as merely temporary and destined to yield their place to the native ones once they become known. In the century in which we live, there is just as much childishness on the part of a navigator to impose new and useless denominations as in taking possession of a new island in the name of one's government. The native names are respectable traces of a primitive population, and perhaps in one or two centuries from now, they may be their only remains, once European civilization will have invaded all and changed everything forever.

As far as the spelling of the primitive names, we have constantly followed the system that we had fixed for ourselves since the beginning of our voyage aboard the *Coquille*, that is, we have given to the letters of our alphabet their full value, about the same as is practiced in reading Latin, according to the French method. In this we agree with the method used rather uniformly by the South Sea missionaries.

Following the examples of the missionaries, we have also designated certain archipelagos by the name of the main island; thus we have said Hawaiian Islands, Tahitian Islands, Tonga Islands, Nuka Hiva Islands, instead of Sandwich Islands, Society Islands, Friendly Islands, Marquesas. The former names are simpler and have the advantage of being understood by the natives. The names of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land are usually replaced by those of Australia and Tasmania, already adopted by the colonists of those two islands. However, New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, New Ireland, New Britain, Louisiades and New Guinea, for the very simple reason that we have nothing better to replace them with.

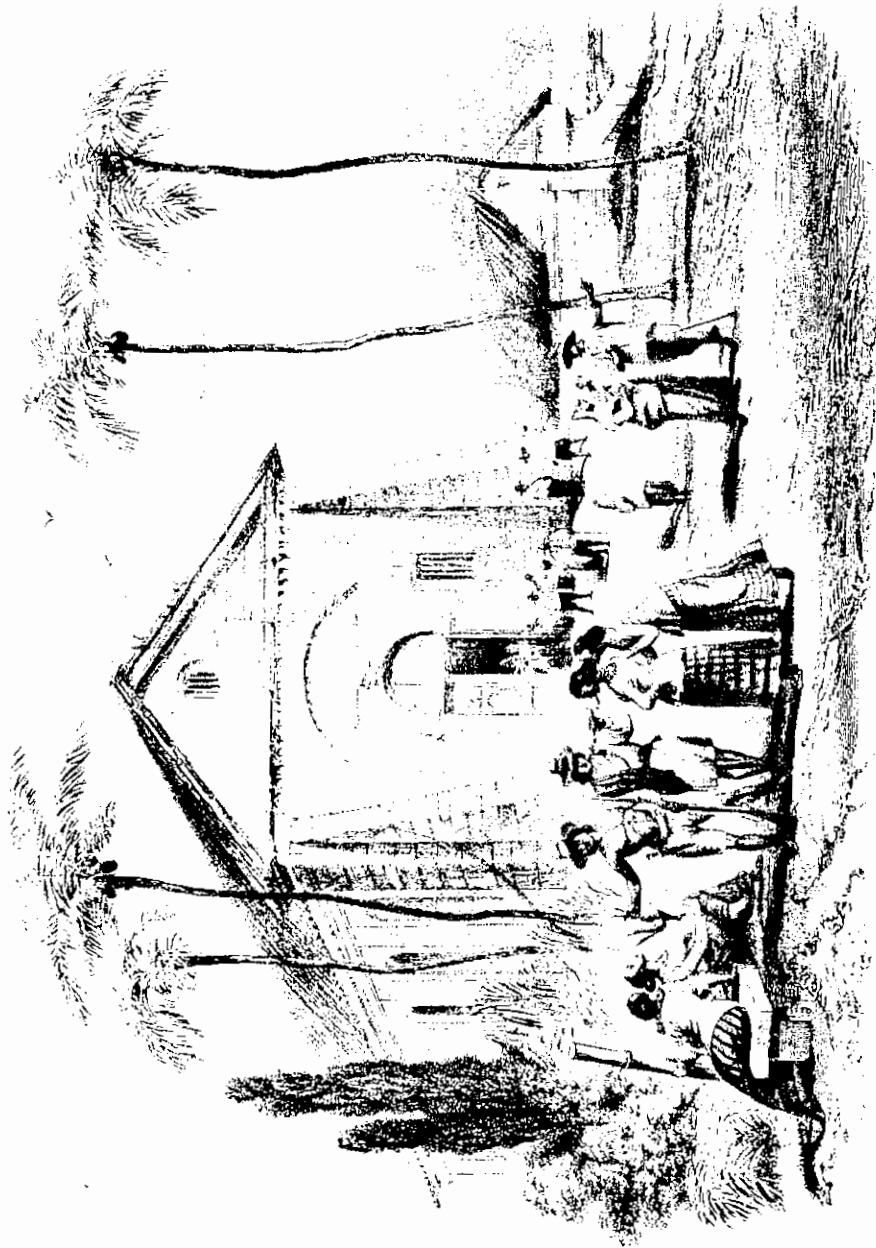
Moreover, these innovations will not bother the reader in the least, because we will be careful to indicate in the text, for every island or group of islands that we will visit, the names imposed by the better-known navigators; it will then become possible to find the same land instantly on any other chart. It is a task that had not yet been done, and one that nevertheless will become more and more indispensable, specially if our system of nomenclature, or another similar one, is not definitely adopted.

In one word, my collaborators and myself, will endeavor to make the reading of our "Picturesque Voyage around the World" both instructive and entertaining, an essential objective for any book destined to the general public.¹

J. Dumont d'Urville.
Paris, 2 January 1834.

1 Ed. note: Only the historical notes about Micronesia have been translated below.

1828. C. 5



LE VILLAGE DE MATA

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du large,
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de débarc
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contents



Composite sketch of Guam, Mariana Islands.

[Marshall Islands]

The Otdia [Wotje] Group seems to have been seen for the first time in 1788 by Captains Gilbert and Marshall who named them Chatham Islands. Almost forgotten after that time, they were carefully surveyed, in 1817, by Kotzebue who named them Romanzov Islands, but he was careful to mention that the natives of the country called them Otdia, after the main island, and it is undeniable that this name must be preferred to all others...

[Pingelap]

The small MacAskill Group was discovered, in 1809, by the captain bearing this name; it was sighted again, in 1824, by Mr. Duperrey and, in 1828, by Lü?tke. In an area of 6 miles in circumference, it comprises 3 low and wooded islets: Pelelap, Tongulu and Takai.

[Mokil]

The group that Duperrey discovered in 1824, and to which he gave his name, is an assembly of 3 low and wooded islets: Mongul, Ongai and "Aura. The largest is only one mile in length by 500 meters in width. It is also only 6 miles in circumference...

[Chuuk]

The Hogoleu Group was no doubt known by ancient mariners, because it figures on the oldest charts, although very incorrectly. It was the Spanish Captain Dublon who, in 1814, first recorded it in a positive manner, although he only spoke of one high island. John Hall recorded it more correctly on 2 April 1824. Two and a half months later, Mr. Duperrey chartered a large part of the group and had many contacts with the natives. This work was completed by Mr. d'Urville in April 1828. Lütke saw Hogoleu in February of the same year, and the American Morrell anchored in August 1830 at this group which he named Bergh Islands. It is a small archipelago of 100 miles in circumference, containing about 60 islands or islets, about a dozen of which are high islands.

[Pulap]

The small group of Tamatam, Fanadik and Olap sees to correspond to the Martires Islands of the old Spanish charts, but it was recorded in a positive way only in 1801 by the Spanish Captain Ibargoitia, of the ship **Filipino**; then it was successfully sighted by Freycinet in 1819, by Duperrey in 1824, and by d'Urville in 1828.

[Ulithi]

The Falalep and Mogmog Islands of the missionaries [Fathers Cantova and Walter] were completely forgotten and in their place on the charts figured only a group of islands under the name of Egoi, a designation that owes its origin to Captan Bernardo Egou [rather Egui], their first discoverer in 1712. The deepest vagueness prevailed on

the geographic knowledge of this group, when in June 1828 Captain d'Urville surveyed it and gave it the name of Elivi [sic] after the denomination of a few natives who had quick contacts with him... The name of Egoi was perfectly unknown to them, and when we pronounced this word while pointing at their islands, they made a sign of negative and said: Elivi...

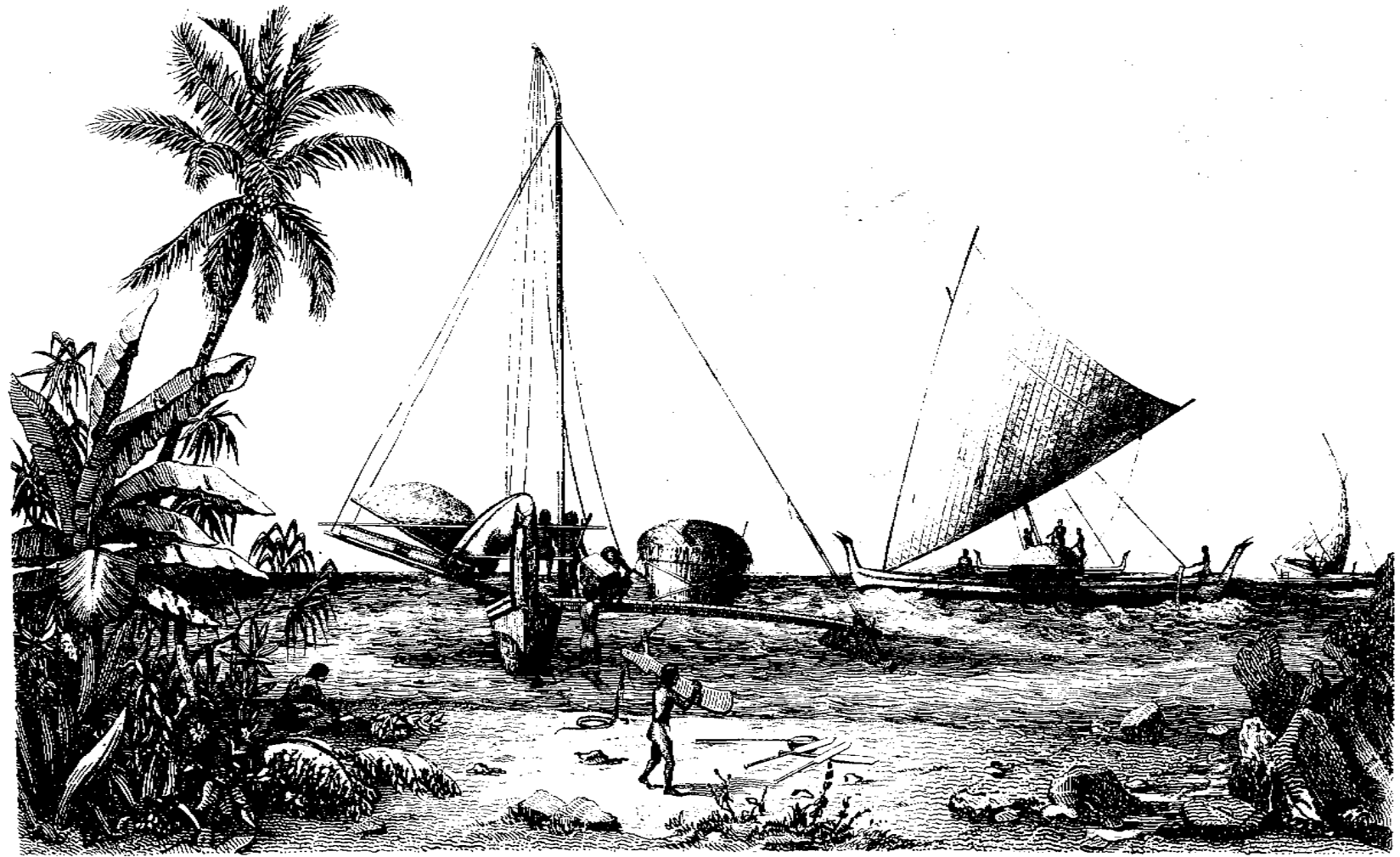
Six months later, Captain Lxtke arrived, made a complete and detailed survey of this group, imposing the name Uluthy on the name that no doubt must be preferred to that of Elivi...

[Yap]

According to most of the charts, it is Yap Island, but according to Mr. d'Urville, it is Guap. Neglected for a long time, it was sighted again, in 1792 by the ships **Exeter**, **Hawk** and **DDundas**, and by the **Swallow** in 1804...

[Ngulu]

The Matelotas are poor islands that have been sighted for the first time, in 1547 [rather 1543] by Villalobos; Gabraon [rather Galvao], governor of the Moluccas, sent Francisco de Castro there to baptize the inhabitants. In 1796, Admiral Reynier, in command of the vessel **Suffolk** sighted them and named them Spencer Keys...



(Previous page) **Canoes, or proas, of the Caroline Islands.** *Engraved by Laplante, after a sketch by Edmond Pâris. (From France Maritime).*

 Document 1828D

The first d'Urville expedition—The treatise of Edmond Pâris on Carolinian canoes

Introduction.

François Edmond Pâris was born in Paris in 1806. He graduated from the French Naval College in 1822 as a cadet officer. After serving aboard various ships in European waters, he undertook three voyages to the Pacific Ocean, but only the first one crossed Micronesia; it was the voyage of the **Astrolabe** under the command of Dumont d'Urville. This ship had formerly been known as the **Coquille** when under Duperrey then. Pâris was a 22-year-old Second Lieutenant when he visited Micronesia in 1828 and was impressed by Carolinian canoes; he studied their design and made accurate drawings of them.

Pâris returned to the Pacific aboard the **Favorite**, Captain Laplace, in 1830-32; then aboard the **Artémise**, again with Laplace, in 1837-40. He was to rise to the rank of Vice Admiral later on.

Treatise on naval architecture outside of Europe, by Edmond Pâris

Source: Edmond Pâris. Essai sur la construction navale des peuples extra-européens... Paris. A. Bertrand, n.d. [1841], pp. 96-106 + 1 Atlas [1843]: Plates 106-111.

Original extract in French.

ARCHIPEL DES CAROLINES.

Aux îles Carolines, très éloignées les unes des autres, les naturels déploient encore plus d'industrie et de hardiesse pour leurs pirogues, qu'on peut prendre pour le type de la perfection de ces petits bateaux; ce sont les mieux construites du grand Océan, et elles étonnèrent les Espagnols qui les virent les premiers et en exagérèrent beaucoup la vitesse. Il y a une très-grande analogie entre toutes celles des différents groupes de ce long archipel, depuis sa partie voisine des Philippines jusqu'à ses dernières îles vers l'est.

Nous commencerons par les îles Elivi [Ulithi] où elles diffèrent de celles que nous devons décrire plus loin par leur petitesse et l'obliquité de leurs extrémités fourchues. Dans



Satawal canoes. Plate 107 of E. Pâris. *The one on the left is sailing with a fair wind abreast. The other one fell off and is about to founder (see text).*

*l'île Gouap [Yap], située plus à l'est [sic], elles n'avaient que 7 à 8 mètres de long; la voile, très-grande, mais dénuée de cargues, était portée par un mât incliné; le balancier, très éloigné, était joint, par des piquets, aux leviers, couverts d'un treillage, s'étendant sur les longues tringles qui en unissaient les extrémités à celles de la pirogue; celles-ci, semblables à celles des Pros d'Elivi, avaient en dedans, pour fixer le point de réunion des vergues, un bloc cylindrique comme celui sur lequel on file les lignes de harpon dans les baleinières. Le faux côté du corps était peu marqué et n'existait même pas pour les petites pirogues de 4 à 5 mètres de long, semblables, du reste, aux grandes et se comportant d'une manière remarquable sur une mer battue par une brise assez fraîche. Toutes avaient une plate-forme opposée au balancier, mais quelques-unes étaient sans cabanes, car elles n'en portent peut-être que pour de longs voyages. Nous pûmes les dessiner facilement; plusieurs même sont représentées sur les planches 240 bis et 241 de l'album historique de la corvette l'**Astrolabe**, mais nous avons préféré ne pas les joindre à cet ouvrage, autant à cause de leur trop grande ressemblance avec les autres, que de la préférence que nous avons toujours donnée aux plans exacts. Nous avons mesuré à Umata, dans l'île de Guam, plusieurs Pros provenant de l'île Satahoual [Satawal] parmi lesquels nous avons choisi celui de la pl. 106, qui montre tous les détails de cette curieuse pirogue.*

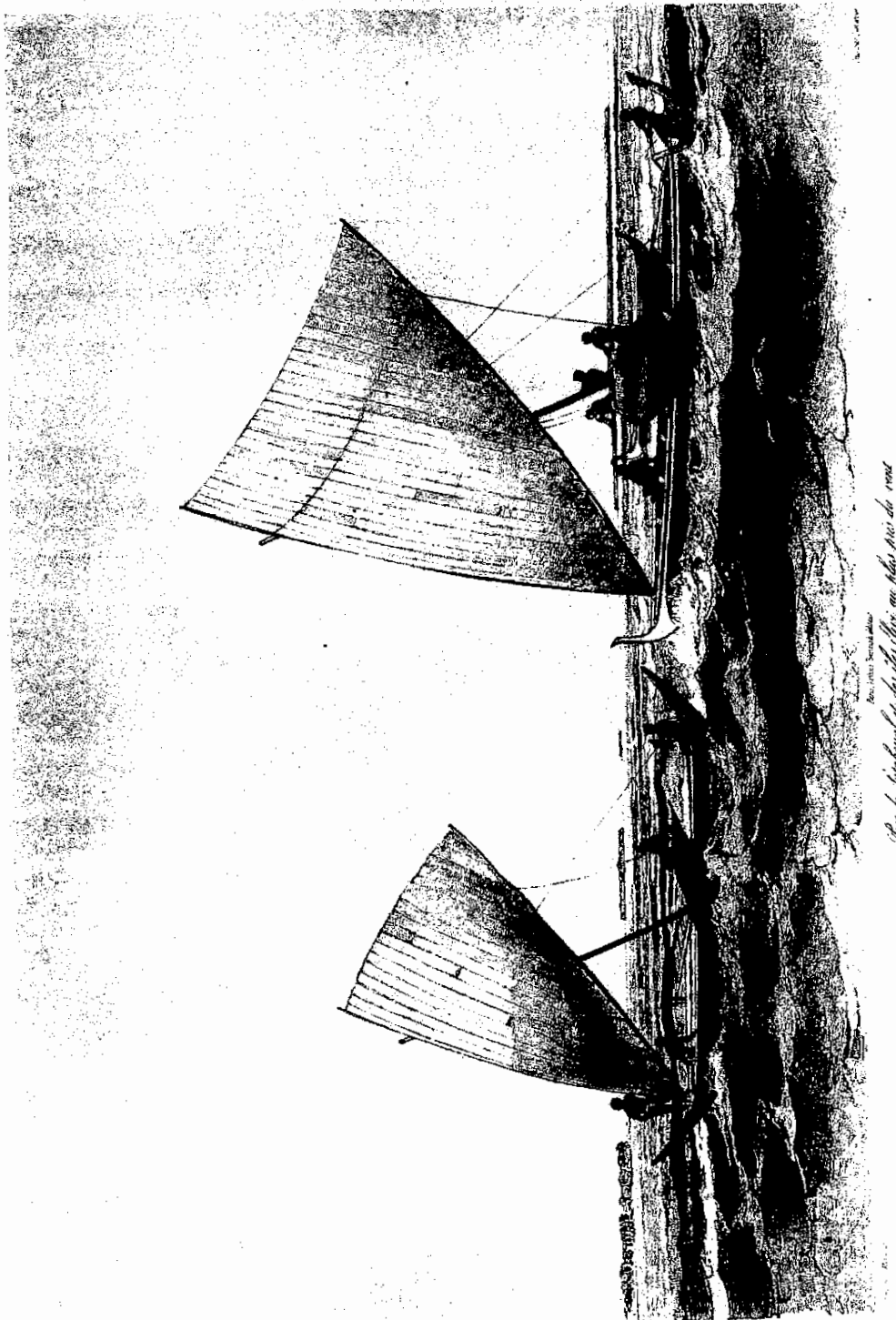
PROS DE SATAHOUAL.

Le corps est ordinairement de cinq morceaux assemblés sans rainures, percés suivant l'épaisseur par des chevilles à pointes perdues, et cousus par de petits amarrages plats, enfoncés dans le bois et couverts d'un mastic blanc, ainsi que les joints. Une seule pièce creusée, n'ayant rien d'analogue à notre quille, forme toute la partie inférieure et fait suite en dedans, aussi bien qu'en dehors, aux planches latérales unies aux extrémités qui se relèvent par une courbe élégante, terminée par des pièces massives surmontées de deux pointes (pl. 106, fig. 3). Aucun membre ne fortifie la jonction de ces parties pourtant très-minces, car elles n'ont que 0,015 m. à 0,020 m. d'épaisseur, ce qui paraît en désaccord avec la solidité de la charpente du balancier, et oblige à visiter les amarrages après chaque trajet, pour les resserrer et les mastiquer; seulement une planche z (fig. 4) est placée sous les leviers et unie aux coutures par des amarrages. Le haut du corps est recouvert par un liteau e e, évidé en dessous (fig. 4) et joint par de petites attaches, qui fait paraître la pirogue très-épaisse sur le plan (fig. 2), mais la section (fig. 4) en montre les dimensions réelles.

Les Pros, que les naturels nomment Oïa [sic], n'ont guère que 13 ou 14 mètres de long, et leurs deux côtés ont une différence très-marquée; en effet, ils n'ont pas besoin d'être symétriques, puisqu'ils ne changent jamais de rôle, le balancier restant toujours au vent; ce sont, au contraire, les extrémités qui doivent être pareilles, puisqu'elles sont tantôt avant, tantôt arrière. C'est cependant le seul pays où les naturels aient senti l'avantage d'un côté de sous le vent, plat et presque vertical, pour moins dériver et compenser l'effet du balancier, qui tend toujours à faire lofer, tandis que le renflement du vent doit produire une tendance à arriver, et si la vitesse du bateau donne plus de force à l'effort du balancier, elle augmente aussi dans le même rapport l'influence inverse du

Archipel des Carolines

Pl. 108



Paris de Satawal et de Uliithi. Une platee pour de vent

Uliithi and Satawal canoes sailing close to the wind. Plate 108 of E. Pâris. Note that the Satawal canoe (on the right) is carrying a smaller canoe on its outrigger platform.

côté du vent. Les fig. 2, 3 et 4 donnent exactement les courbures rapportées à la ligne tendue d'une extrémité à l'autre, et à la verticale qui en a été abaissée. Dans quelques autres Pros les côtés diffèrent beaucoup plus entre eux, cependant celui de sous le vent n'est jamais tout à fait plat, et s'il l'était, comme le porte le plan du voyage de l'amiral Anson, le bateau ne perdrait pour cela aucune de ses qualités; mais que d'essais il a sans doute fallu tenter avant d'arriver à cet équilibre entre le moteur et des résistances si variables, et combien on doit admirer la simplicité et la justesse avec lesquelles les habitants de ces îles y sont arrivés. Les extrémités du corps n'ont pas de parties rentrantes, et toutes les sections verticales ressemblent à celle du milieu: l'extérieur du Pros, le balancier avec tout ce qui sert à le tenir, quelquefois même les caillebotis sont peints en gros rouge ainsi que les parties de l'extérieur laissées blanches sur les figures (fig. 1 et 3), les hachures représentant ce qui est peint en noir; ces deux couleurs paraissent bien tenir et sont d'un usage général dans ces îles:¹ le bois des bancs, des tringles, des cabanes, de la mâture et des pagaies reste toujours à nu, et tout est tenu avec une propreté et un soin parfaits.

Une large charpente est disposée de la manière la plus ingénieuse sur le corps; les deux premiers leviers a a, qui le percent et lui sont à peine joints par de petites attaches, ont en dessus une pièce parallèle d d posée sur le liteau, et une autre longitudinale c c, prise entre a a et d d (fig. 4 et 5), pour soutenir les bouts des deux supports obliques b b de la cabane de sous le vent. Deux pieux fourchus ou quatre piquets k k, liés à chacun des leviers, servent à les unir au balancier en s'enfonçant dans ce dernier et sont fortifiés par des liures passées dans des trous, qui embrassent ces pièces, ainsi qu'une autre horizontale i i, introduite entre a a et d d, dont les bouts sont ainsi attachés. Cette solidité est nécessaire à cause de la proximité des points d'appui, et des efforts qu'ils supportent lorsque les mouvements de la pirogue diffèrent de ceux du balancier; celui-ci, toujours en bois plein, a la forme d'un prisme quadrangulaire, dont l'une des arêtes sert de quille, et dont les deux bouts sont tronqués en pointe. Tout l'espace compris entre les leviers est rempli par une claie de tiges attachées à quelques traverses, et c'est là qu'est fixée la petite cabane n, dont le fond et les côtés à jour sont en tringles rondes amarrées à distance sur des châssis et fortifiées par des diagonales; son toit courbe est soutenu par des lattes croisées à angle droits, attachées au pourtour (fig. 4), auxquelles est cousu le chaume de feuilles de latanier maintenu par un filet (fig. 1, 2 et 3). Cette cabane a du

1 Une note de la Relation du voyage autour du monde, du capitaine de Freycinet, contient au tome Ier, page 124, les détails suivants sur la peinture des Carolins. "Voici comment l'auteur de la relation sur les îles Pelew décrit la manière dont cette peinture extraordinaire est appliquée. Les couleurs sont broyées, dit-il, et jetées dans l'eau qu'on fait bouillir ensuite; les naturels enlèvent soigneusement l'écume qui surnage à la surface, puis, quand ils trouvent la liqueur suffisamment épaissie, ils l'étendent toute chaude sur le bois et la laissent sécher. Le jour suivant, on frotte la peinture avec de l'huile de coco, et, en répétant cette opérations, pendant un temps convenable, avec des écales du même fruit, on parvient à lui donner un poli et une ténacité capables de résister à la mer. J'ajouterai que ce vernis est extrait de l'arbre à pain, c'est ce que nous verrons plus en détail en parlant des Marianes; on le colore ensuite diversement."

côté de la pirogue une porte pour entrer les provisions, qu'elle garantit seulement du soleil, car, étant à jour et placée au vent, elle laisse entrer les éclaboussures de la mer.

Les leviers sont fortifiés par de longues tringles obliques *m m*, quelquefois ornées de sculptures, attachées sur le plat-bord et soutenant un caillebottis de lattes soigneusement encastrées les unes dans les autres, ou seulement un treillage lié par des ficelles; il remplit une partie de l'espace compris entre *m m* et les leviers qui viennent s'engager sous de longues planches cousues, couvrant le milieu en laissant en dehors un espace libre pour pagayer de ce côté: elles portent au-dessus du milieu de côté du vent, pour résister à l'effort du balancier, un renflement *p*, attendant souvent à la planche, avec une cavité au milieu, dans laquelle enfonce le pied du mât qui est un peu pointu et peut s'y mouvoir librement.

Sur la plate-forme dont il vient d'être question sont enfoncés des montants *h h'*, soutenant de larges bancs *v v* d'un côté, tandis que l'autre pose sur une planche *v' v'*, placée sur le bord de la cabane de sous le vent, dont les angles extérieurs sont unis aux montants *h h'* par des tringles horizontales *h h*, dans lesquelles leur bout supérieur est encastré. Une pièce extérieure *f f*, parallèle à la pirogue, est attachée au-dessus des supports *b b* et porte la plate-forme de sous le vent, faite d'une claie serrée, entourée de quatre planches verticales *x x*, dont les bouts, qui entrent dans des mortaises, sont liés à *b b*. C'est en dedans de ce rebord que se trouve un toit *o*, confectionné sur un châssis comme celui de la cabane aux provisions, mobile, courbe et peu élevé, sous lequel vivent les naturels, qui n'y sont pas inquiétés par la mer et qui, de plus, tiennent constamment leur poids sous le vent, ce qui devient important si la voile masque: ils peuvent incliner ce toit dans tous les sens pour se garantir.

Les côtés du corps sont unis par des bancs qui ont, en outre, des emplois particuliers: ceux des extrémités *q* sont plus épais et plus larges au milieu, où se trouve une cavité dans laquelle repose la vergue; ils sont enfoncés dans le corps, mais ne le percent pas comme les suivants *r*, maintenus par de petites chevilles; ceux-ci sont saillants sous le vent, tandis que les troisièmes *s*, le sont sous le vent. Le gouvernail (fig. 6) a du côté qui fend la mer une entaille *r'* et une corde *s'*, attachée au vent au banc *s*, qui, perçant son sommet, tend, par son obliquité, à le soutenir contre la dérive; mais, comme il n'est pas, pour cela, maintenu contre le banc, l'effort seul de l'eau le démontrerait aussitôt, si l'homme qui gouverne (fig. 1) n'était pas assis sur le plat-bord de sous le vent, ou sur un bâton attaché obliquement sur *s* et sur la pirogue (fig. 2), et contraint d'avoir toujours une jambe dehors pour appuyer le gouvernail, dont il tient la barre placée à cet effet sur l'arrière. On est étonné de trouver, sur des bateaux remarquables par beaucoup de dispositions ingénieuses, l'usage d'un gouvernail aussi imparfait, qui ne sert guère que grand large et a besoin d'être souvent remplacé par deux ou trois pagaies qui fatiguent beaucoup les hommes lorsque le sillage est rapide; aussi, pour diminuer le travail de ceux qui gouvernent, on les aide avec l'écoute que deux hommes tiennent à la main, et qui doit être mollie pour arriver et roidie pour lofer.

Le mât, toujours un peu moins long que les vergues, a souvent près de sa base un renflement pour attacher la drisse qui passe dans un petit trou rond percé à son som-

met; un autre trou plus élevé a la forme d'un coeur renversé, afin qu'il y ait deux rainures sur lesquelles frottent les cargues nouées à la vergue inférieure, l'une d'un bord de la voile, l'autre du côté opposé. Le mât est soutenu par deux étais attachés aux bancs r et capelés aux quatre cinquième de sa hauteur, ainsi qu'un hauban soutenant l'effort du vent, passé dans la traverse i i et amarré sur lui-même; deux autres, plus faibles, placés en dedans de la voile, viennent se fixer aux angles extérieures de la plate-forme de sous le vent en h et en h, dans le but de maintenir le mât si la voile masque.

La surface de la voile des Pros carolins est de 80 ou 90 fois celle des parties immergées du corps et du balancier, rapport plus faible que celui des Warkamoowees de Ceylan. Cette voile, formée de mattes fines et flexibles, est très-solide; les laizes ont 0,40 m. de large, mais au premier coup d'oeil elles ne paraissent en avoir que la moitié, parce que la voile est double et que les bords, cousus entre eux d'un côté, le sont en même temps au milieu de la laize opposée, où tout est disposé de la même manière, ce qui double le nombre des coutures, comme on le voit en t et t' (fig. 1). On y ajoute des ficelles u u, teintes en gros rouge, de la plus grande légèreté, à peu près de la grosseur de notre merlin, qui, transperçant la voile perpendiculairement à la direction des laizes de 0,15 m. en 0,15 m, la consolident tout en augmentant beaucoup son poids; leurs extrémités sont tournées autour des vergues d'une manière aussi serrée que le bitord qui fourre une manoeuvre, liant ainsi par tous les points la voile aux vergues. Celles-ci, légères et carrées, d'une grosseur presque égale sur toute leur longueur, qui est la même pour les deux, sont réunies par une corde de 0,20 m. de long, qui les traverse près de leur extrémité inférieure et qui, retenue par des noeuds, soutient celle d'en bas en dessous et derrière le banc q, lorsque la vergue supérieure est enfoncée dans la cavité.

Les Pros conservent toujours leur balancier au vent comme les Warkamoowees et virent de bord à peu près de la même manière: pour effectuer cette évolution, ils laissent aussi arriver jusqu'à ce que le vent soit du travers; alors l'écoute est lâchée, et la voile à moitié carguée, mais poussée par le vent, maintient le hauban du vent roide. On tire sur l'étau de l'arrière pour soulever la vergue supérieure, la faire sortir de son trou et aider les hommes qui le transportent(?) à l'autre bout en le laissant passer pardessus le pont; l'étau de l'avant est filé à retour à mesure que le coin de la voile approche de l'extrémité, jusqu'à ce que la vergue supérieure soit posée dans le premier banc, q; alors la voile est bordée, et l'on peut faire route. Cette nécessité de passer tout au-dessus du pont où repose le mât entraîne à lui donner beaucoup d'inclinaison (fig. 1), car il faut qu'il soit plus long que la portion de vergue comprise entre l'angle inférieur et le point où la drisse est attachée, et son appui étant plus élevé que celui de la vergue, il s'ensuit qu'il est très-penché lorsque celle-ci est presque droite: la drisse et l'écoute sont frappées aux deux tiers des vergues à partir de leur point de réunion, de sorte que la ligne qui joindrait les deux points par lesquels la voile est retenue passe par son centre de figure, règle très-répondue dans le grand Océan. Cette manoeuvre, si avantageuse pour louvoyer, fut plusieurs fois exécutée dans la baie d'Umata, et nous avons déjà assisté à plusieurs virements de bord des pirogues à balancier simple de Tonga-tabou qui agissent exactement de la même manière; seulement nous ignorons à quel moment les

vaient.¹ *Lorsqu'ils courent largue, ou que le vent est très-fort, ils diminuent la surface de la voile en roidissant les deux cargues.*²

[Smaller canoes, brought to Guam for trading]

Les Pros que nous vîmes arriver de Satahoual (pl. 108) portaient chacun sur la plate-forme du vent un petit bateau de la même forme, d'une longueur égale au quart ou au tiers de celle du grand, ses extrémités étaient relevées, fourchues et sa peinture entièrement semblable, mais les deux côtés étaient symétriques; le balancier, beaucoup plus petit, était attaché à des leviers courbes, fixés sur les extrémités afin de laisser assez d'espace pour que la cabane du vent pût être placée entre eux lorsqu'il était à bord avec son corps près du mât et son balancier au vent. Pour mettre cette embarcation à la mer, les naturels l'inclinent afin de dépasser un des leviers, et ils la poussent sur le côté, ce que sa légèreté rend très-facile. Il n'y a que les Carolins qui aient ainsi une chaloupe dont la pesanteur n'ajoute sans doute pas à la stabilité de leurs pirogues, puisqu'il ne faut jamais que le balancier coule; ce sont eux aussi qui ont placé le plus de poids à l'extérieur en le distribuant avec beaucoup d'art, et il est singulier de voir tous ces peuples chercher la stabilité en dehors, tandis que ceux de l'ancien continent l'obtiennent par du lest intérieur. L'étendue de la plate-forme du vent permet aux hommes de se placer commodément pour résister à la voile, ressource dont ils paraissent cependant avoir rarement besoin. En général, tous les Pros que nous avons examinés, solides, légers et construits avec soin, ont peu de sculptures, et leur aspect est plus marin que celui des autres constructions du grand Océan; on est étonné, toutefois, de ne pas voir leurs extrémités couvertes. Ils portent chacun six ou huit naturels bien faits, d'une couleur plus foncée que ceux de Taïti ou de Tonga-tabou, ayant des traits réguliers et des cheveux lisses; ils ont l'usage de se tatouer et de s'orner de coquilles, et sont généralement d'un caractère assez doux; leurs îles n'ont jamais été témoin des scènes sanglantes qui en ont signalé tant d'autres.

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- 1 M. Bérard, actuellement capitaine de vaisseau, mais alors embarqué comme élève sur l'Uranie, a navigué plusieurs jours sur des Pros, dont il n'estime la vitesse au plus près qu'à 6 milles, et il donne, dans la Relation du voyage de la corvette l'Uranie (tome II, première partie, page 124), une nomenclature curieuse de tous les noms que les naturels emploient pour les différentes parties de leurs navires. Le même ouvrage contient l'extrait suivant du capitaine Dampier, dont, dit-il, l'exactitude et la véracité sont si connues. "J'ai fait à Guam l'épreuve de la légèreté de ces vaisseaux; nous faisons route avec notre ligne de loch, elle avait 12 noeuds qui furent plus tôt passés que la demi-minute du sablier ne fut écoulée; suivant ce compte, ils font pour le moins 12 milles à l'heure, mais je crois qu'ils en pourraient faire 24 dans le même espace de temps."
- 2 L'une des figures de M. Bérard porte, du côté opposé au mât, une seconde cargue attaché près de l'écoute passée ensuite dans un anneau au milieu de la ralingue et enfin au mât. Nous ne l'avons point vu employer, et elle a été portée en lignes ponctuées sur la figure 1. M. Bérard ajoute: "Nous avons vu plusieurs Pros avec un vent arrière mollir leurs drisses et roidir alors des retenues, attachées à la vergue entre la drisse et l'angle du bas et embrassant le mât, pour assurer un peu plus la vergue. Je ne crois pas que les deux cordes aient un autre usage. Au reste, les Carolins suivent rarement cette allure, ils aiment mieux faire une route composée et garder le vent du côté du balancier."

PROS DE TINIAN.

Les îles Marianes, découvertes en 1521 par Magellan, reçurent de lui [d'abord] le nom de las Velas latinas, à cause des voiles des Pros qui lui rappelaient celles de la Méditerranée. Les vols dont les naturels se rendirent coupables leur firent plus tard donner celui d'îles des Larrons, et ce fut enfin un jésuite qui les appela Marianes, du nom de doña Maria [Ana de Austria], dont la piété fut la principale cause de la conquête de cet archipel; la dépopulation de ces îles eut lieu avec une telle rapidité, qu'en 1778 il fallut y apporter des habitants des Philippines; maintenant il n'y en a plus que trois d'habitées, car les Espagnols s'y sont montrés aussi cruels qu'au Mexique. Les chefs, qu'ils voulaient réduire à l'esclavage, préféraient se donner la mort et se firent presque tous massacrer, car ils n'étaient armés que de frondes et de lances. Les Espagnols, encouragés par le père San Victores [sic], qui se signala par un zèle atroce, anéantirent en moins de vingt ans une population robuste et active, qui vivait heureuse sous un climat favorisé, et se distinguait surtout par sa hardiesse sur mer; les pirogues, que la noblesse seule avait le droit de conduire, marchaient avec une vitesse étonnante, qu'on exagéra encore en les appelant Pros volants, et produisirent la même impression sur l'amiral Anson, dans la relation duquel on trouve les premiers documents exacts, dont nous allons donner la traduction.¹

...
La description du chapelain du Centurion est exacte, ainsi que son plan, sur lequel cependant il y a des erreurs de disposition, suite naturelle de la manière dont il dit l'avoir dressé, puisqu'il s'est contenté de faire mesurer le Pros sans le voir manoeuvrer par les habitants. Il fait reposer le mât au fond et le fixe au levier, croyant sans doute qu'il ne pourrait tenir droit sans cela; mais il change ainsi la manière dont il est employé dans tout le grand Océan, et, en le plaçant trop bas, il ne lui fait pas assez élever la voile pour qu'elle soit comme celle des autres pirogues. Pour s'en convaincre, il n'y a qu'à supposer que le mât soulevé ait son pied posé sur la planche e e, la voile se relèvera et tout sera disposé comme dans les autres, ainsi qu'on peut aisément le voir en traçant au crayon ce que nous venons d'indiquer.

PIROGUES D'UMATA.

L'île de Guam, sur laquelle le joug espagnol s'est appesanti particulièrement, était jadis occupé, comme Tinian, par une population active et vigoureuse, qui aima mieux se laisser massacrer que de se soumettre à l'esclavage, et qui disparut bientôt. Les habitants actuels, provenant des Philippines, offrent un malheureux contraste avec les naturels qui les entourent, autant à cause de leur petit nombre que de la lèpre dont ils sont tous rongés, et qui se présente chez eux sous des formes si hideuse, qu'on comprend et qu'on approuve, en la voyant, la sévérité excessive de nos anciennes lois sur les lépreux, et les moyens extrêmes qu'on employait pour se délivrer d'un fléau qui, se transmettant de proche en proche, s'étend sur plusieurs générations. Les Espagnols qui résident encore dans ces îles en sont aussi attaqués, mais ils ne paraissent pas y attacher une

¹ Ed. note: French translation not repeated here; see annotated English original, below.

poser que le mât soulevé ait son pied posé sur la planche e e, la voile se relèvera et tout sera disposé comme dans les autres, ainsi qu'on peut aisément le voir en traçant au crayon ce que nous venons d'indiquer.

PIROGUES D'UMATA.

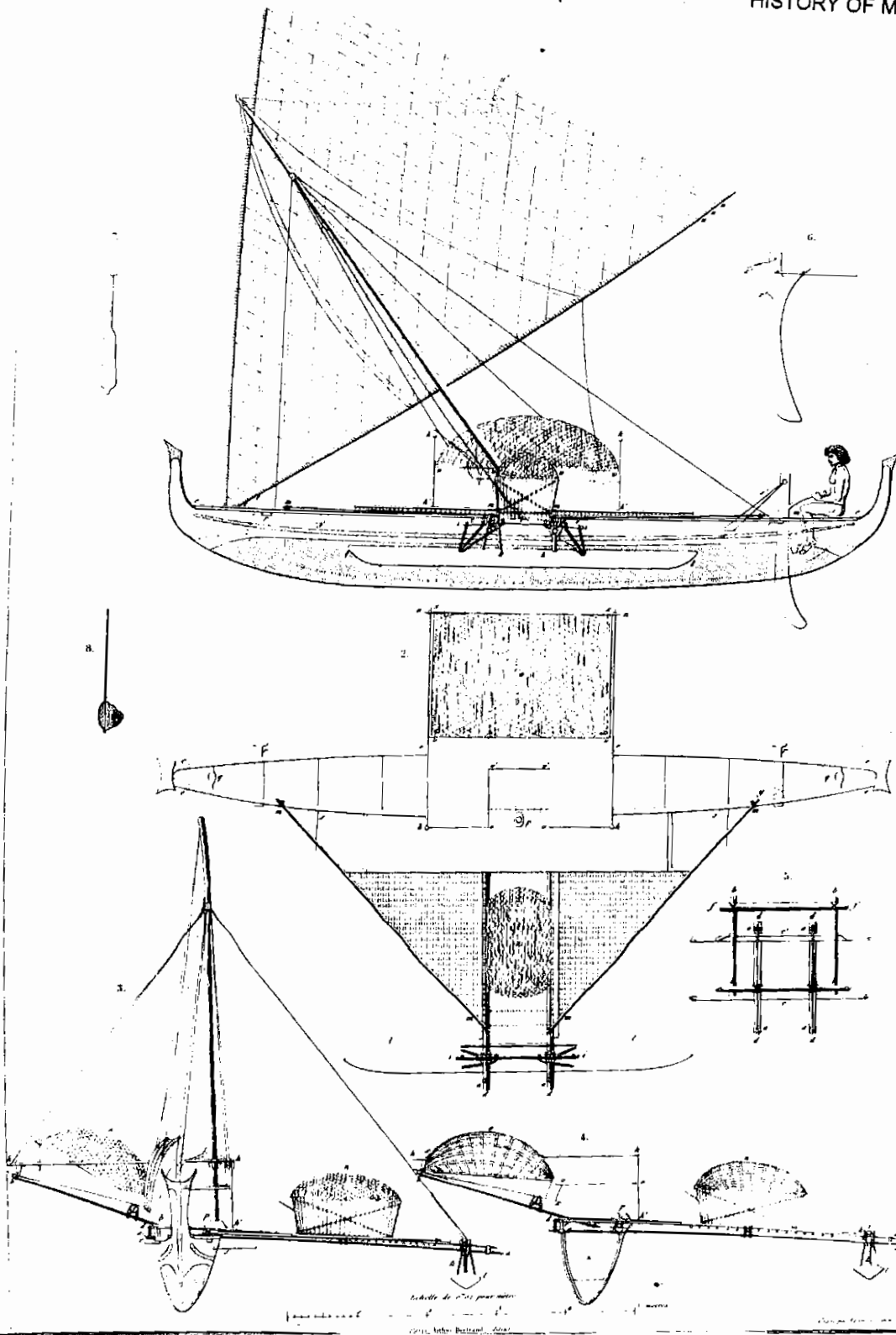
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On peut juger de l'état où ils sont tombés en comparant leurs pirogues (pl. 109) à celles dont nous venons de parler; la première (fig. 4, 5 et 6) a le corps taillé à pans dans un gros tronc d'arbre...

[pp. 104-105 defective]

...; clouée sur la partie supérieure de laquelle est une saillie latérale du même bois, avec deux forts pour les ..., pour lesquels on met des avirons semblables à ceux de l'Inde (fig. ..) le haut de l'arrière est bouché par une planche clouée. Le balancier est tenu par des leviers courbés, attachés sur le plat-bord, et par des amarrages dont l'un, qui se trouve au milieu, passe sous une traverse ... par une courbe appuyée sur ...

La seconde (fig. 7, 8 et 9) n'est qu'un arbre creusé et arrondi à l'extérieur, soutenu par un balancier simple et n'emploie jamais de voile (non plus que l'autre) ce que l'on pourrait presque ... de boîteux, lorsqu'on voit arriver de si loin les Pros volants, par ... à peine le fer.



Satawal canoe. Plate 106 of E. Pâris. A) In side view, shading of hull represents areas painted black, white parts red, quarter rudder (6) and paddle (7) shown; outrigger attachment of boom on left consists of straight stanchions, that on right two crutch stanchions. On next page are the plan view, end view, and cross-section.

Place 106 (cont'd). *B. Details shown: Arrangement and lashings of outrigger booms (a) and lee-platform booms (b) in relation to gunwales (e, e') of hull. Other symbols: d, secondary boom above and parallel with primary one; g, notch for head of yard; i, yoke; k, connectives; l, float; m, oblique spar of triangular platform; n, o, two thatched storage huts; p, mast step; r, quarter-rudder fulcrum; s, outboard ends of twarts; and z, bulkhead within hull.*

*PIROGUES DE DIFFÉRENTS GROUPES DE
L'ARCHIPEL DES CAROLINES.*

L'atlas du Voyage autour du monde de la corvette la Coquille contient plusieurs plans de pirogues du grand Océan; bien qu'ils n'aient pas été relevés rigoureusement... nous avons pensé qu'on les verrait avec plaisir figurer dans cette collection, ou ainsi presque aucun bateau intéressant ne sera... Le capitaine Duperrey, commandant de l'expédition, a bien voulu nous communiquer les détails suivants extraits de ses notes et de celles de MM. Bérard et Lottin, concernant les Pros représentés sur les planches.

"Les Pros du groupe des îles Hogoleu (pl. 110, fig. 1, 2 et 3) ...

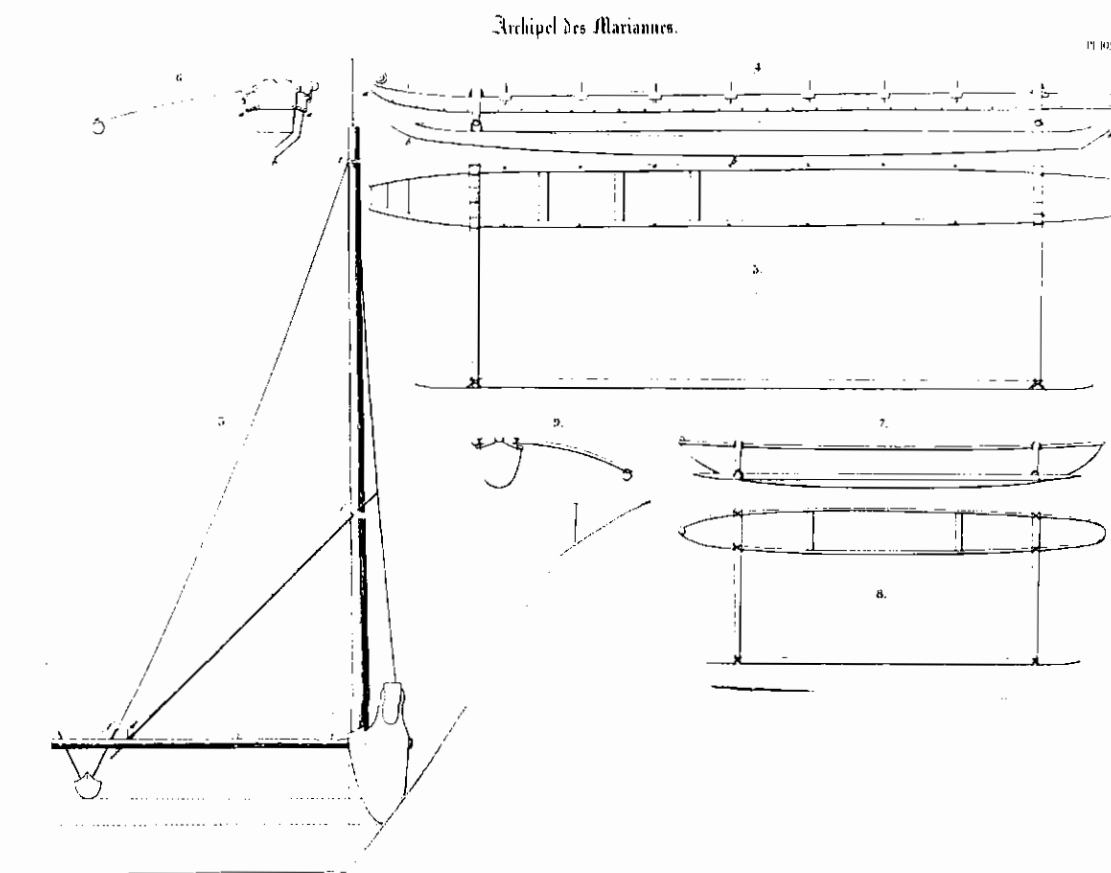
...

[1-1/2 pages of text missing here]

...

[p. 106]

pièce de bois de 4,86 m de long, jointe à la pirogue par plusieurs traverses formant une plate-forme. Le mât, placé sur le côté du vent, et fait de trois morceaux liés ensemble, était soutenu par une courbe [sic] appuyant sur les leviers et par deux étais attachés à chacune des extrémités.



Chamorro canoes. Plate 109 by E. Pâris. *Small canoe seen at Umatac in 1828. (Next page) Flying proa seen by Anson at Tinian in 1742; it is to be compared with figures in HM13:510-511.*

Archipel des Carolines.

Pl. 110

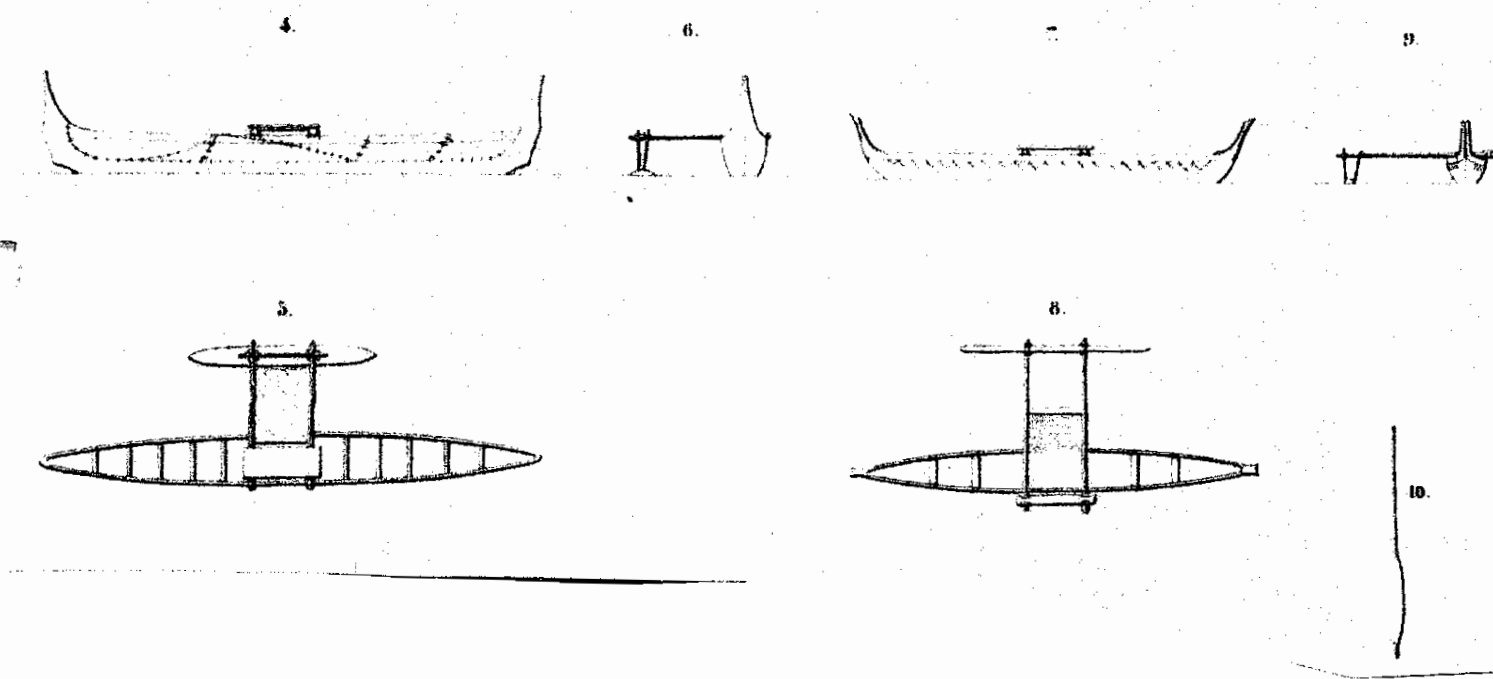
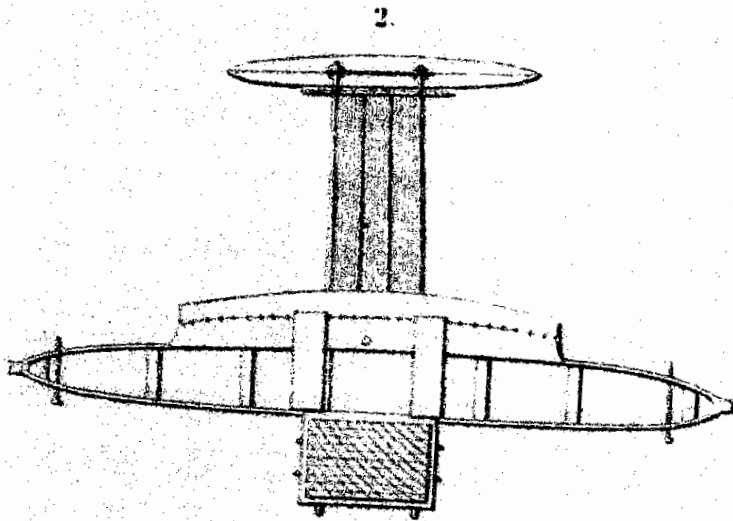
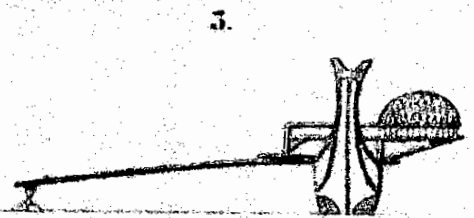
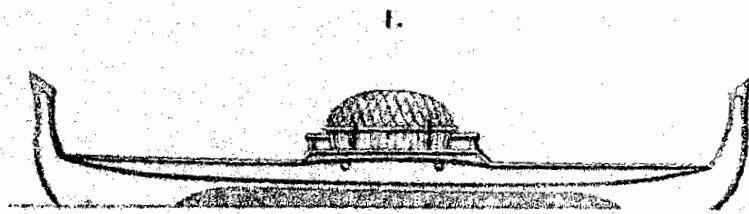
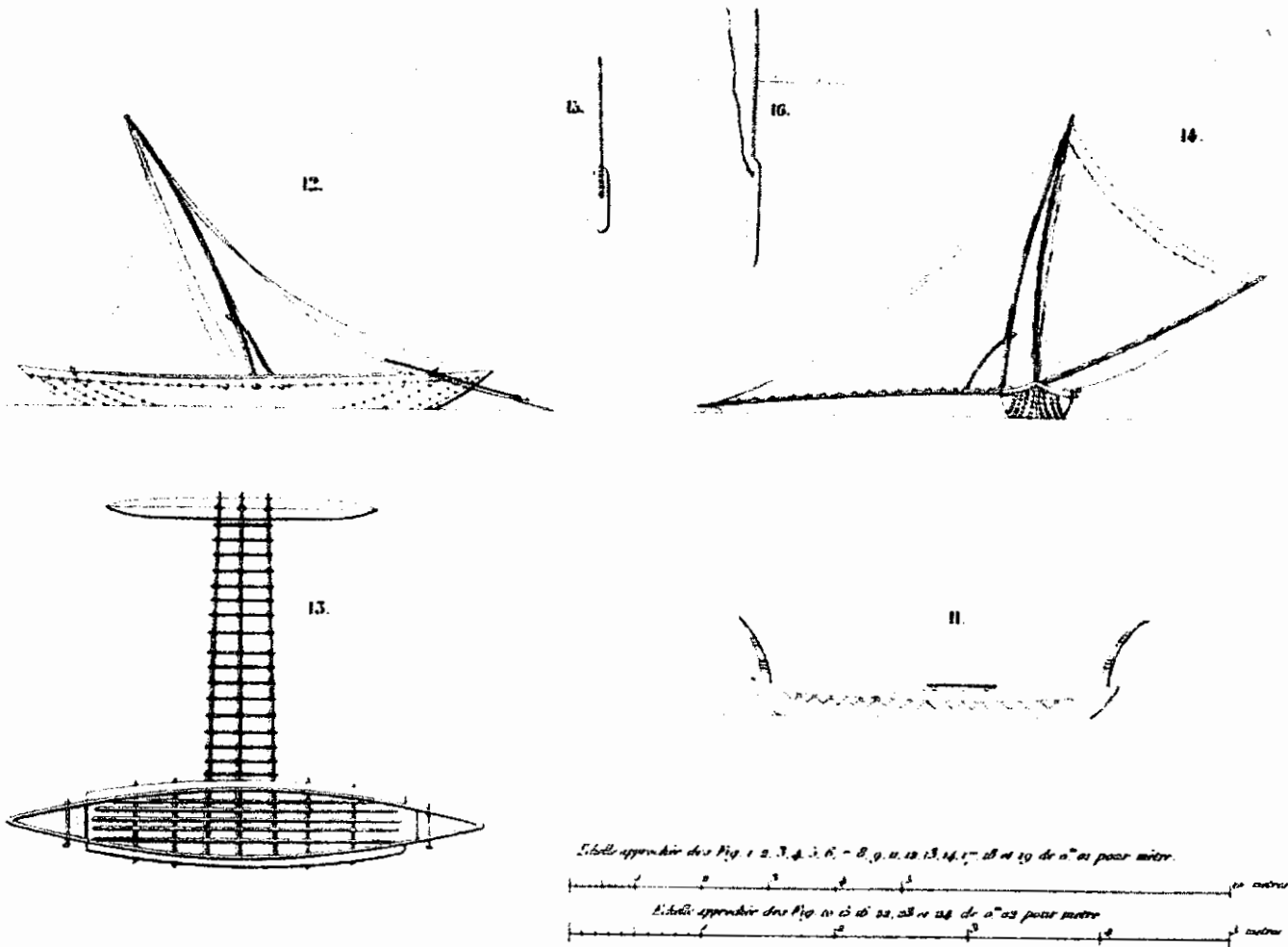


Plate 110 of E. Pâris: 1. Flying proa of the Chuuk lagoon. 11. Small canoe of Pingelap. 12. Gilbert Island canoe. 17. Woleai(?) canoe, etc.





L'échelle applicable des Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18 et 19 de 0" à 1" pour mètre.
L'échelle applicable des Fig. 11, 13, 14, 17, 18 et 19 de 0" à 2" pour mètre.

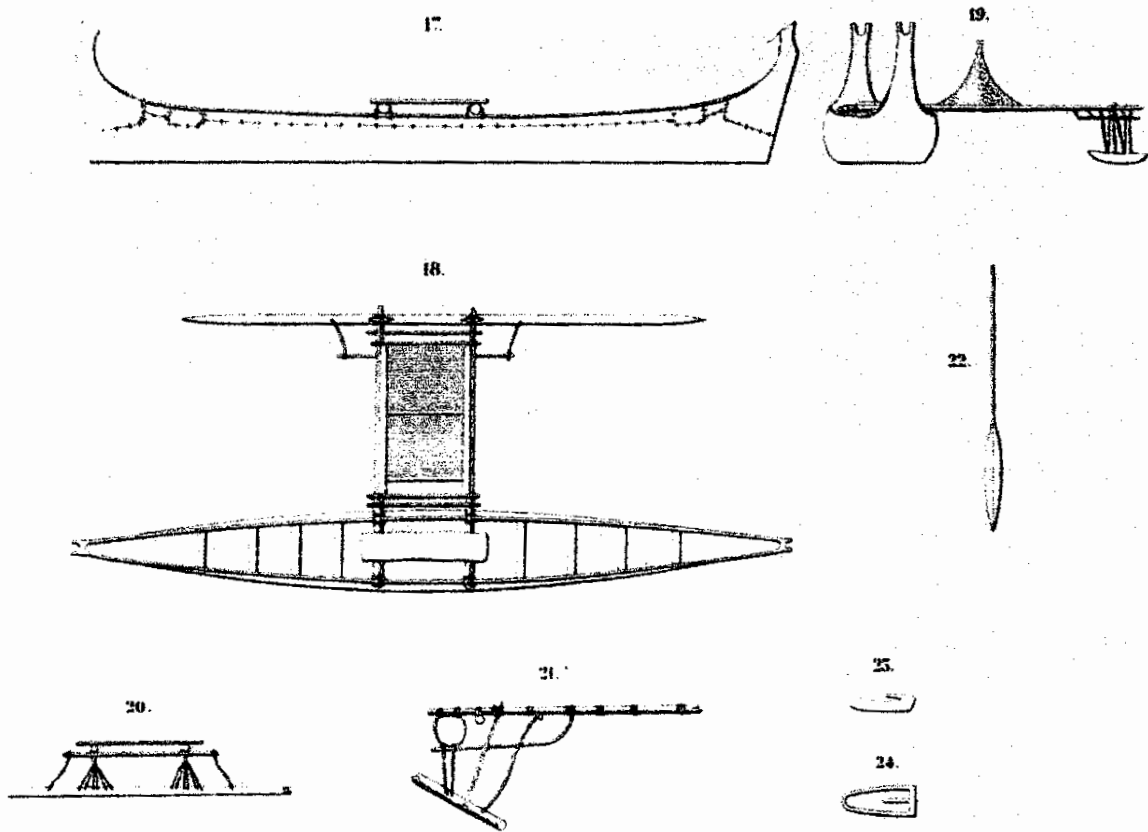
Plan de

Paris, chez Bouché, éditeur.

1. *Bac volant du groupe, Hogebo* 2. *Plan* 3. *Vue de l'avant* 4. *Petit, barge de pêche de la partie sud du groupe*
 5. *Plan* 6. *Élévation de l'avant* 7. *Barge* 8. *Petit, barge de l'île de* 9. *Barge des îles d'empire*
 10. *Plan* 11. *Vue perspective de l'avant* 12. *Vue de l'avant de l'île de* 13. *Vue de l'avant de l'île de*
 14. *Plan* 15. *Vue perspective de l'avant* 16. *Vue de l'avant de l'île de* 17. *Vue de l'avant de l'île de*
 18. *Plan* 19. *Vue perspective de l'avant* 20. *Vue de l'avant de l'île de* 21. *Vue de l'intérieur de l'île de*

Plate 110 of E. Pâris, taken from Duperrey's Voyage: 1. Satawal canoe. 4. Small canoe from same island. 6. Mokil canoe. 11. Rotuma Island canoe. 16. Double-out-rigger canoe of Rotuma. 17. Buka Island canoe.

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Dessiné par M. de Lamoignon

17. - *Biao* 18. - *Élévation de l'avant* 19. - *Voûte de l'île Pileup (groupe Mac-Asbill)*
 20. - *Biao* 21. - *Élévation de l'avant* 22. - *Bogau* 23. - *gouvernail* 24. - *Voûte de l'île de*
Papou 25 et 26. - *Les pieds de main* cette planche est extraite du voyage de la corvette commandée par M^r Duperré

Translation.

CAROLINE ARCHIPELAGO.

In the Caroline Islands, very distant from one another, the natives show even more industry and boldness with their canoes, which can be taken as the most perfect type of these small boats; they are the best canoes built in the Great Ocean. Such canoes astonished the Spanish who were the first [Europeans] to see them and exaggerated their speed. There is a very great similarity in all canoes between the various island groups of this long archipelago, from its western end near the Philippines all the way to the other end in its east.

Let us begin with the Elivi [Ulithi] Islands, where they differ from the standard canoes that we are about to describe by their smallness and the obliqueness of their forked ends. In Guap [Yap], located further east [rather west], they are but 7 to 8 meters in length; the sail, very large, but without sheets, was born by an inclined mast; the float, far out, was joined by stanchions to the outrigger booms, which were covered with lattice work extending over rods joining the ends of the outrigger to the ends of the canoes. Such canoes, similar those of Elivi, had on the inside, to receive the heels of the yard and boom, a cylindrical block like that upon which the harpoon lines are rove in whaleboats. The lee side of the hull was not very asymmetrical, and did not even exist in the small canoes, 4 to 5 meters in length, and were otherwise similar to the large ones and behaved remarkably on a sea beaten by a rather stiff breeze. Every one of them had a lee platform opposite the outrigger, but a few of them did not have any storage huts, because they probably have those only on long trips. We were able to draw them easily; many are even reproduced in Plates 240 bis and 241 of the historical atlas of the Voyage of the **Astrolabe**, but we have preferred not to add them to this work, not only because of their great similarity with the others, but also because we always prefer to publish accurate drawings. At Umatac, in the Island of Guam, we have taken measurements of many canoes from Satawal Island, among which we have chosen that of Plate 106 which shows all the details of this curious canoe.

SATAWAL CANOE.

The hull is usually made up of five pieces assembled without grooves, pierced according to thickness by dowels and fastened with small cords, within recesses in the wood and covered with white putty, the same as the joints themselves. A single dugout base, that has nothing in common with our keel, forms the whole underbody and provides a base, inboard and outboard, for the strakes which are joined to the ends that rise in an elegant curve, which terminates in a heavy head-board decorated with two horns (Plate 106, fig. 3). There is no supporting rib to reinforce the junction of these pieces, though they are very thin, because they measure only from 1.5 to 2 cm. in thickness, something which is at odds with the solidity of the outrigger structure; that is why, they have to revise the joints after every trip, to tighten them and re-apply putty. One board, *z* (fig. 4) is placed under the outrigger poles and joined to the hull with lashings. The top strake is covered by a gunwale *e-e*, empty underneath (fig. 4) and joined with

small lashings, which make the canoe appear very thick in the plan view (fig. 2), but are shown correctly in the cross-sectional view (fig. 4).

The canoes, which the natives call Waa, are but 13 or 14 meters in length and their two sides are markedly different; indeed, they have no need to be symmetrical, since their respective role never changes, the outrigger always remaining on the weather side. In fact, it is the ends that must be the same, because they act alternatively as a bow and a stern. However, it is the only country where the natives have felt the advantage of having the lee side flat and almost vertical, to reduce drift and counteract the effect of the outrigger boom which always tends to make the canoe luff, whereas the curved side on the weather side produces tends to make it fall off to leeward; also, the greater the speed, the greater the effect of the float and tendency to yaw to windward. Figures 2, 3 and 4 show exactly all curves with respect to a line running from end to end, and the side view is shown as a vertical cut along the same reference line. In a few other canoes, the sides differ even much more than this between themselves; however, the lee side is never completely flat. Even if it were, like the [Chamorro] canoe shown in Anson's Voyage, the boat would not lose any of its qualities for all that, but how many trials must have been made, before arriving at this equilibrium between forward forces and drag, forces that are so variable, and how one must admire the simplicity and correctness with which the inhabitants of these islands have learned how to balance them! The ends of the hull have no inboard parts, and all vertical sections resemble those amidship. The outside of the canoe, the outrigger boom, with all its connections, and sometimes even the lattice work, are painted dark red, as well as the parts that have been left blank in Figures 1 and 3; shaded parts are those painted black. These two colors seem to hold very well and are in common use in these islands;¹ the wood of the thwarts, rods, huts, mast, and oars are never painted. Everything is kept very clean and carefully maintained.

A large frame is laid on top of the hull in a most ingenious manner; the two main poles a-a, which pierce it and are joined to it with small lashings, have on top a parallel piece, d-d, placed on the gunwale, and another longitudinal piece, c-c, fixed between a-a and d-d (fig. 4 & 5), to support the ends of the two oblique rods, b-b, of the lee-side hut. Two forked stanchions, or four sticks, k-k, fastened to each of the two poles, serve to connect them with the float; they penetrate this float and are tied in place by lashings that pass through holes made on either side of them, and link these pieces, as well

1 A note in the Narrative of the voyage around the world, by Captain Freycinet, on page 124, tome 1, gives the following details regarding the paint of the Carolinians: "Here is how the author of the narrative on the Pelew Islands has described the manner with which this extraordinary paint is applied. *«The colours are crumbled with the hand into water, whilst it is warming over a gentle fire in earthen pots; they carefully skim from the surface whatever dry leaves or dirt may float on the top; when they find it sufficiently thick, they apply it warm, and let it dry upon the wood: the next day they rub it well over with cocoa-nut oil; and, with the dry husk of the cocoa-nut, give it, by repeated rubbing, a polish and stability that the waves cannot wash off.»* I should add that this varnish is extracted from the breadfruit tree; we will again refer to this when referring to the Marianas; various colors are then applied."

as another, horizontal, one, i-i, placed between a-a and d-d, whose ends are thus fastened. This solidity is necessary because of the proximity of the support points and the forces involved when the movements of the hull differ from those of the boom. The float is always made of a solid piece of wood, shaped like a quadrangular prism in cross-section, with one of its edges acting as a keel. The whole space between the two outrigger poles is filled with a lattice work of rods tied to some cross-pieces. It is there that the small hut, n, is tied down. The bottom and the sides of this hut are made of a lattice of rods, tied at some distance from one another to frames, and strengthened by diagonal pieces; the roof is curved and supported by laths that intersect one another at right angles, and fastened to the edge (fig. 4). Nipa palm leaves are tied to these laths and covered by a fish-net (fig. 1, 2 & 3). This hut has, on the inward side, a door, to introduce the food supplies. Such food is thus protected from the sun, but not from sea spray.

The outrigger frame is strengthened by long oblique spars, m-m, sometimes ornamented, tied to the top strake, and supported by a flooring made of laths carefully laid out, either fitted to one another, or simply forming a trellis tied together with cordlets; it fills part of the space comprised between m-m and the outrigger poles that are joined under long planks sewn together, covering the center but leaving an open space on the outside, to allow free use of the oar on that side; they have above the center on the weather side a bend, p, often next to the plank, with a hole in the middle, to receive the heel of the mast, which is a little pointed and can move freely within it.

On the platform in question there are sunk some risers, h-h', supporting wide benches, v-v, on one side, whereas on the other side, the riser rests on a board, v'-v', placed on the edge of the lee-side hut, whose exterior angles are joined to the riser, h-h', by horizontal rods, h-h, into which their upper end is mortised. An exterior piece, f-f, parallel to the hull, is tied above the support, b-b, and supports the lee platform, made of tight lattice work, surrounded by four vertical boards, x-x, whose ends are mortised, and tied to b-b. It is inside this border that is found a roof, o, built upon a frame similar to that of the food hut, but mobile, curved and not as high, under which the natives live and are not bothered by the sea; besides, their weight is thus constantly on the lee side, something which becomes important, should the sail be hit suddenly by a head wind; indeed, they can bend this roof in all directions to protect themselves.

The sides of the hull are joined together by thwarts that serve not only as benches, but have other specific uses. Those in the ends, q, are thicker and wider in the middle, where there is a hole used to step the yard; these thwarts are mortised in the hull but do not pierce it, like the next ones, s, which are fastened by small dowels (protruding on the lee side), whereas the third ones, s, are fastened on the weather side. The rudder (fig. 6) has on the side that cleaves the waves a notch, r', and a cord, s', tied on the lee side to thwart s, which, penetrating its summit, and tends, because it is offset, to prevent the canoe from falling off to leeward; however, since it is not held firmly to the thwart, the force of the water would immediately make this obvious, if the man who steers (fig. 1) was not sitting on the lee edge, or upon a stick fastened obliquely to point s and to the

hull (fig. 2), and forced to keep one leg outside to push on the rudder, whose bar he holds and is placed backward for the purpose. One is astonished to find, in boats made so remarkable by ingenious arrangements, the use of such an imperfect rudder, that is useful only with an oblique wind and must otherwise be replaced by two or three oars, the handling of which makes the men get tired rapidly at high speeds; so, in order to reduce the work of the steersman, he must be assisted by the sheet that two men have in one hand, and which they slacken to make the canoe fall off, and pull to make it luff.

The mast, which is always a little shorter than the yard or boom, often has a bulge near its base, to tie [the end of] the halyard, which is threaded through a small hole made at its summit. There is another, higher, hole, shaped like an inverted heart, with two grooves through which are rove the sheets designed to raise the boom, one for each side of the sail. The mast is supported by two stays fastened to twarts *r* and to the mast at a point $\frac{4}{5}$ its height, as well as by one shroud kept taut by the wind, and passing around cross-bar, *i-i*, and knotted upon itself. Two other, weaker, ones are placed inside the sail and fastened to the exterior angles of the lee platform, at *h* and *h*, for the purpose of holding the mast when the sail collapses [in a headwind].

The surface of the sail of Carolinian canoes is from 80 to 90 times that of the submerged parts of the hull and outrigger boom, a proportion that is smaller than that found in the Warkamoowees of Ceylon. This sail, made up of fine flexible mats, is very strong. The strips of mats used are 40 cm. in width, but at first sight, they appear to be half that size, because the sail has double layers and that their edges, sewn together on one side of the sail are also sewn at the same time to the centerline of the mats on the other side, where everything is arranged in the same manner; hence, there is a double row of stitches to each strip of mat, as can be seen in *t* and *t'* (fig. 1). Some cordlets, dyed dark red, *u-u*, are added; they are very light, about the size of our marline, and they form stitches perpendicular to the direction of the strip mats, at every 15 cm., thus strengthening the sail, but adding to its weight. The ends of the mats are rolled around the yard and boom as tightly as the thin line of in our rigging. thus linking the edges of the sail securely to the yard and boom. The yard and boom are light, and square in shape, of a size that is almost the same along their whole length, which is the same for both; their lower extremities are tied together by a cord 20 cm. in length which pass through holes made near their ends, and kept together by knots; the boom end is thus supported below and behind thwart *q*, when the yard is properly stepped.

The canoes always keep their outrigger float on the weather side, like the Warkamoowees, and tack in approximately the same manner: to carry out this maneuver, they fall off to leeward until the wind is abreast, then they let go the sheet, and the sail, half loaded and pushed by the wind, maintains the weather shroud taut. One man pulls on the aft stay, to raise the yard, and make it go out of its step, and to help the other men carrying same to the other end, by passing it over the deck. The fore stay is rove little by little as the corner of the sail gets near the end, until the yard is placed in the first thwart, *q*. The sail is then unfurled, and the voyage may be pursued. The need to pass everything above the deck where the mast is resting, is the reason why it is so inclined

(fig. 1), because it must be longer than the part of the yard comprised between the lower angle and the point where the halyard is tied, and its support being higher than that of the yard, it follows that it is very inclined when the yard is almost straight up. The halyard and the sheet are fastened to a point about $\frac{2}{3}$ up the length of the yard and boom [respectively], measuring from the point where they are joined together, so that a line that would join these two points would pass through the center of its [triangular] figure, a [design] rule that is very common all over the Great Ocean. This maneuver, so advantageous for tacking, was carried out many times in Umatac Bay, but we had already witnessed the tacking maneuvers of many single-outrigger canoes at Tonga Tabu, which carried it out in exactly the same manner. However, we do not know when exactly the Carolinians let go their lee shrouds, which are probably let go in order to transfer the sail. They must, however, be kept taut when at anchor, the same as when sailing, because of the mast which, not having any support, would swing when the movements of the hull make the sail swing as well; indeed, although the rolling movement of outrigger canoes is not as pronounced as those that are steadied with ballast, it nevertheless produces some very rough shocks, specially when the waves come in at right angles [to the hull] and when the outrigger, often lifted out of the water for an instant, falls back into the hollow of the wave that has just passed and is immediately lifted out by the next wave. It is therefore astonishing that such a frail craft can resist such shocks and that its joints do not open up; this resistance must certainly be due to the fact that it is narrow and light, thus obeying easily to the most lively impulsions of the sea.

We have spoken of the danger that single-outrigger canoes run, when the wind hits their sails dead ahead. Upon entering at Umatac in the Island of Guam, we have seen the maneuver that the natives execute in this instance. One of the Carolinian canoes that had been accompanying us for a few hours fell off to leeward [accidentally]. All the men immediately shifted their weight to the lee platform (Plate 107, background) but, as their float was sinking, they released the shrouds on this side, lowered the sail and the mast down to the outrigger booms, where they cleared everything, put it the mast once again, raised the sail and pursued their voyage. The rapidity with which they did everything showed that they were familiar with this specific maneuver and, at the same time, proved the advantages of having a lee platform, which is of their own invention. However, it sometimes happens that a canoe capsizes, but its crew alone can put it right side up again: some of the men push down on the float, while the others pull on the lee-side supports, until their efforts make the boat turn over, to resume its natural position. Then, they take the water out of the hull with bailers (fig. 8) made of a tightly-woven basket with a handle. They collect all parts of the rigging and the sail, that had been untied before the beginning of the operation and had floated off, and they soon have everything back in its place once again. Nevertheless, they fear a sudden drop in wind speed, because the sail becomes suddenly ineffective, while the momentum keeps the float going and its drag makes the canoe luff, they may founder accidentally [when the wind returns].

Above all, it is in this type of canoes, with a very thick float, that one notices the effect that the float has in making the canoe luff, although the full force of the sail is applied forward, to counteract it. That is why, with the wind astern and even with a fair wind (Plate 107 [left]), they have much trouble to maintain their heading, and every man must take turn at the rudder, which is very hard to handle, because the sail and the float together then tend to make the canoe luff. On the other hand, the best situation is when it sails close to the wind, as the forces are then compensated; it is then that they can reach the fastest speed. They all followed the corvette **Astrolabe**, which was then making from 7 to 8 knots, by sailing closer to the wind. This speed is far from that attributed to them in the old accounts, but it is nevertheless very good, given the smallness of these craft; they must even exceed this when the breeze is fresher, because they do not reduce their sail, and there was no man on the outrigger booms while they were following us.¹ With a fair oblique wind, or when the wind is very strong, they reduce the surface of the sail by hauling on the sheets.²

[Smaller canoes, brought to Guam for trading]

The canoes that we saw coming from Satawal (Plate 108) were all carrying a smaller canoe on their outrigger platform. It had the same shape as the big canoe, but its length was from one-quarter to one-third the size of the big one. Its ends were upturned, forked, and its paint completely similar, but its two sides were symmetrical. Its float, much smaller, was fastened to curved outrigger booms that were themselves fastened to the ends [of the small canoe] so as to leave enough space between them to accommodate the food storage hut, when taken aboard, with its hull near the mast and its float to windward. To unload this canoe, the natives lift it so as to clear one of the outrigger booms, and then they push it sideways, something that is very easy to do, given its lightness. So, only the Carolinians have such ship's boats for their canoes.³ Their weight

- 1 When Mr. Bérard, now a Navy Captain, was a cadet officer aboard the *Uranie*, he sailed for many days aboard such canoes and estimated their speed close to the wind at 6 knots at most. In the Narrative of the Voyage of the corvette *Uranie* (Tome 2, Part 1, page 124), he gives a curious list of all the terms that the natives use for the different parts of their boats. The same book contains the following extract from Captain Dampier, whose exactitude and truthfulness, says he, are well known: *"I have witnessed the lightness of these boats at Guam; when they passed us, we measured 12 knots with our log line, before the half-minute glass was yet finished; they make at least 12 knots, but I believe they could make 24 in the same period of time."*
- 2 One of the figures drawn by Mr. Bérard has, on the side opposite to the mast, a second sheet fastened near the halyard, which then passes through a ring in the center of the bolrope, and finally to the mast. I did not see it being used, but I have drawn it as a dotted line in Figure 1. Mr. Bérard adds: *"We have seen many canoes, when the wind is aft, slacken their halyard, but pulling on these sheets, fastened to the [lower] yard [rather boom] between the halyard and the lower angle and embracing the mast, in order to tighten the yard [sic] a little more. I do not believe that the two ropes have another use. Moreover, the Carolinians usually avoid this situation, and prefer facing the wind at an angle, keeping it on the side of the outrigger."*
- 3 Ed. note: Pâris did not realize that such small canoes were being traded at Guam, for iron, and were not standard equipment.

must certainly not increase the stability of the [big] canoes, because they must never let their float sink. Among all of these peoples, the Carolinians are those who have placed more weight on the outside, by distributing it with much intelligence. In fact, it is interesting to note that all these peoples look for stability outside, whereas those of the old continent get it by controlling ballast on the inside. The [wide] area of the windward platform allows the men to sit comfortably where they can balance the sail, but they have rarely a need to do that. Generally, all the canoes that we have inspected were strong, light and carefully built; they had few ornaments, and they looked like real sailing craft, more so than any of the other craft in the Great Ocean. However, one is surprised to find that their ends are not covered.¹ Each canoe carries from 6 to 8 natives, well-made, with a skin color darker than those of Tahiti or Tonga, with regular features and straight hair. They usually wear tattoos and decorate themselves with sea-shells, and are generally of a rather peaceful character; their islands have never known the bloody warfare that so many other islands have experienced.

TINIAN CANOES.

The Mariana Islands, discovered by Magellan in 1521, received [at first] the name of Islands of the Lateen Sails, because the sails of their canoes resemble those of the Mediterranean Sea. The thefts committed by the natives resulted later on in a new name, that of Islands of Thieves, and it was finally a Jesuit who baptized them Marianas, after Doña Maria [Ana of Austria], whose piety was the main reason for the conquest of this archipelago. The depopulation of these islands took place with such a speed that, in 1778, it became necessary to bring inhabitants from the Philippines; nowadays there are only three inhabited islands, because the Spanish have shown themselves to be as cruel as in Mexico. The chiefs, whom they wished to reduce to slavery, preferred committing suicide and most of them were massacred, because they were armed only with slings and spears. The Spanish, encouraged by Father San Victores [sic], who stood out by his atrocious zeal, eliminated in less than 20 years a robust and active nation that lived happily in a favorable climate, and above all, was known as a seafaring one; their canoes which only the nobility had the right to pilot, sailed with an astonishing speed, which was exaggerated even more by calling them flying proas.² They made the same impression on Admiral Anson, whose narrative contains the first exact documents, whose translation follows.³

"These Indians are a bold well-limbed people, and it should seem from some of their practices, that they are no ways defective in understanding; for their flying proas in par-

1 Ed. note: With a partial deck, against sea spray, etc.

2 Ed. note: It is not the only exaggeration that was made current by early English pirates, for instance, the myths about the slaughter of the population by Catholic conquest, etc. Some of these myths are repeated here by Pâris.

3 A voyage round the world by George Anson esq., compiled from papers of the R.H. Lord Anson and published under his direction by Richard Walter, chaplain of H.M.S. Centurion. London, page 339. Ed. comment: For original narrative, see Doc. 1742B. An annotated version follows.

ticular, which have been for ages the only vessels used by them, are so singular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dexterous and acute. For if we consider the aptitude of this proa to the particular navigation of these Islands, which lying all of them nearly under the same meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require the vessels made use of in passing from one to the other, to be particularly fitted for sailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon simplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, on the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we shall, in each of these articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and meriting a place amongst the mechanical production of the most civilized nations, where arts and sciences have most eminently flourished. As former Navigators, though they have mentioned these vessels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and, as I conceive, that, besides their curiosity, they may furnish both the shipwright and seaman with no contemptible observations, I shall here insert a very exact description of the built, rigging, and working of these vessels, which I am well enabled to do, for one of them, as I have mentioned, fell into our hands at our first arrival at Tinian, and Mr. Brett took it to pieces, on purpose to delineate its fabric and dimensions with greater accuracy. So that the following account may be relied on."

"The name of flying proa given to these vessels, is owing to the swiftness with which they sail. Of this the Spaniards assert such stories, as appear altogether incredible to those who have never seen these vessels move; nor are the Spaniards the only people who relate these extraordinary tales of their celerity. For those who shall have the curiosity to enquire at the dock at Portsmouth, about a trial made there some years since, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not less wonderful than any the Spaniards have given. However, from some rude estimations made by our people, of the velocity with which they crossed the horizon at a distance, while we lay at Tinian, I cannot help believing, that with a brisk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour. Which though, greatly short of what the Spaniards report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of swiftness. But let us give a distinct idea of its figure."

"The construction of this proa [Fig. 109, fig. 1, 2 & 3] is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the rest of mankind. For as the rest of the world make the head of their vessels different from the stern, but the two sides alike, the proa, on the contrary, has her head and stern exactly alike, but her two sides very different; the side, intended to be always the lee-side, being flat; and the windward-side made rounding, in the manner of other vessels: And, to prevent her oversetting, which from her small breadth, and the straight run of her lee-ward-side, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log, fashioned into the shape of a small boat, and made hollow: The weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the small boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her oversetting to windward; and this frame is usually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at least of that we took) is made of two pieces joined end-ways, and sowed together with bark, for there is no iron used about her: She is about two inches [5 cm.] thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less

than one [2.5 cm.]: The dimensions of each part will be better known from the uprights and views contained in the annexed plate [109], which were drawn from an exact mensuration; these I shall endeavour to explain as minutely and distinctly as I can.

"Fig. 1 represents the proa with her sail set, as she appears when viewed from the leeward. Fig. 2 is a view of her from the head, with the outrigger to the windward. Fig. 3 is the plan of the whole, where a-b is the lee-side of the proa; ... h-g and h-f, the outrigger or frame laid out to windward; k-l, the boat at the end of it; m-q and p-q, two braces from the head and stern to steady the frame; e-e, a thin plank placed to windward, to prevent the proa from shipping of water, and for a seat to the Indian who bails, and sometimes goods are carried upon it; i is the part of the middle outrigger, on which the mast is fixed; the mast itself is supported by the shore i-d and by the shroud i-f, and by two stays. The sail is made of matting, and the mast, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo. The heel of the yard is always lodged in one of the sockets t or v, according to the tack the proa goes on; and when she alters her tack, they bear away a little to bring her stern up to the wind, then by easing the halyard, and raising the yard, and carrying the heel of it along the lee-side of the proa, they fix it in the opposite socket; whilst the boom at the same time ... shifts into a contrary situation to what it had before ... When it is necessary to reef or furl the sail, this is done by rolling it round the boom [sic].¹ The proa generally carries six or seven Indians; two of which are placed in the head and stern, who steers the vessel alternately with a paddle according to the tack she goes on, he in the stern being the steersman; the other Indians are employed either in bailing out the water which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sail."

"From the description of these vessels it is sufficiently obvious, how dexterously they are fitted for ranging this collection of Islands ..., the proas, by sailing most excellently on a wind, and with either end foremost, can run from one of these Islands to the other and back again, only by shifting the sail, without ever putting about ... with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps sometimes greater than that with which the wind blows. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in similar instances on shore: For it is well known, that the sails of a windmill often move faster than the wind; and one great superiority of common windmills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the case we have mentioned of a vessel upon a wind and before the wind: For the sails of an horizontal windmill, the faster they move, the more they detract from the impulse of the wind upon them; whereas the common windmills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind, when they are in motion, as when they are at rest."

"Thus much may suffice as to the description and nature of these singular embarkations. I must add, that vessels bearing some obscure resemblance to these, are to be met with in various parts of the East-Indies ... which should induce one to believe, that this

1 Ed. note: Pâris made a comment at this point, but the error made was in the French translation he used, which said that the sail was rolled around the guy, rather than the boom.

was originally the invention of some genius of these Islands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations."

The description of the chaplain of the **Centurion** is exact, as well as his sketch, but there are some errors in arrangement—a natural consequence of the manner he says was used to draw it, because he contented himself with having it measured without seeing it being maneuvered by the inhabitants. He shows the mast stepped on the bottom and fixed to the outrigger, believing no doubt that it could not be held straight without that.¹ but he has thus changed the manner with which it is used in the whole of the Great Ocean; in fact, by placing it too low, his sail is shown to be too low as well, and not as in all other canoes. In order to convince oneself of this fact, it is sufficient to suppose that the mast has been raised and stepped on the plank e-e; the sail will then go up and be arranged as in all other canoes (one may use a pencil to trace the new positions and come to the same conclusion).

CANOES OF UMATAC.

The Island of Guam, upon which the Spanish yoke was specially hard, was inhabited a long time ago by an active and lively people who preferred to let themselves be massacred rather than submit themselves to slavery, and who have disappeared in a short time. The present inhabitants come from the Philippines and offer an unfortunate contrast with the natives who surround them, not only on account of their small number but also on account of the leprosy which affects most of them, and appears to be so hideous that one understands and approves, upon seeing it, the excessive severity of our ancient laws regarding leprosy and the extreme means that were taken to get rid of a plague that, by transmitting itself between relatives, lasts for many generations. The Spanish who still live in these islands are also affected, but they do not seem to give it much importance. The inhabitants of Guam are so lazy that they live in some bad huts, hardly cultivate the very fertile soil and, though they have contacts with the old continent, are much more miserable than their pleasant neighbors.

One may judge the state into which they have fallen by comparing their canoes (Plate 109) with those that have just been described. The first one (fig. 4, 5 & 6) is a one-piece dugout hewn from a single big log ...

...

[Required: Better copies of pp. 104-105]

...

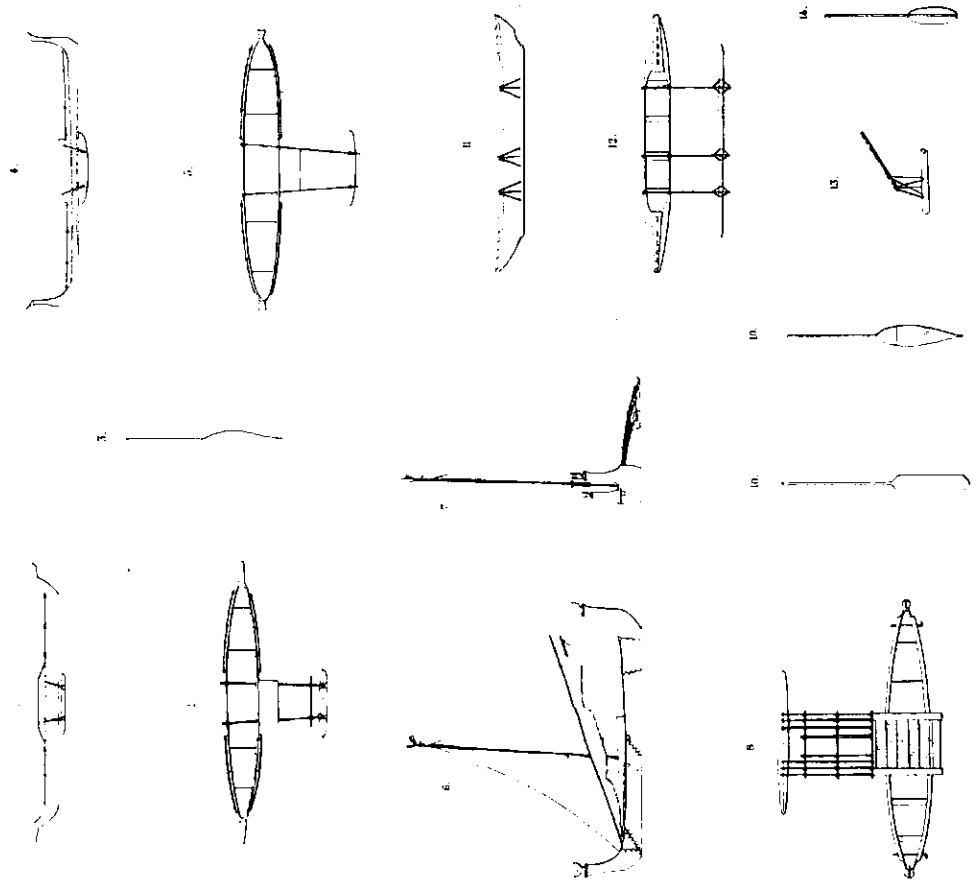
The second canoe (fig. 7, 8 & 9) is but a tree trunk, hollowed out and made round on the outside, supported by a simple float; it never uses a sail (no more than the former). One could describe it as being a makeshift contraption, when one looks up to see the flying proas coming from so far away ...

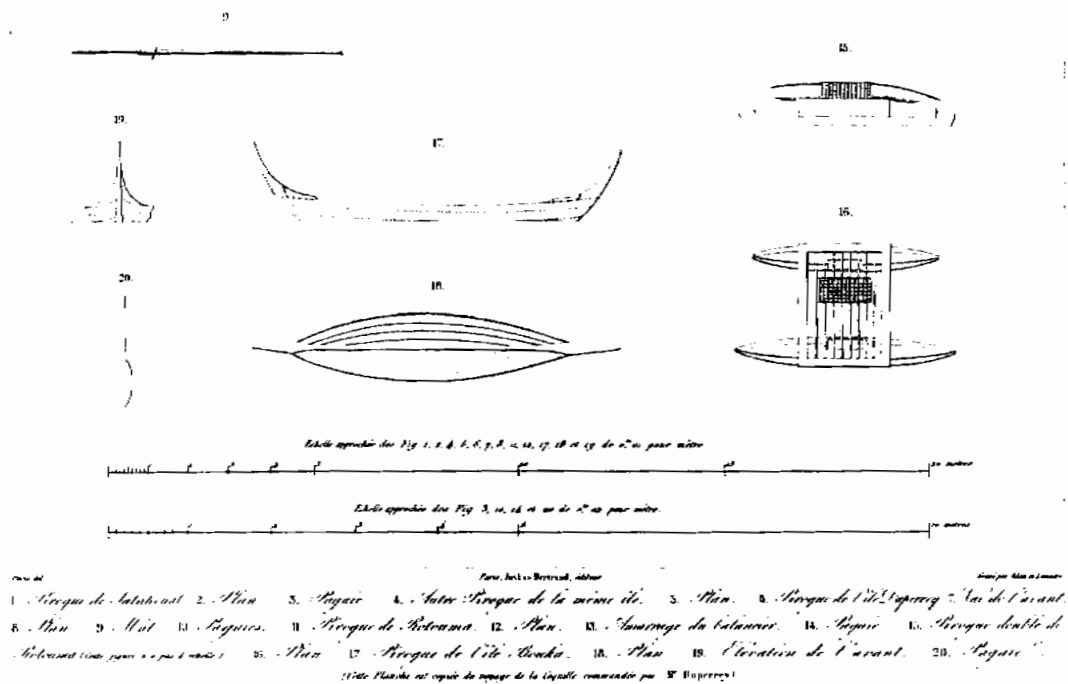
...

1 Ed. note: Indeed, the mast is even shown vertical, when it should be raked/inclined forward.

Archipel des Arotines.

Pl III





CANOES OF DIFFERENT GROUPS IN THE CAROLINE ARCHIPELAGO.

The [historical] atlas of the Voyage around the world of the corvette **La Coquille** contains many sketches of canoes of the Great Ocean. Although they had not been drawn accurately ... we have thought it would be a good idea to reproduce them as part of this collection, where none of the more interesting boats will be ... Captain Duperrey, the commander of the expedition, has been so kind as to send me the following details, extracted from his notes and those of Messieurs Bérard and Lottin, regarding the canoes that appear on the plates.

"The canoes of the Hogoleu [Chuuk] Island Group (Plate 110, fig. 1, 2 & 3) ...

[Req'd: pp. 104-105]

[p. 106]

a piece of wood 4.86 meters in length, joined to the hull by many poles forming a platform. The mast, placed on the windward side, and made of three pieces of wood joined together, was supported by a curved shore resting on the outrigger and by two stays tied to each of the ends."

Comment by a modern expert

James Hornell. The Canoes of Polynesia, Fiji, and Micronesia (Honolulu, 1936; reprinted 1975), page 376.

...
Caroline sea-going vessels are figured in the accounts of early nineteenth century voyages of discovery, notably Duperrey, Freycinet, and D'Urville; Pâris (1841-43) reproduces many of these. Unfortunately, though giving a good general idea of their form and peculiarities, notably the great development to which a counterpoise to the outrigger frame has evolved in the shape of an ingenious lee platform, these sketches and the accompanying descriptions do not give sufficient details of the methods employed to connect the float to the outrigger booms. It is not till recent times when the Carolines came within the sphere of German influence that adequate information is given on this all-important point. To Kubary, Krämer, Müller, Sarfert, Hambruch, and other German ethnologists, is owed an immense debt of gratitude for the careful and detailed accounts they have supplied of the sea craft of the Caroline Islands.

Documents 1828E

The first d'Urville expedition—The accounts of Quoy and Gaimard

General source: Zoology volume of the Voyage of the Astrolabe.

Notes: Their work on zoology has been studied by Oustelet (see Doc. 18190). Dr. Jean-René Constant Quoy was born in 1790 at Maille, in Vendée. Dr. Joseph Gaimard was born in 1793 at Saint-Zacharie, in Var. Both had previously visited Micronesia with the Freycinet expedition.

E1. Extract from the diary of Dr. Quoy

Source: Manuscript n°656, notes written by Dr. Jean-René-Constant Quoy, preserved in the Municipal Library at La Rochelle, France.

Original text in French.

Folio 312v: [Récit au sujet de l'île de Vanikoro où périt La Pérouse, lu à la Société de Rochefort, le 20 juin 1832].

...
Nous appareillâmes après une relâche d'environ 27 jours [à Vanikoro]. Notre sortie ne fut pas sans quelque danger par la nécessité de ranger de fort près et à la voile de nombreux récifs. Pendant longtemps encore nous eûmes des pluies continuelles et nos malades au lieu de diminuer augmentait. Il y avait des instants où on ne pouvait mettre de quart que quatre hommes et un offiier. Il était donc instant de se diriger promptement sans vers un lieu civilisé. Mr. Durville, indisposé lui-même, avait à choisir entre le Port Jacson ou les Iles Mariannes dont nous étions éloignées d'au moins 1,500 lieux. Il se décida pour ces dernières, parce que nous avons la chance des belles mers des Tropiques. Engin, après avoir traversé l'archipel des Carolines, nous laissions tomber l'ancre à Guam, exténués de fatigue, malades et manquant de tout.

Là nous reçûmes du gouverneur espagnol, Mr. Medinilla, la même hospitalité qu'il nous avait accordée dix ans auparavant sur la corvette l'Uranie, qui se trouvait absolument dans les mêmes circonstances. Tous nos malades furent envoyés à terre et confiés aux soins de Mr. Lesson jeune.

Nous les visitions également Mr. Gaimard et moi quand la maladie nous le permettait.

Translation.

[Narrative of the visit to Vanikoro where La Pérouse had perished, read before the Society of Rochefort on 20 June 1832].

...
 We set sail [from Vanikoro Island], after a visit that had lasted about 27 days. Our exit was not without danger, due to the need for passing very close to some reefs while sailing. For a long time yet we suffered from continuous rain and the number of our sick men kept on increasing. There were times when no more than four men and one officer could be on watch. It was therefore urgent to head promptly to a civilized place. Mr. d'Urville, sick himself, had to choose between Port Jackson or the Mariana Islands that lied at least 1,500 leagues away. He decided to head for the Marianas, because we would be favored by the beautiful seas between the tropics. At last, after crossing the Caroline Islands, we let go the anchor in Guam, exhausted with fatigue, sick and lacking in everything.

We received there, from the Spanish governor, Mr. Medinilla, the same generous hospitality that he had granted us 10 years earlier, when the corvette **Uranie** was absolutely in the same circumstances. All our sick were sent ashore and entrusted to the care of Mr. Lesson, Junior.

Mr. Gaimard and myself would also visit them, when our sickness would allow it.

E2. Another extract from Dr. Quoy's diary

Source: Translated by Rosenmann in the UHP edition.

Guam, 1828.

Our sick were ashore for nearly three weeks, with fresh food, enjoying walks morning and evening when it was least hot, without showing any improvement in their general condition. This must be attributed to the utter impossibility of stopping them from overloading their stomachs with all kinds of food that they obtained from the inhabitants. The petty officers were no more reasonable than the sailors, and during the time that Mr. Gaimard's bouts of fever lasted, I have never had to treat such an unpleasant bunch. Sometimes when I felt obliged to give in to their whimpering, I would give them medicine, knowing that its effect would be destroyed by their intemperance. So it was, that one of them, the Englishman we had taken on at Tikopia,¹ hastened his death by eating an excess of venison. I would also be inclined to agree with the Governor, that the stay in Umatac is rather too humid for sick people and that Agaña would be more suitable. We had no choice. It would have been impossible for the **Astrolabe**, once she was anchored in the vast Apra Harbor, to send all the sick ashore and have any work at all done on board because of the long distance to the town...

1 Ed. note: His name was Hamilton.

We re-embarked almost all our patients who still had fever after a month's stay. Some of them found enough strength, by conserving it, to be able to carry out their duties between bouts of fever.

E3. Extract from a letter from Quoy and Gaimard to Freycinet

Source: Article in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie (Paris), tome 10, 1828, pp. 169+

Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Island, 25 December 1827.

Dear Commander,

We presume that you must have received our letter from Port Jackson, but since it is probable that you have not yet received those we wrote to you from New Zealand and from Tonga-tabu, we will summarize them here, so that you may be kept abreast of the operations of our voyage.

...

[More about the Manila brig and Mendiola]

We picked up four men from the Spanish ship from Manila, the **Concepción** that was shipwrecked three years ago. About twenty other men from her crew have fled to Imbao [Mbow], on the big Island of Viti, where they are still there with Americans. Among these Spaniards was a young man from Guam, who is now serving with us. If you see fit to publish this note, it may some day be useful to these unfortunate men who survive among a ferocious people where inter-island warfare is common, and where prisoners are eaten. Cannibalism is practiced at its highest degree there. Although they are in close proximity to Tonga, they do not belong to the Polynesian race, but rather to the Papuan race, and have a more beautiful shape. Their skin is black and their hair frizzy, like the Papuans. They call their islands Viti. Sandal-wood is to be found on only two of their islands. We have done our most dangerous geographical work at that place.

...

Editor's notes.

Dunmore has summarized the track of the **Astrolabe** through the Tonga and Fiji Islands. The ship had picked up Mendiola at Ogea Levu in May 1827. This man remembered seeing the **Uranie** at Guam in 1819 and recognized Quoy and Gaimard. The brig **Concepción** had been shipwrecked on Vanua Levu, apparently. Mendiola was able to serve as an interpreter for the French. Upon reaching Lakemba, three more Spanish survivors from the **Concepción** joined the ship; however, these men died later on, before reaching Guam.

The Englishman Hamilton, who died of fever at Guam had been a deserter from the ship **Harriet**, Captain Clark (STM 1828-29).

Documents 1828F

The Bayonnaise, Captain Tromelin

Source: Legoarant de Tromelin. "Voyage autour du monde... 'La Baïonnaise'. In the Journal des voyages, vol. 42 (1829), pp. 39+

Note: Tromelin was in Peru with his corvette when he received instructions to visit the French settlers in Hawaii and Vanikoro (Santa Cruz Island north of the New Hebrides, or Vanuatu) and to report on the political conditions on the islands. After he visited the site of La Pérouse's shipwreck, right after d'Urville, he too returned to France by way of Guam, where he stayed from 9 to 22 July.

Voyage around the world, undertaken by Mr. Legoarant de Tromelin, Navy Commander, in charge of His Majesty's corvette La Baïonnaise.

This expedition, of great interest for science, ended successfully, after two years and five days. Captain Legoarant de Tromelin, commanding the corvette **Bayonnaise**, sailed from the port of Toulon on 21 December 1826, and came back to anchor in that of Marseilles, on 19 March 1829. In a letter, dated aboard 20 September 1828, and addressed to the General Officer in charge of the Navy...

...
 "When I left them [i.e. the Swallow Islands of Carteret], I headed northward, to cross the Carolines a little more to the east, and then go to Manila after stopping at Guam. I crossed the Carolines without seeing any of them, although my track passed directly on top of the position assigned to various islands."

"On 9 July, I arrived at Guam and went to anchor in the port of San Luís de Apra. I found that the island was still governor by Don José de Medinilla, the same man who had been there 10 [rather 9] years earlier, when Mr. Freycinet received the most generous hospitality from him. He had been replaced at the time of the Cortes [in Spain] and had been in Manila when Messieurs Bougainville and Du Camper [sic] stopped there; they were his guests the whole time they were in that port. This excellent governor, who has been so obliging and so affectionate toward our predecessors, would have been no less so for us, if we had been within better reach of his offers. We spent but a few days at Guam and the distance that separates the port of San Luís from Agaña, where the governor resides, did not allow me to make more than two visits to him; however, in order to have the pleasure to spend more time with me, he decided to spend one day on board the corvette, with some important men from among the inhabitants. We parted

with expressions of the fondest of friendships. In truth, this worthy governor deserves our thankfulness on many accounts: he went so far as to anticipate all our wishes, and at the moment of our departure, he sent us an abundant supply of all sorts of refreshments for the crew.”

“We spent 12 days at this place. I learned that the **Astrolabe** had also stopped at this island, in the port of Umata, two months earlier. Captain d’Urville, however, had been less lucky than I, because he had a large number of sick people, and had lost a few during his stay of 20 days at Umata, whence he had left bound for Amboina.”

“At Guam, I changed my plan to go to Manila, because I would have been there at the wrong season, and would have had to remain there until November to catch the right monsoon for my return voyage. I therefore decided to go straight to Bourbon Island by way of the Moluccas. On 22 July, I sailed from Guam, heading SW, crossing the Carolines for the second time; I saw only one island that was not marked on any of my charts...”

...

Document 1828G

The Globe, Captain Dixey, via Meriere Island

Source: Ms. in Ship Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

Logbook of the Ship **Globe**, Voyage 1827-1828, Captain Dixey, kept by G. Harrold.

[The American Ship **Globe** from Liverpool to Canton and Philadelphia, commencing 10 October 1827 and ending 8 October 1828.]

...
8 Feb 1828

... At 5:30 p.m., made the Asia Islands [off New Guinea] bearing WSW 16 miles... Lat. 0°49', long. 132°1' [E].

...
11 Feb 1828

... At 7 a.m., made the island of Meriere bearing NE by N 10 miles... Lat. 3°39' long. 131°43'...

12 Feb 1828

... At 4 p.m., Meriere bore W by S1/2S 8 miles... Lat. 5°20' 131°15'.

...
[Nothing worth mentioning until the 20th when the Batan Islands were sighted. South of Meriere, the **Globe** was in company with the ship **Hannah** of Bombay, Captain Martin, also bound to Canton. The **Globe** returned to the U.S. via the Philippines in 130 days.]

Document 1828H

**The ship Héros, Captain Duhaut-Cilly, via
Asunción Island**

Source: Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly. Voyage autour du monde (Paris, 1829).

Voyage around the world, 1826-1829**Original text in French.**

...
Novembre 1828.

... Nous gagnâmes promptement le parallèle de 19° de latitude Nord; c'était la route la plus exempte de dangers; et comme notre but était de nous rendre le plus sûrement et le plus promptement possible à Canton, nous la suivîmes, sans rechercher la vue de ces îles, de ces groupes et de ces archipels dont les descriptions ont répandu tant de charme sur les récits des voyageurs qui les visitèrent ou les découvrirent: d'ailleurs, le même intérêt de nouveauté n'existe plus, et les navigateurs d'aujourd'hui sont presque réduits à se répéter ou à se contredire.

Au bout de dix jours, nous nous trouvâmes sous le méridien qui passe par Paris, et notre longitude changeant de dénomination, nous changeâmes aussi notre date, en sautant un jour: au lieu de compter, le mardi 25, 180° à l'Ouest de Paris, nous comptâmes, le mercredi 26, 180° à l'Est.

La traversée était monotone, le tems très-inconstant, souvent couvert et orageux; le vent varia d'abord du Sud-Ouest à l'Est-Sud-Est, et ensuite de l'Est au Nord-Est. La mer était généralement incommode et croisée.

Décembre 1828.

Le 10 décembre, comme nous approchions des Iles Mariannes, et que le tems était favorable, nous prîmes plusieurs séries de distances de la lune au soleil, et nous obtînmes, pour midi, 144°19' de longitude Est. La longitude déduite des observations faites le 1er, était alors de 145°37'; c'est-à-dire, que, dans neuf jours, nous avons été portés en avant par le courant, de 1°18'. La dernière observation nous mettait à 64 milles à l'Est 1/4 Sud-Est de l'île de l'Assomption, située, selon Lapérouse, par 143°15' de lon-

gitude, et par 19°40' de latitude Nord; d'après la même position, la pointe Nord de l'île d'Agrigan, que la carte anglaise de Nories [sic] place par 19°31' de latitude, devait nous rester à 49 milles à l'Ouest.

J'avais sous les yeux le voyage de Roquefeuille [sic] qui, ayant pris ce passage en février 1819, dit: que le 24, à midi, observant la latitude de 19°31', il relevait l'Assomption au Nord 18° Ouest, à environ 10 milles, et l'île d'Agrigan au Sud 7° Est, à toute vue, à l'horizon. Il y avait donc erreur dans l'une ou dans l'autre de ces deux latitudes; mais je ne balançai pas à donner ma confiance à la dernière, et nous nous dirigeâmes en conséquence.

Le 11, à une heure après-midi, devant être à 7 lieues de l'île de l'Assomption, j'observai 19°28' de latitude par la hauteur de Sirius. Nous mîmes en panne, et, à la pointe du jour, ayant fait servir, nous aperçumes l'île à cette distance, dans l'Ouest-Nord-Ouest.

À midi, la latitude fut observée, de 19°27', et à trois heures, l'île de l'Assomption restait au Nord 22° Ouest, à quatre lieues, et celle d'Agrigan au Sud 11° Est, à huit lieues. Nous eûmes donc l'occasion de nous assurer que la carte de Nories, qui place la pointe Nord de la dernière par 19°31' fait une erreur d'environ 24'; car, sans avoir pu la déterminer exactement, nous pouvons au moins assurer que ce passage embrasse à-peu-près douze lieues du Nord au Sud, au lieu de quatre lieues que lui donne la carte anglaise; et, comme l'île de l'Assomption paraît bien située, l'erreur porte nécessairement sur la position d'Agrigan, dont la pointe Nord devrait être placée par 19°7'.

Une différence aussi considérable ne peut pas être passée sous silence, et c'est pour cette raison que je suis entré dans tous ces détails, qui ne peuvent intéresser que des marins qui prendraient ce passage en se rendant des îles Sandwich à Canton.

À quatre lieues de distance, l'île de l'Assomption nous parut avoir sept à huit milles de tour; sa forme nous semble circulaire, représentant un cône très-élevé, dont la partie orientale est d'une pente plus rapide que le côté opposé, où nous remarquâmes de la verdure et quelques arbres. Aussitôt que nous nous trouvâmes sous le méridien de l'île, de gros nuages, qui se tenaient à l'horizon, s'étendirent tout-à-coup à notre zénith et nous amenèrent une forte brise de Nord-Est qui ne nous quitta plus: il semblait que nous eussions passé une ligne de démarcation entre les faibles brises que nous avions depuis long-tems et un nouveau parage qui nous promettait plus de célérité sur la fin du voyage que dans ses commencements.

De là nous dirigeâmes la route pour passer entre l'île Formosa et l'Archipel des Bahies, longue chaîne d'îlots qui sert comme de barrière à la Mer de Chine entre les Philippines et Formosa.

Le 19, par un tems chargé et pluvieux, nous eûmes la vue de l'île Botel-Tobago-Xima...

...

Translation.

...

November 1828.

We quickly headed for the parallel of 19° lat. N., which was the course that was relatively free of danger. As our purpose was to get to Canton as safely and quickly as possible, we following it, without looking for any of the islands, groups and archipelagos whose descriptions have brought much charm to the narratives of the travellers who visited them, or discovered them. Moreover, a similar curiosity no longer exists, and today's travellers have nothing to do but to repeat what they said, or contradict them.

At the end of 10 days, we found ourselves on the meridian that passes through Paris, and our longitude changed. We also changed our date, which jumped one day, so that, instead of recording Tuesday 25th, and 180° W., we recorded Wednesday 26th, 180° E.

The passage was monotonous, the weather very unstable, often overcast and stormy. The wind was variable, first from SW to ESE, and then E to NE. The sea was generally uncomfortable and running at right angle to our course.

December 1828.

On 10 December, as we were approaching the Mariana Islands, and that the weather was favorable, we took many series of sun-moon distances, and got, for noon, 144°49' longl. E. Our longitude, calculated from observations made on the 1st, was then 145°37', which meant that over nine days, we had been pushed forward by the current a distance of 1°18'. The last observation placed us at 64 miles E1/4SE of Asunción Island, located, according to La Pérouse, in 143°15' long. and 19°40' lat. N. According to the same position, the north point of Agrigan Island, which the English chart by Norie places in 19°31' lat., must have been 49 miles due west.

I had with me the Voyage of Roquefeuil who, having made the same passage in February 1819, says: "On the 24th, at noon, I observed the latitude of 19°31'. Asunción Island then bore N18°W at about 10 miles, and Agrigan bore S7°E, in plain sight on the horizon."¹ Therefore, there was an error in one of these two latitudes; however, I did not favor the latter, and headed accordingly.

On the 11th, at 1 a.m., estimating that I was still 7 leagues from Asunción Island, I observed 19°29' lat. by the elevation of Sirius. We hove to and, at daybreak, when we resumed our voyage, we sighted the island at this distance to WNW.

At non, the latitude was observed to be 19°27', and at 3 p.m., Asunción bore N22°W, 4 leagues, and Agrigan Island bore S11°E, 8 leagues. We therefore had the opportunity to figure out that Norie's chart, which places the north point of the latter island in 19°31', contains an error of about 24' because, though we could not determine it exactly, we think we can at least assert that this strait measures about 12 leagues north to south, instead of the 4 leagues given to it by the English chart. Also, as Asunción Is-

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1819B.

land appears to be well situated, the error must necessarily apply to the position of Agrigan Island, whose north point must be located in 19°7' lat. N.¹

Such a considerable difference cannot be ignored, and that is why I have given so many details that could only be of interest to mariners who might follow us through this passage when going from the Sandwich Islands to Canton.

At a distance of 4 leagues, Asunción Island appeared to us to be from 7 to 8 miles in circumference; its shape seems to be circular, representing the base of a very high cone, whose eastern flank is steeper than the opposite side, where we noticed some greenery and a few trees. As soon as we found ourselves on the meridian of the island, some big clouds, that had been on the horizon, suddenly extended to our zenith and brought along a strong breeze from NE that stayed with us. It seemed as if we had passed a demarkation line between the weak breezes that we had experienced for a long time, and a new neighborhood that promised us greater speed toward the end of the voyage than at its beginning.

From there, we headed for the gap between Formosa Island and the Bashi archipelago, that long chain of islets that serves as a barrier to the China Sea, between the Philippines and Formosa.

On the 19th, in the middle of an overcast and rainy weather, we sighted Botel-Tobago-Xima Island...

...

1 Ed. note: The correct latitude of the north point of Agrigan is 18°48'.

Documents 1828I

The whalers Fawn, Cape Packet, and Reynard visited Guam

Source: Mss. in the LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, MCF reel #4, Item 18.

I1. Certificate issued by Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 20 April 1828

Notes: The English whaler Fawn, Captain Charles Dale, was, according to Jones' Ships, built at Topsham in 1807 and is described thus: 2 decks, 3 masts, 112'3" x 29'10" x 4'10", 430- 6/94 tons, square stern, ship-rigged, flush deck, quarter galleries, bird head.

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno a favor de Mr. Carlos Dale, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de nacionalidad Ynglesa nombrada Fawn.

Yo, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Capitan de Ynfanteria, Justicia Mayor, Governador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico con la mas bastante forma que haya en derecho, como en el dia 13 del mes de Abril del presente año de 1828, Mr. Carlos Dale, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de nacionalidad Ynglesa nombrada Fawn, me dio parte de haversele conspirado en el Puerto de la Villa de Umata quince individuos de su tripulacion sin otro motivo mas que el de querer les permitiese hir a tierra a pasearse varios dias, a lo que no accedió dicho Capitan por haverle en el citado Puerto desertado dos Marineros, y de conocer que si tal permitia podia quedar sin gente con que continuar su Expedición, de que resulto pedir auxilio al Capitan Mr. Andrés Bliss para que su tripulacion levase el Ancla, como en realidad lo verificaron, y pase la indicada Fragata a anclar al Puerto de San Luís de Apra, de donde por disposicion de este Gobierno con un Ayudante y la escolta necesaria fueron trasladados a tierra de los quince citados solo diez, y oidos en juicio, parecio ser Reo al movimiento o conspiracion el Carpintero de dicho Buque nombrado Santiago Diey, el mismo que para que no bolviere a reincidir en un delito tan grave, y que causase algun trastorno a la expedicion, queda en un calavoso de este cuartel con un par de grillos y cadena, en espera de que haya Buque para remitirle a disposicion del Exmo. Sor. Governador y

Capitan General del Reyno, y este tenga la bondad de embiarle con la seguridad devida al departamento que corresponda para sufrir el castigo à que se ha hecho acreedor.

Y para que en todo tiempo consta doy la presente à el referido Capitan en la Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las expresadas Yslas a beinte dias del expresado mes y año indicado.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government in favor of Mr. Charles Dale, Captain of the English whaling frigate named *Fawn*.

I, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Infantry Captain, Senior Judge, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands:

Do certify, in the best legal manner possible, that on the 13th of the month of April of the present year of 1828, Mr. Charles Dale, Captain of the whaling frigate of English nationality, named **Fawn**, reported to me that fifteen individuals of his crew had raised a conspiracy against him in the Port of the Town of Umata, without any other motive than to want him to allow them to go ashore and spend a few days there, to which said Captain did not accede, on account of having already lost two sailors to desertion, and knowing that if he did give such permission he could remain without a crew to pursue his voyage. The result of this was that he asked the help of Captain Andrew Bliss,¹ to have his crew weigh the anchor, as was done, and to have said frigate moved to the Port of San Luis de Apra, where, by order of this Government, only ten of said fifteen sailors were arrested by an Adjutant and the necessary escort, and brought ashore. Their case was heard, and it turned out that the leader of the movement or conspiracy was the Carpenter of said ship, named James Dixey. To prevent him from repeating such a serious crime, and cause some trouble with the voyage, he was placed in the jail of these barracks with a pair of leg irons and chain, until such time as some ship become available to send him to Manila, at the disposition of His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom, for him to be pleased to send him with due security, to the department concerned to suffer the punishment that he has earned.

And, for whom it may concern, I have given the present to the above-mentioned Captain in the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of the above-said Islands, on the 29th of said month and year.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

I2. Certificate issued on 27 April 1828

Notes: The English whaler Cape Packet, according to Jones' Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade, had been built in India, taken as a prize at the Cape of Good Hope in 1810. She is described thus: 2 decks, 3 masts, 94'6" x 24'6" x 5'5" b.d., 226- 4/94 tons, square rig, standing bowsprit, square stern, carvel- built,

¹ Ed. note: Captain of the English whaler **Warrens**, which had left England in July 1826, and returned in August 1829.

flush deck, no gallery, woman's bust. Condemned at Copang, 1830. Captain John Duncan was master during this voyage. She had previously visited Guam, under Captain Benjamin Clark, in 1824.

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno. A favor de Mr. Juan Dunquen [sic], Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera denominada Cape Packet.

Yslas Marianas.—

*Certifico con la mas bastante forma que haya lugar en derecho que Mr. Juan Dunquen, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera nombrada **Cape Packet**, me hace presente tener a su bordo à Santiago Furlong, Carpintero del mismo Buque, y tambien de los mas atrevidos que podian conocerse, pues había tenido la arrogancia de amenazar a toda la Oficialidad y algunos de la tripulación diciendoles havia de asesinar a quien tenia pensado de ellos, pues no le hera nuevo cometer un delito tal à causa de que ya habia en el Jineyro [i.e. Rio de Janeiro] verificado un otro asesinato, manifestando al mismo tiempo en la Camara que tenia puesta las manchas de la sangre del difunto. Lo cual con mas diligencias que havia echo no lo podia quitar, y que en vista de ser como levava dicho, un hombre de semejantes circunstancias, y capaz de fomentarle alguna conspiración me suplicava le hiciese con tropa trasladar a tierra y poner con la seguridad devida lo que sin la menor dilacion tubo efecto, y oy se halla con grillete y cadena al servicio de S.M. en las Administraciones de este Real Presidio.*

Y para que conste doy la presente en San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las indicadas Yslas en beinte y siete dias del mes de Abril de mil ochocients beinte y ocho años.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Tranlation.

Government.—In favor of Mr. John Duncan, Captain of the whaling frigate named Cape Packet.

Mariana Islands.—

I do certify, in the best legal manner possible, that Mr. John Duncan, Captain of the whaling frigate named **Cape Packet** reports to me that he holds on board her a man named James Furlong, Carpenter of said ship, one of the most impudent man known; indeed, he has pushed arrogance to the extent of threatening all the officers and some of the crew, by saying that he would kill them, as he had planned to do; after all, this was not the first time he committed such a crime, given that he had already carried out one murder in [Rio de] Janeiro, and at the same time pointing at some blood stains in the cabin, which he said he had been unable to remove, no matter how he had tried. In view of this declaration about a man of this character, able to foment some conspiracy, he begged me to have some soldiers take him ashore and place him in a secure place. Without any delay, this took place, and today he is in irons and chain at the service of H.M. at places run by this Royal garrison.

And, for whom it may concern, I give the present in San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of said Islands, on the 27th day of the month of April 1828.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

13. Certificate issued on 13 October 1828

Notes: The English whaler Renard, Captain Grey (not to be confused with the Reynard) was a small ship of 230 tons, built at Upney.

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno a favor de Mr. Grey Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de nacion Ynglesa nombrada la Renard.

Yo, D. José de Medinilla y Pineda, Capitan de Ynfanteria, Justicia Mayor, Governador Politico y Militar de [las] Yslas Marianas, su termino y jurisdiccion.—

Certifico [que] como el día nueve de presente mes, Mr. Grey Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de nacion Ynglesa nombrada la Renard, hizo entender a este Gobierno que habiendo dado licencia a varios Marineros de la dotacion de dicho Buque, por el termino de tres días para que se paseasen, y hallado el quince, estar en tierra a Timoteo Esmiti, Juan Esmiti, Marcus Johnson, Samuel Simpson, Juan Dempsey, y Jorge Washington, y preguntando que motivo tuvieron para no pasar abordo, le respondieron, que estaban decidido a no seguir viaje perdiendo con gusto el valor a que podia ascender sus trabajos devengados, y que habiendo buuelto a preguntar le espuciesen la causa que les asistia para tal procedimiento, sus contestaciones fueron decirle que ninguna cosa mas que el deseo de quedar en tierra, y que se hivan à ocultar mientras que la Fragata permanecia en el Puerto, en paraje donde ni el que Governador que governava no podria dar con ellos lo que dio motivo a que me pediese de instante lo hiciese entender a dicho Sor. Governador con el fin de que se serviere determinar el arresto o Prisiones de dichos Marineros, y habiendo nombrado dos partidos de tropa en su Solicitud se logro verificase dicho arresto en el dia de ayer, y habiendolos hecho comparecer ante el prevenido Capitan y preguntados por medio del Ynterprete D. Juan Anderson a que cuantian la quejas que las ocasionasen tener, su contestacion fue decir que ninguna razon los asistia para tal, pues no tenia la menor queja y si como lo havian manifestado solo deseos de no seguir viaje, ni pasar a Londres, y en vista de semejante procedimiento, habiendo precedido la mas fuerte reprehension y hecholos ver quedaria cada uno con una cadena a racion y sin Sueldo, destinados a ejercer los trabajos que ocasionasen de policia, se decidieron a embarcarse.

Y para que conste doy la presente en San Ygnacio de Agaña, Capital de Yslas Marianas en trece dias del mes de Octubre de mil ochocientos beinte y ocho.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Tranlation.

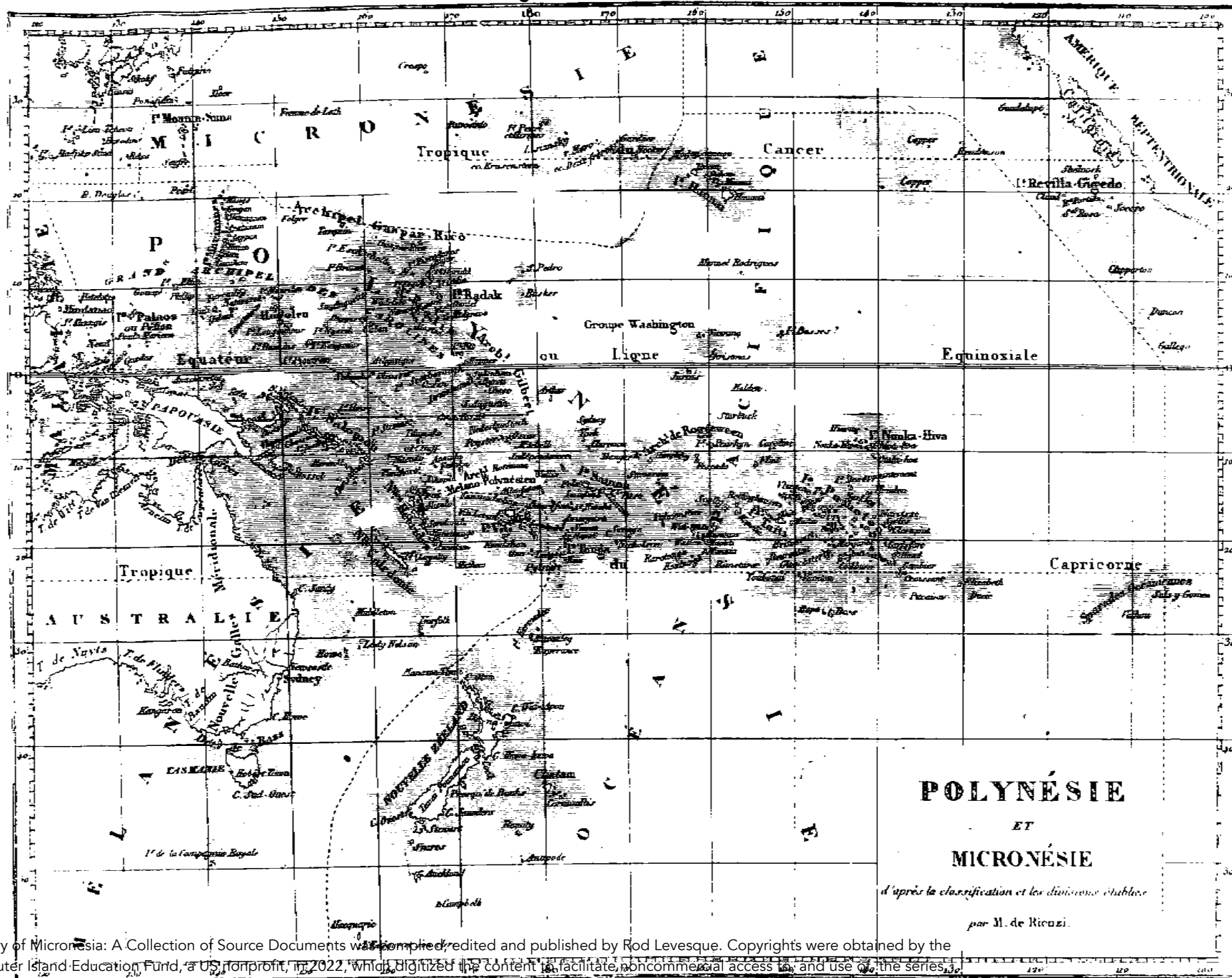
Certificate issued by this Government in favor of Mr. Grey, Captain of the whaling frigate of English nationality, named Renard.

I, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Infantry CAPtain, Senior Judge, Political and Military Governor of the Mariana Islands, and their territory:

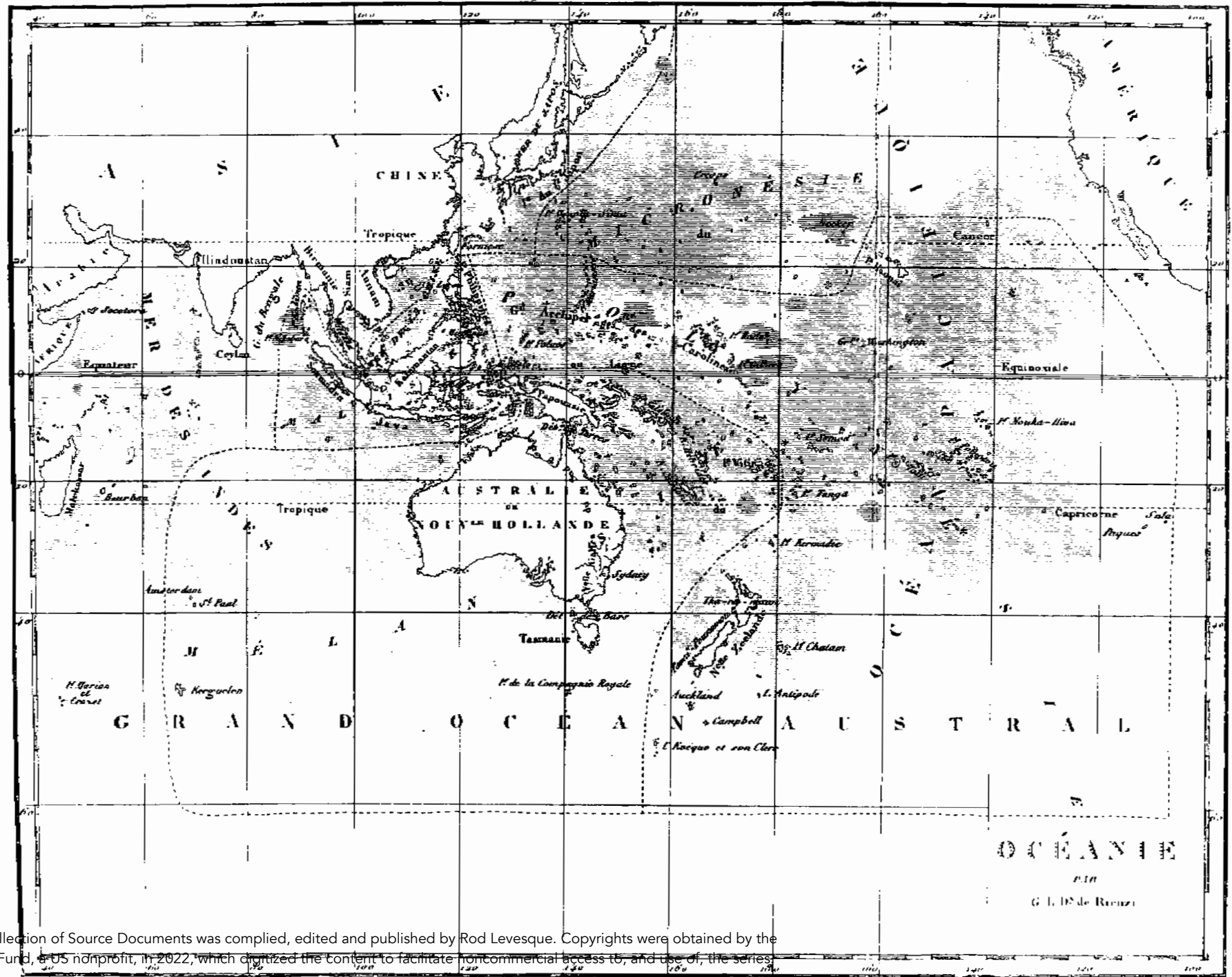
Do certify that, at about the 19th of this month, Mr. Grey, Captain of the whaling frigate of English nationality, named **Renard**, reported to this Government that he had given permission to various sailors of the crew of said ship, to stay ashore for three days, and, on the 15th, found out that the following were [still] ashore: Timothy Smith, John Smith, Mark Johnson, Samuel Simpson, John Dempsey, and George Washington. When he asked them why they had not returned on board, they told him that they had decided not to pursue the voyage, and willingly losing the value of the labor they had done so far. He asked them to explain to him the reason they had for such a decision; their answers were to the effect that there was no reason other than the desire to stay ashore, and that they were about to hide themselves, as long as the frigate remained in port, at a place where not even the governor could find them. This moved him to seek me and ask me to approach His Lordship the Governor for the purpose of having a decision made to arrest the sailors and keep them in custody. And, having appointed two parties of soldiers to look for them, said arrest was effected yesterday, and, having made them appear before their Captain and questioned by means of the Interpreter, Mr. John Anderson, as to what complaints they had, their answer was to say that they had no reason other than a desire not to pursue the voyage, or go back to London. In view of such a proceeding, after having them be told that every one of them would remain with a chain, and forced to work with a ration but no pay, at public works, they decided to embark.

And, for whom it may concern, I give the present in San Ignacio of Agaña on the 13th of the month of October 1828.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.



Longitude du Méridien de Paris.



OCÉANIE

OU

CINQUIÈME PARTIE DU MONDE.

REVUE GÉOGRAPHIQUE ET ETHNOGRAPHIQUE
DE LA MALAISIE, DE LA MICRONÉSIE, DE LA POLYNÉSIE ET DE LA
MÉLANÉSIE;

OFFRANT LES RÉSULTATS DES VOYAGES ET DES DÉCOUVERTES DE L'AUTEUR
ET DE SES DÉVANCERS, AINSI QUE SES NOUVELLES CLASSIFICATIONS ET DIVISIONS
DE CES CONTRÉES,

PAR

M. G. L. DOMENY DE RIENZI,

VOYAGEUR EN OCÉANIE, EN ORIENT, ETC., ETC., MEMBRE DE
PLUSIEURS ACADEMIES DE FRANCE ET D'ITALIE, DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE,
DES SOCIÉTÉS ASIATIQUES DE PARIS ET DE BOMBAY (INDE), ETC., ETC.

« Cherchez la science et la vérité, dans ce vous ne les trouvez
qu'à l'extrémité du monde. »

MOHAMMED.

TOME PREMIER.

PARIS,
FIRMIN DIDOT FRÈRES, ÉDITEURS,

IMPRIMEURS-LIBRAIRES DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE,
RUE JACOB, N° 24.

M DCCC XXXVI.

Document 1828J

First geography of Oceania, by De Rienzi

Source: Grégoire-Louis Domény de Rienzi. Océanie, ou Cinquième partie du Monde. 2 vols., Paris, 1836-38).

[Title page of De Rienzi's Geogrphy of Oceania:]

OCEANIA

or

Fifth Part of the World.

**Geographical and ethnographical review
of Malaysia, Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia;**
offering the results of voyages and discoveries of the author, and of his predecessors,
as well as new classifications and divisions of these countries,

by

Mr. G. L. DOMÉNY DE RIENZI,

traveller in Oceania, the Orient, etc., member of many academies in France and Italy,
of the Society of Geography, of the Asian Societies of France and of Bombay (India),
etc..

PARIS,

Firmin Didot Brothers, Publishers.

1836

Introductory remarks on de Rienzi's voyage through Micronesia, by R. L.

De Rienzi was "the Great Pretender" of his times. He claimed to have travelled through the western Caroline Islands, on the way from India to Canton by way of the Pacific Ocean, aboard an English ship named **Dunira**, Captain Hamilton. So he says, on page 321 of his Vol. 1. However, I could not find any trace of the existence of this ship, unless she belonged to the Bombay trade. This may have happened circa 1828, although no date is given by De Rienzi himself.

This author has based his compendium on previous knowledge published by dozens of authors (whose names he gives, on pp. 10-11), as well as the latest information brought back by the French and Russian expeditions that took place before 1830. The only evidence (his only claim) that he might have sailed past Palau and Yap, are two sketches drawn by him (Plates 106 & 296 below). His main claim, with regards to Oceania, is as follows:

As for myself, I have devoted 21 years of my life ploughing the seas and exploring lands. During 12 of those years I have travelled through most of the countries of the Middle Easts, India, Canton and Macao in China, the Philippines, etc., and I have made five voyages in Oceania, where I have discovered two islands.¹ and visited many lands and many peoples and tribes, unknown in Europe...

...
 What he says about Palau is this: *"The Péliou [i.e. Pelew], or Palaos, or Panlog, Group, which I might have named Péli, according to some of their inhabitants which I heard call them by this name..."*

...
 What he says about Yap is this: *"I have seen many big and very beautiful nautilus shells near the Island of Yap..."*

...
 What he says about some skulls is this: *"Carolinian phrenology.²—It is known that, according to the phrenological method, the national character of a people or tribe cannot be judged from a single skull; a certain number of them is always required to make sure which organs were developed to a certain degree. Phrenologists may therefore study the character of Carolinians based on the following four skulls (see Plate 112)."*

"The first Carolinian skull, which I lost during my shipwreck, the organ related to propagation [sic] is extremely developed. The organ related to colors was as developed

1 Ed. note: One named Tribun, the other Rienzi, both in the Jolo, or Sulu, Archipelago in the Philippines, he says. He quotes a Geographical dictionary, by Maccarthy, but Father Algué Atlas de Filipinas of 1899 does not mention any such islands.

2 Ed. note: Phrenology is a pseudo-science which pretends that the character and mental faculties of a person are revealed by the shape and bumps on his head.

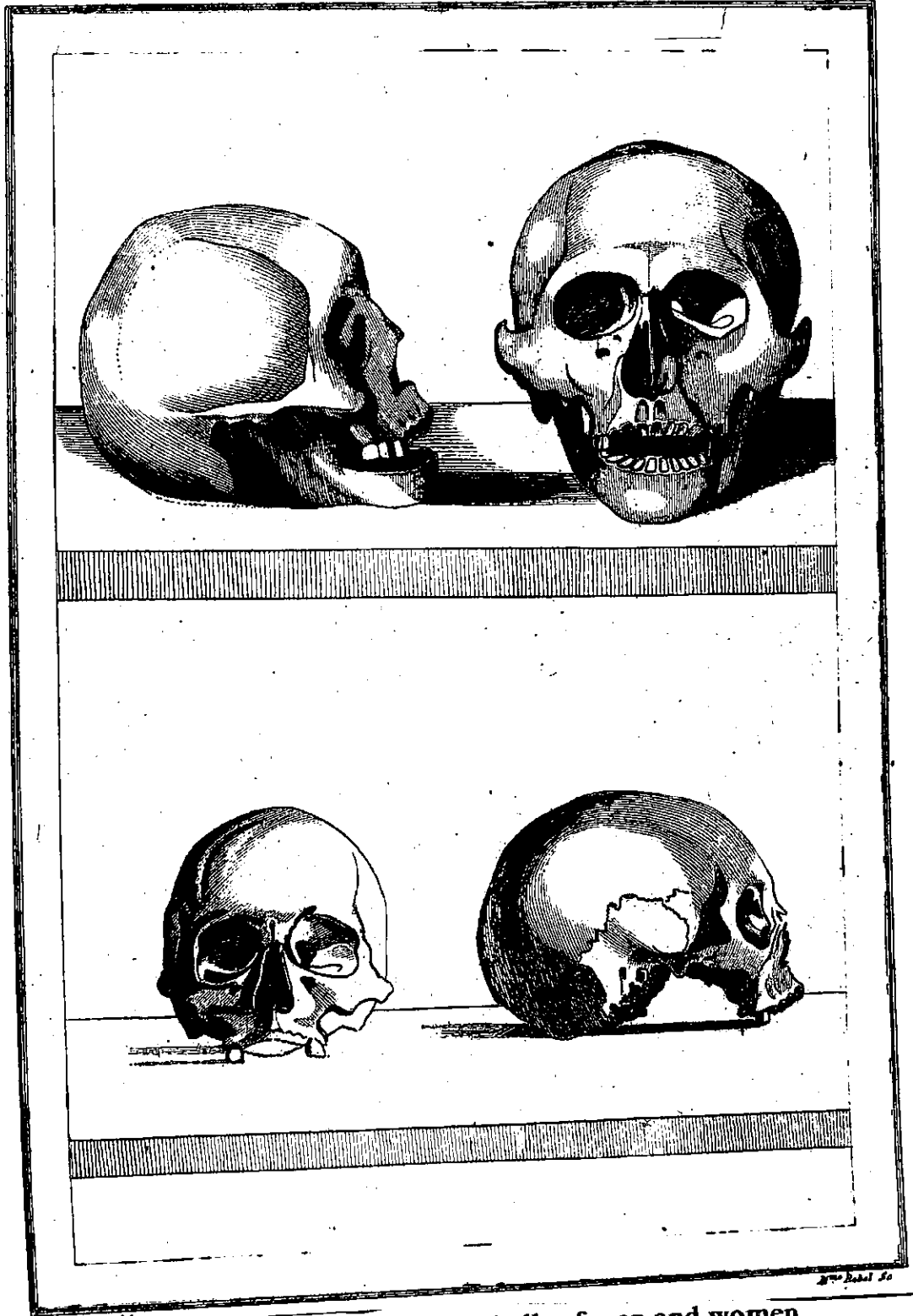


Plate 112 by De Rienzi.—Yap—Skulls of men and women.

as that of the Chinese; the organ related to mechanics is also well developed; the organ related to vanity and that of destructivity were infinitely developed. The superior intellectual faculties were less so, the individual in question having the forehead little raised but inclined towards the rear; stubbornness, or firmness, is extremely developed."

"The other three skulls, also belonging to dead individuals [sic], were drawn by an officer aboard a U.S. whaling ship, who gave me this sketch (see the same plate).¹ The second skull has a hard and rounded forehead, which obviously belonged to a woman with an excellent character; she has the organ related to loving capacity very developed. The two other skulls show a very inclined forehead which denotes an animalistic tendency (pardon the expression) and very little intelligence."

...

¹ Ed. note: He met this unnamed whaler off the coast of Borneo, he says elsewhere; he got some information about the Bonin Islands from the same ship. We may therefore be skeptical of De Rienzi's personal visit to Yap.

Biographical notes on De Rienzi.

Source: Roman D'Amat et R. Limouzin-Lamothe (eds.). *Dictionnaire de biographie française*.

DOMÉNY (Grégoire-Louis), alias Domény de Rienzi or Louis de Rienzi. Louis Domény was born in Cavaillon on 30 March 1789. He has created a legend about himself and his biography must remain imprecise, given that almost nothing is really known about him. He is supposed to have studied law, to become a notary, like his father. However, at the age of 20, he was drafted into the army, served under Marmont, and was wounded, says he, at the Battle of Wagram, on 6 June 1809, as a consequence of which he was discharged. He then travelled in Italy, where he made the acquaintance of a certain Pietro Gabrini di Rienzi. He borrowed this last name and, banking on a southern mirage, became persuaded that he was himself a descendent of the famous Cola Gabrino di Rienzi, the Roman revolutionary of the 19th century. Afterwards, he tried to share his views with his contemporaries and succeeded somewhat. The famous Boloz himself fell into his trap.

The new Louis de Rienzi returned to France in 1812, became embroiled, says he, in the conspiracy of Malet, and had to flee to America. That is when he is supposed to have visited the United States, the West Indies, Mexico, Central America and, after returning to Europe in 1814, he said he took part in the Battle of Waterloo, where he was promoted Captain. After the Restoration, he wrote articles in the opposition newspaper *La Renommée*, that became *Le Courrier français*. He soon discovered a liking for the Greeks, then persecuted by the Turks, rushed to their defence, befriended Andrew Ariston, of Samos. Did he really visit the coasts of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasian Mountains, and the Middle East? Only God knows. Did he really go on to Columbia and become a Colonel of the Hussards, and aide-de-camp to Bolivar in 1819? If so, that would be known. Is it true that he returned to Italy in 1821 and joined the ranks of the carbonari? Is it true that the following year he was back in Greece and led the artillery of General Gura? This is nothing short of preposterous. The same Louis Domény pretends to have, the following year, served in Egypt under Mohamed Ali, gone up the Nile as far as the Sudan, then visited Abyssinia, Somalia, Arabia, Chaldea. That is not all; off he went to India, China, the Sunda Islands. At Macao, he is supposed to have raised a monument to Camoens, in 1828. He narrated that he was returning to Europe, loaded with glory and wealth, aboard a Portuguese ship names **O Domado**, and in the company of a certain Joachim d'Eça de Castro, supposedly a direct descendent of Inez de Castro, when they were shipwrecked. He lost everything, says he, his gold, his precious stones, his logbooks, etc. in short, everything that could have authenticated his prestigious voyage. He came back by way of Reunion Island, where he managed to fool a few more people.

This visionary traveller returned to Paris, where he re-invented himself and became a Professor of geography. The year of his death is not known, but it probably took place after 1850. He published a few works, among which his "*Océanie, ou Cinquième partie du monde, 1836-1837, ..., Dictionnaire usuel et scientifique de géographie, 1840*". More details about Domény can be found in the latter work.

Roman d'Amat.

Oceania, as defined by De Rienzi—Disagreement with d'Urville

...
 In a geographic paper on Oceania, followed by a classification of the races of man and languages of its numberless islands, that I had read before the Society of Geography of Paris,¹ I had separated Oceania into five divisions:

1° **Malaysia**, or Western Oceania. It includes the islands improperly called Indian Archipelago by the English, but they too seem to have adopted the perfectly proper name of Malaysia, first proposed by the naturalist, Mr. Lesson...

2° **Micronesia**, or Northern Oceania, which includes only very small islands and desolate rocks, beginning a little south of the Tropic of Cancer and extending northward almost to the 40° parallel. Its western boundary corresponds to the Borodino Islands and its eastern boundary is Necker Island, at about 167° long. W. [of Paris]. The Munin-Sima [Bonin Is.] Group is the most important one in Micronesia.²

3° **Polynesia**... was to include the western islands of Guedes, or St. David, or Free-will [Mapia], Neville Island [Tobi], the great archipelago of the Carolines, for instance, Pelew, Matelotas, Gilberts and Marshalls, Great Cocal and other islands of this chain, and, finally, all the islands of the South Sea, or Great Ocean, from the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands in the north, to the small Bishop Islands (south of New Zealand) in the south; and from Tikopia Island, near Vanikoro, in the west, to Sal y Gomez Island in the east, near America.

4° Central Oceania, which included New Guinea, which I called **Papuasia**, taken from the nearby islands, called Papuan Islands, and it included all the islands to the east and south-east, inhabited by a black race, such as the Solomon, Viti, New Ireland, New Britain, except for Australia, etc.

5° **Endamenia**, or Southern Oceania. Under this name, I include Australia, or New Holland, Van Diemen's Island, New Caledonia, Mallicolo, etc., inhabited exclusively by very ugly blacks with frail limbs, very different from the Papuans. I will try and prove in my chapter on anthropology and ethnography that the blacks of Australia, or New Holland, and in most of the islands of this division (which the English call Australasia, and Captain d'Urville calls Melanesia) were originally from Papuasia, or New Guinea.

Finally, I could replace the name of Oceania by that of **Vulcanesia**, because this fifth part of the world offers almost everywhere volcanoes, or signs of volcanoes.

In the meeting held on 5 January 1832, the famous mariner Mr. Dumont d'Urville read a paper on the islands of the Great Ocean, in which, after having adopted my sec-

1 Meeting held on 16 December 1831. The printing of this paper was voted unanimously. Ed. comment: This was eleven days before d'Urville presented his own definition before the same group (see Doc. 1828C2).

2 Ed. note: As we said earlier, d'Urville did not agree, and proposed his own definition, which later became the basis for the standard, or modern, definition. De Rienzi placed the present-day Micronesia with Polynesia (see lebow).

ond division of Micronesia, he extended it towards the south and included in it the Caroline Islands. He proposed that Australia proper and the islands that have been added to it be named Melanesia.*

* [Note:] Regarding this point, please refer to the *Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Paris* (t. XVII, n° 5, January 1832), which may shed light on this matter, and the "Mémoire sur les îles du Grand Océan," in the Voyage of the **Astrolabe** around the world, by Captain Dumont d'Urville, t. II, 2° partie. Here an extract of this Paper:

"We will assign," says Mr. d'Urville, "to Northern Oceania the name of **Micronesia**, which is not [much] different from the term used by Mr. D. de Rienzi ...".

"You see, gentlemen, that the divisions that I propose for the islands of Oceania, offer essential differences with those that have been submitted to you by an untiring traveller, Mr. de Rienzi. Without setting myself up as a judge of his system, and while I proclaim that he has presented, in his interesting Paper, a load of curious and new facts regarding the peoples of Oceania, it seems to me, if I may express myself thus, that his system is more artificial, and mine is more natural. The nomenclature of Mr. de Rienzi, based as it is on physical and geometric divisions, offers more regular boundaries, but mine, based on relationships more or less intimate, but always positive, among the populations within each division, will have the advantage of denoting, by the definition of the name itself, the very nature and character of its inhabitants. So it is that one will know right away that I want to refer to copper-colored peoples who speak a common language and are slaves to the *tabu*, or else to copper-colored peoples who speak various languages and strangers to the *tabu*, and finally to black peoples of Oceania, as soon as I mention the words Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia."

I could not accept the enlarged definition of Micronesia proposed by Mr. d'Urville, because, on the one hand, I see no relationship between the Munin-Sima Islands and the Carolines; on the other hand, because I believe I could recognize true Polynesians in the inhabitants of the Carolines and even those of the Guedes, or St. David, or Free-will, Islands, as most of them have the Tahitian trinity, the infamous society of the *ari'i*,¹ tattooing and even the *tapu*, under the name of *Pennant* in the Carolines, and of *Emo* in the Radak [Marshall] Islands. Moreover, I have the opinion of the learned Mr. Chamisso on my side, and that of Mr. Lütke, the distinguished mariner, who have both judged the peoples of the Carolines very well.

Be that as it may, the divisions about which we do not agree have minor differences, geographically speaking; our differences are more of an ethnographic nature. Nobody knows Eastern and Southern Oceania more than Captain d'Urville; the great voyage of the **Astrolabe**, undertaken under his command, has visited the whole world; his old

1 Ed. note: Later on, de Rienzi associates the ancient Chamorro bachelors, or *Urritao*, to this Polynesian men's clubs. He even says that the bachelor's love stick was also known in Tahiti under the same name, *Tinas*."

and impressive authority cannot be offset by that of a traveller who, due to his shipwreck, has so far published only some notices. As the present work is the fruit of my long voyages, it is with regret that I will sometimes raise someone else's flag. In this case, I will adopt the division of Melanesia proposed by this great navigator, because, after a long reflection, I have to admit that: 1° it comprises exclusively all countries inhabited by Oceanic blacks, though they belong to two black races, the Papuan and the Endeman, into which I had divided them earlier; 2° these two races, being spread and mixed in some islands sometimes far from their center, it became difficult to attach them geographically to one of my divisions of Papuaasia and Endamenia. Indeed, the inhabitants of Mallicolo are Endamens, or Australian, as well as those of New Caledonia, whereas the natives of Van Diemen's, or Tasmania, belong to the Papuan race. To avoid this geographic problem, and simplify my work, I completely accept the division of Melanesia of Mr. d'Urville, and renounce my two divisions of Papuaasia, or Central Oceania, and of Endamenia, or Southern Oceania. My first three divisions will remain as I have defined them at the beginning of this chapter. Within Melanesia, which replaces my 4° and 5° divisions, New Guinea alone will keep the name of Papuaasia, and New Holland will keep the name of Australia.

Moreover, I will extend Oceania as far as the Andaman Islands, i.e. to include both Endamen and Kerguelen Island. The Nicobar, Penang and Singapur Islands, as well as St. Peter, St. Paul and Amsterdam Islands, are also included.

We consider a part of Madagascar, Formosa Island, and the Malay Peninsula as being Malaysian outliers.

Finally, we will adopt the names used by the natives, along with the names given by the first discoverers, or by the better-known navigators; indeed, one must say so, it was as the result of a disgusting injustice, that the late-comers have dared to change the names given by their predecessors, and they have often done so with repugnant names. Cook himself did not avoid this pitfall. It is time that justice be done, that the geographic world be not disturbed as often as the political world!

...
[As de Rienzi seems to have visited Yap, or gotten new information about this island from sources not previously quoted in the present series, the following song of Yap is reproduced. The songs of Guam are repeated here, but must have come from Freycinet's Voyage.]

Editor's conclusion.

In his detailed description of Micronesia, de Rienzi says: "Micronesia, whose name and division I was the first to create, contains the smallest islands of Oceania." True, it seems, but his islands were all uninhabited, and occupied the area of the North Pacific Ocean lying north of present-day Micronesia, whose modern division at least is owed to d'Urville, although he had retained the then-empty northern region as well within the new boundaries.

There follow some plates of Micronesia which have been borrowed from previous Voyages of French and Russian expeditions, re-drawn and re-engraved with some changes as to their contents. Only the two plates about Yap seem to be "new," although they may have come from collections deposited in the Museum in Paris.

Air de l'île Gouap, dans les Carolines. (Polynésie.)
Andante Cantabile.

N^o 6.

Musical notation for 'Air de l'île Gouap, dans les Carolines. (Polynésie.)' in C major, 2/4 time, marked 'Andante Cantabile'. It consists of two staves of music.

Chanson comique des Mariannais. (Polynésie.)
Allegro.

N^o 7.

Has-*ngon*, *gof--dja* pa-la ou an--*ho*, nga ho sad-

di *goui* ni na---*ho*; ho *seu* eu - ni ngo ma ma -- *on*,

REFRAIN.

ngou plou plou *djon* *djan* pou *gou* a -- *on*. Bi - *dja* --- mo, bi - *dja*

-- mo; bi *dja* -- mo; *ghè* --- mo, *ghe* ----- mo, *ghè* *ghè*

Le: Di *kou*, di *kou*, di - *lin* di - *li* --- *kou* :

Musical notation for 'Chanson comique des Mariannais. (Polynésie.)' in B-flat major, 2/4 time, marked 'Allegro'. It consists of six staves of music with French lyrics underneath.

Air original du ballet de Mortezouma,
Autrefois en usage au Mexique et aujourd'hui à Gonaham (Polynésie.)
♩. = N^o 1. es du métronome.
Allegro.

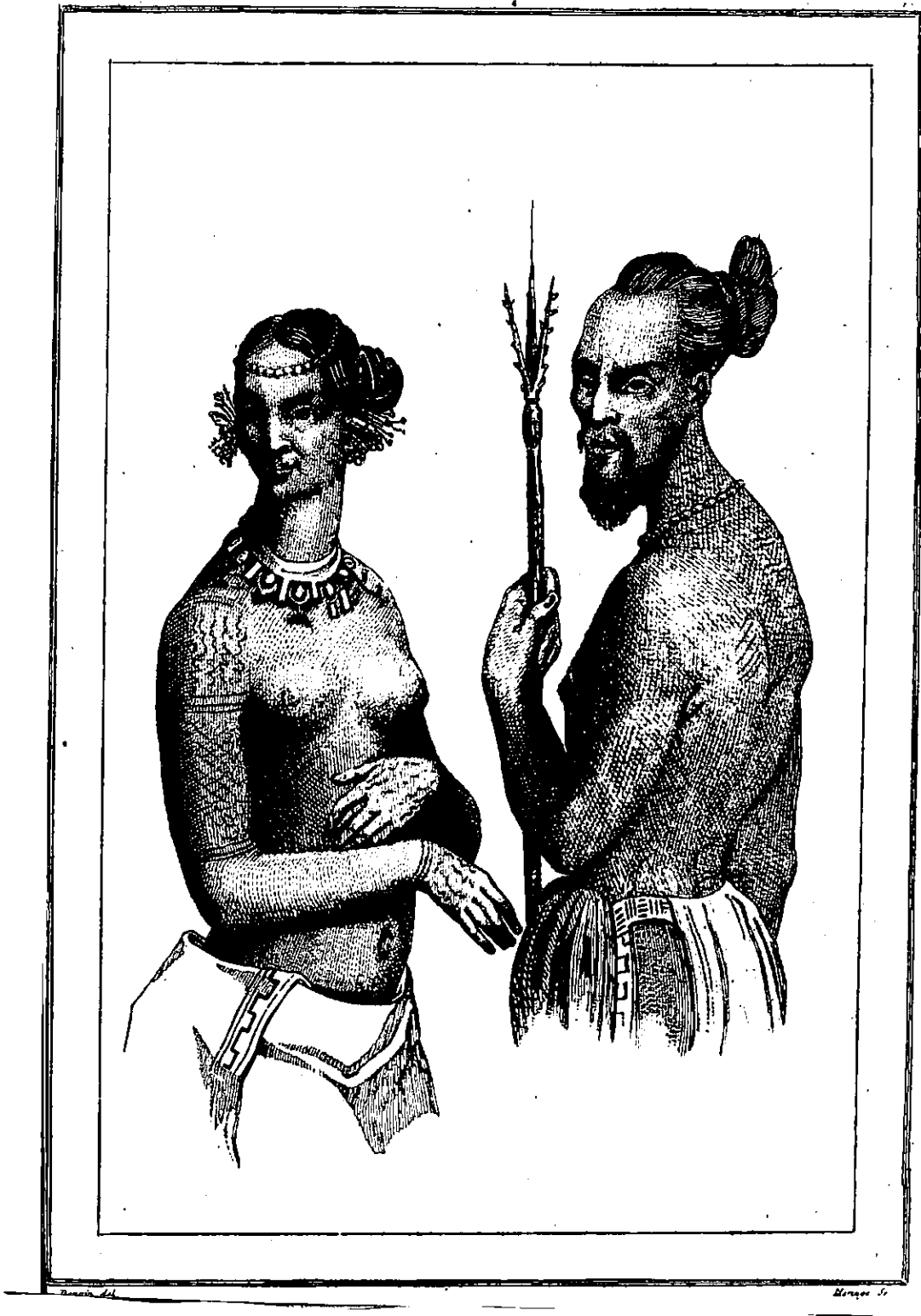
N^o 8.

Musical notation for 'Air original du ballet de Mortezouma' in B-flat major, 2/4 time, marked 'Allegro'. It consists of three staves of music.

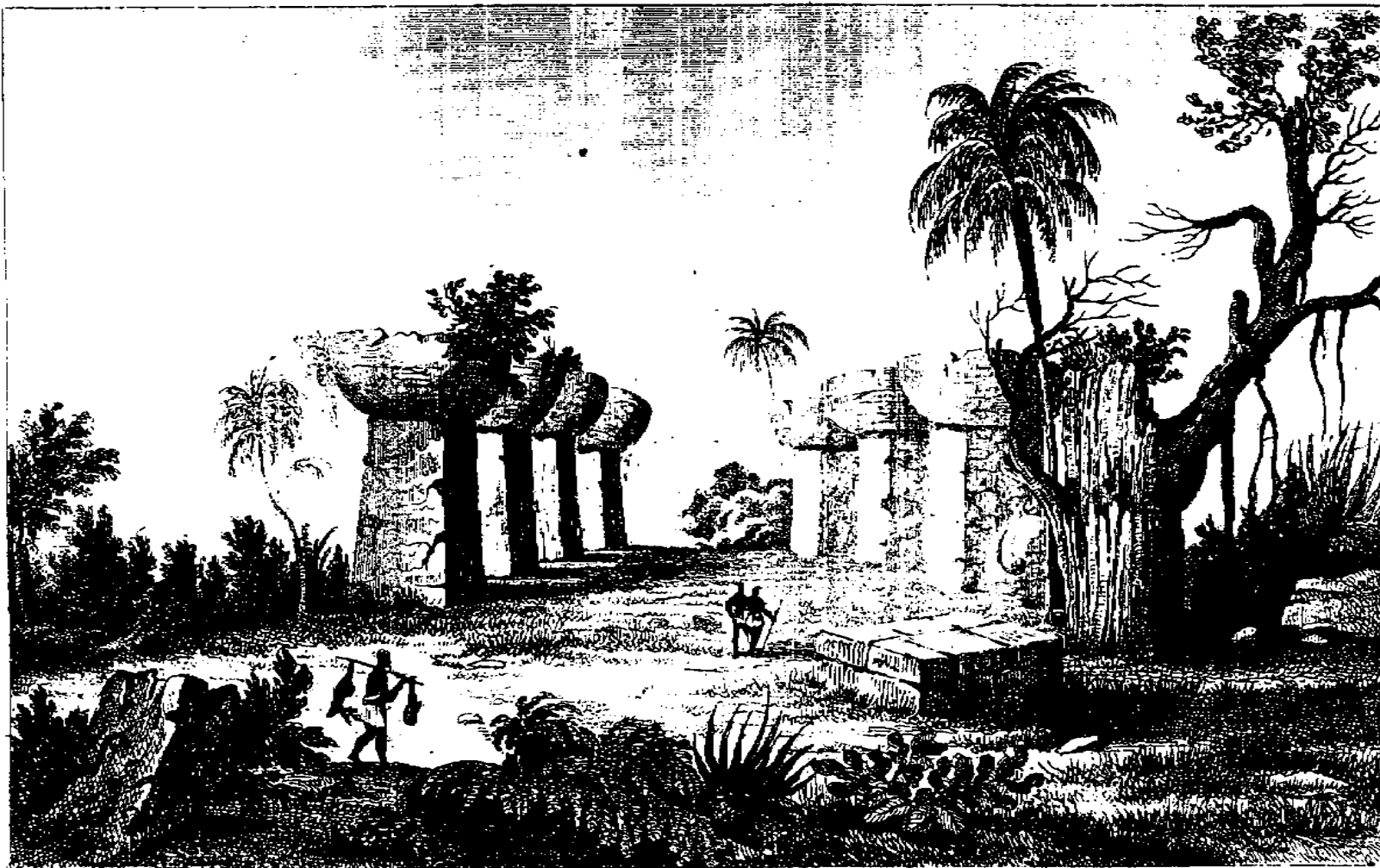










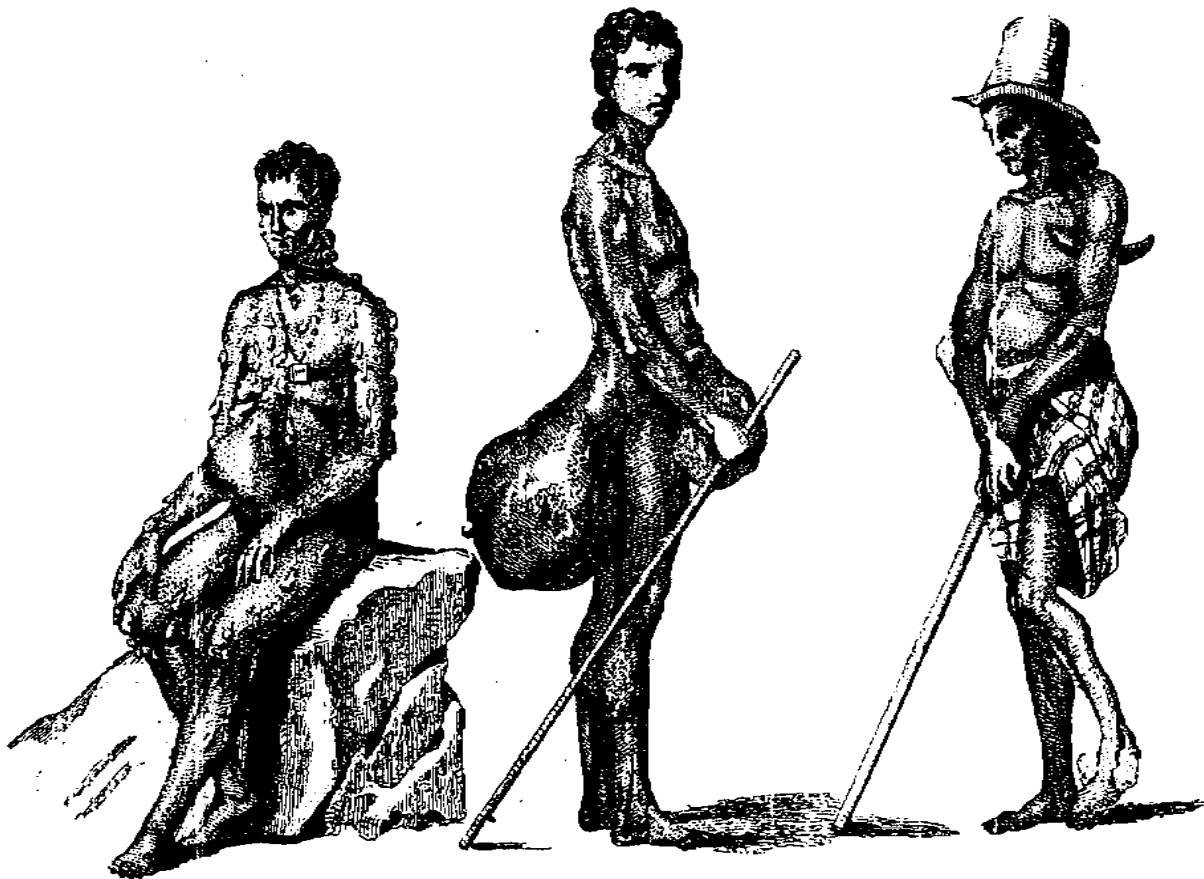




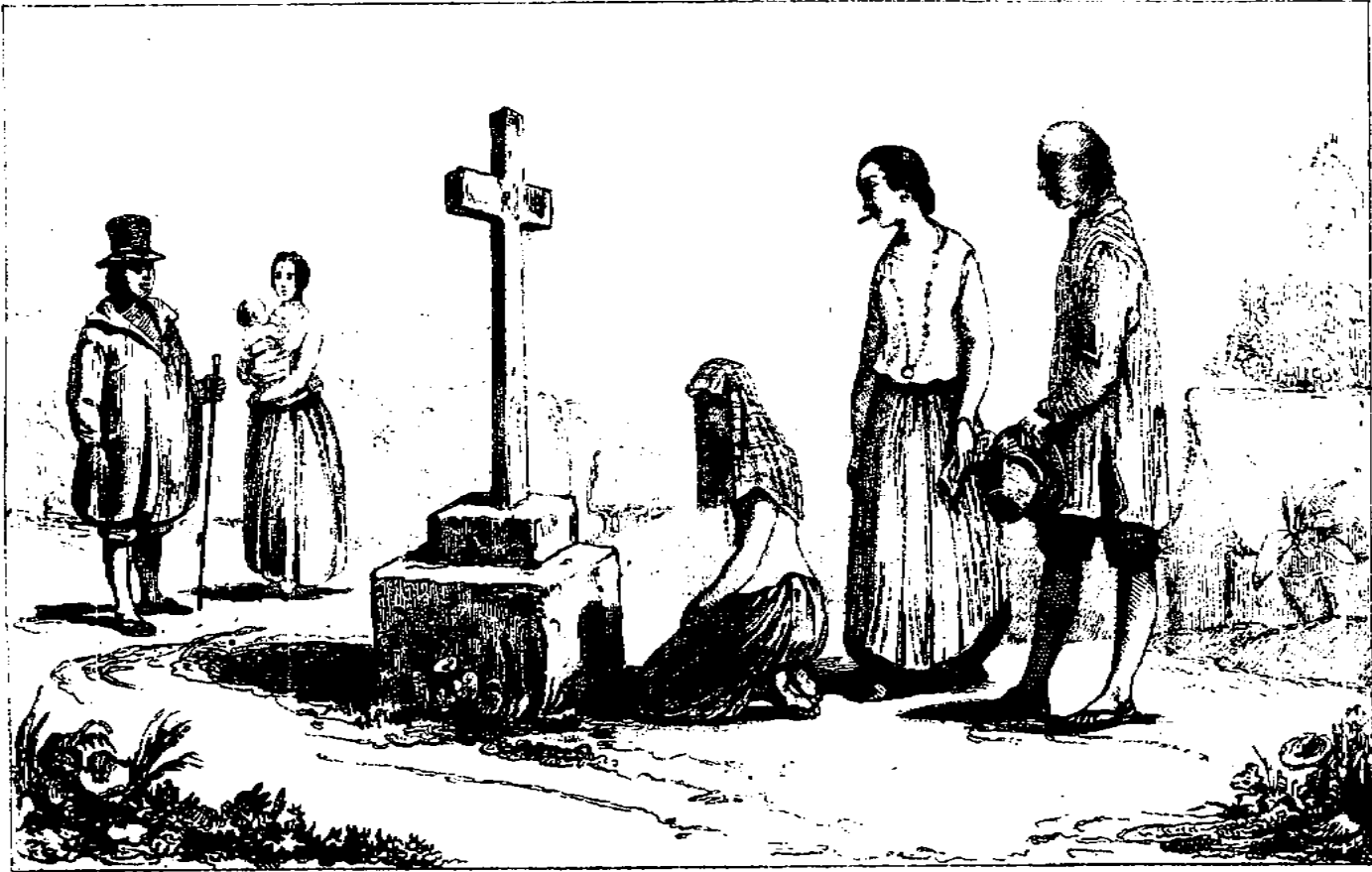


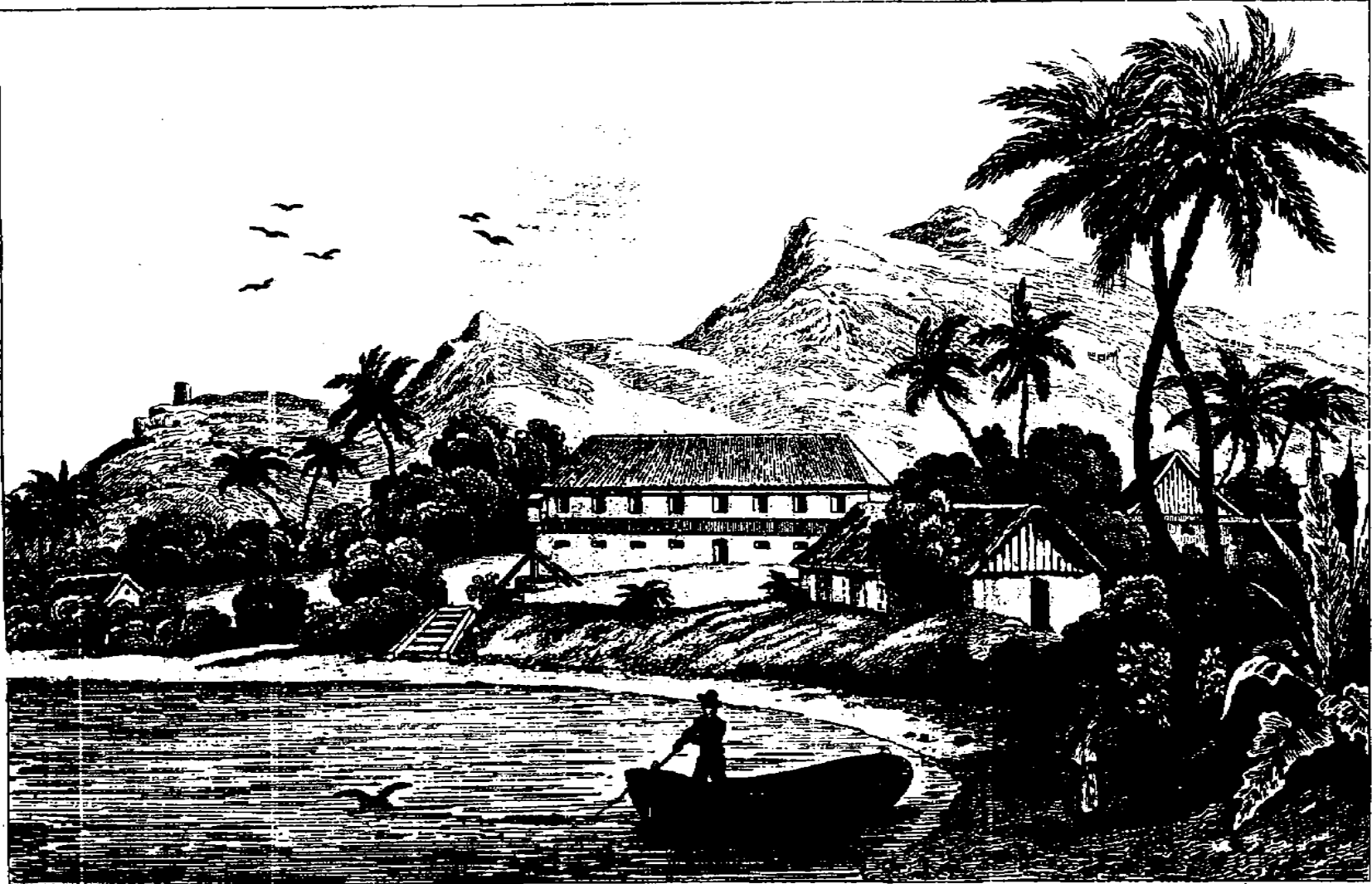




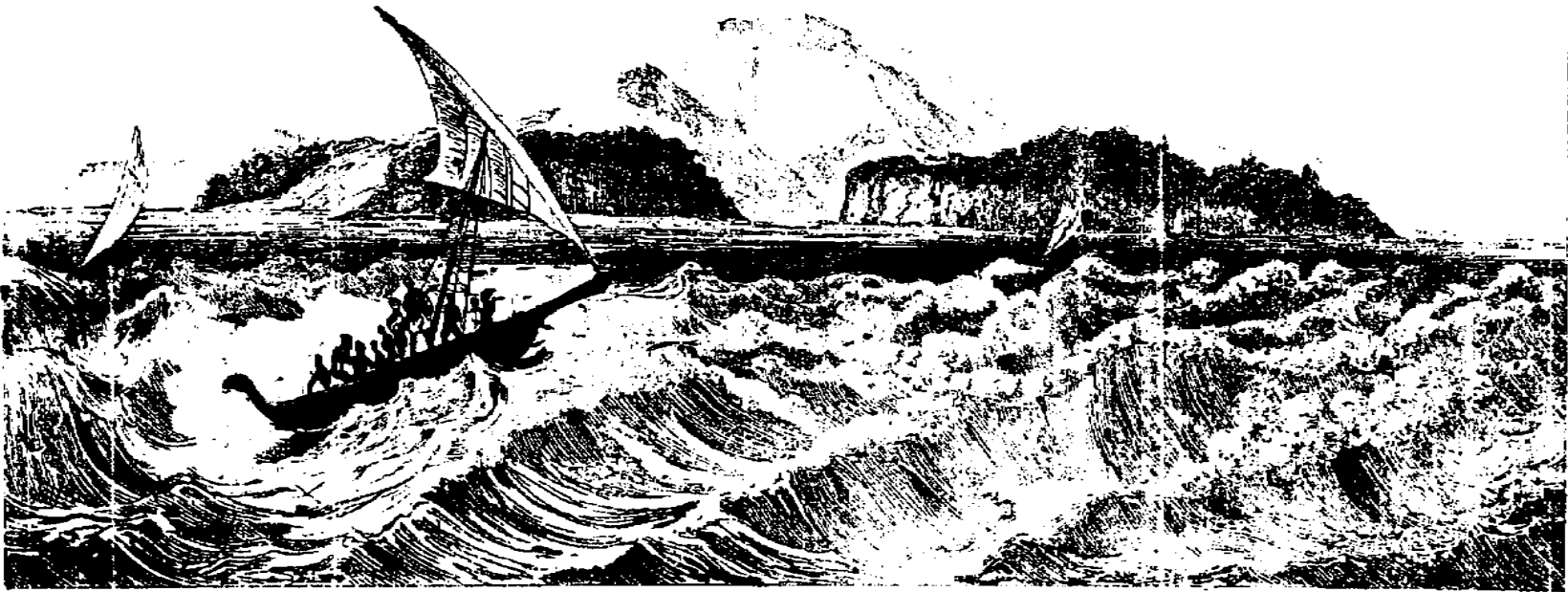


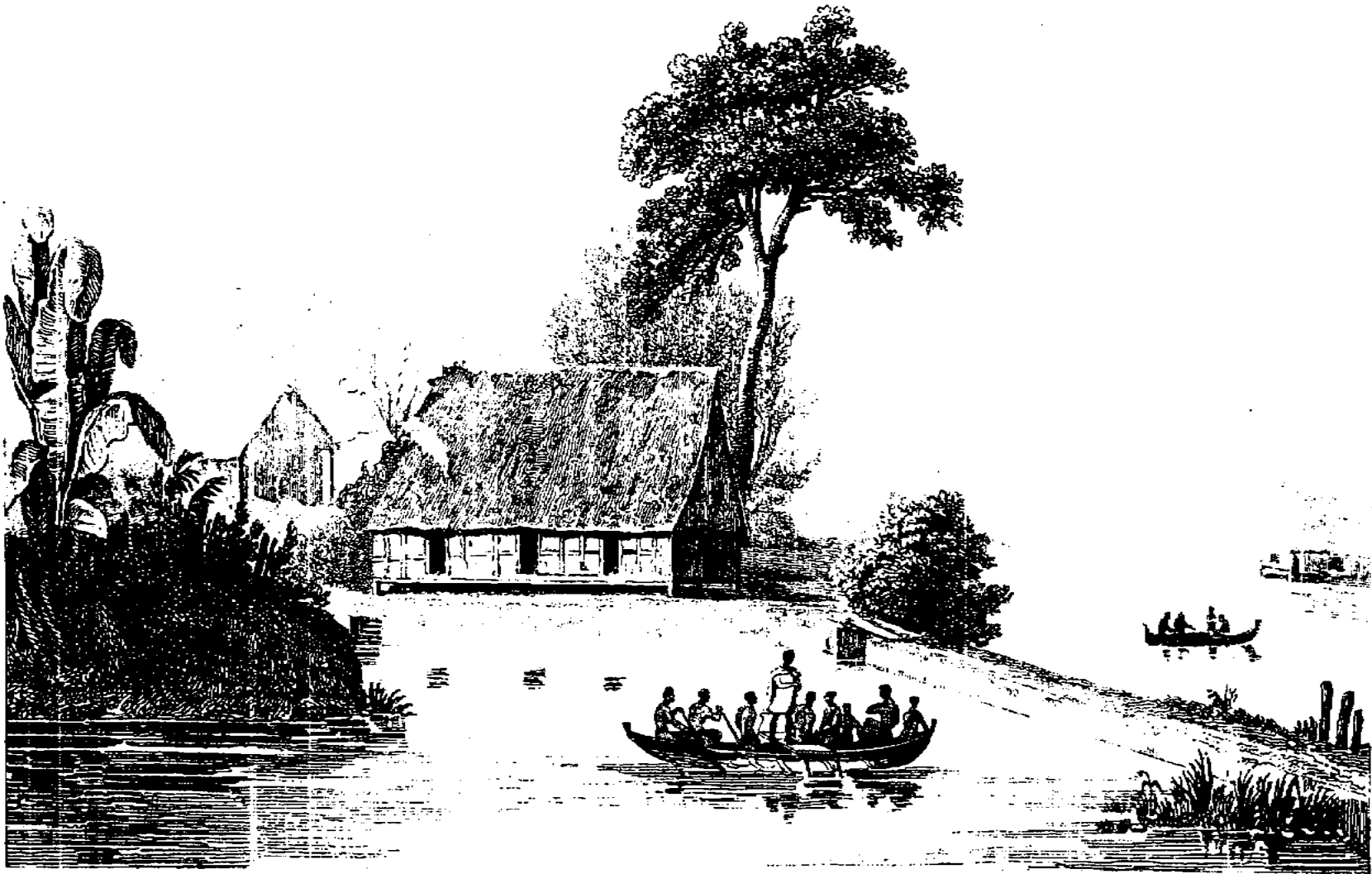


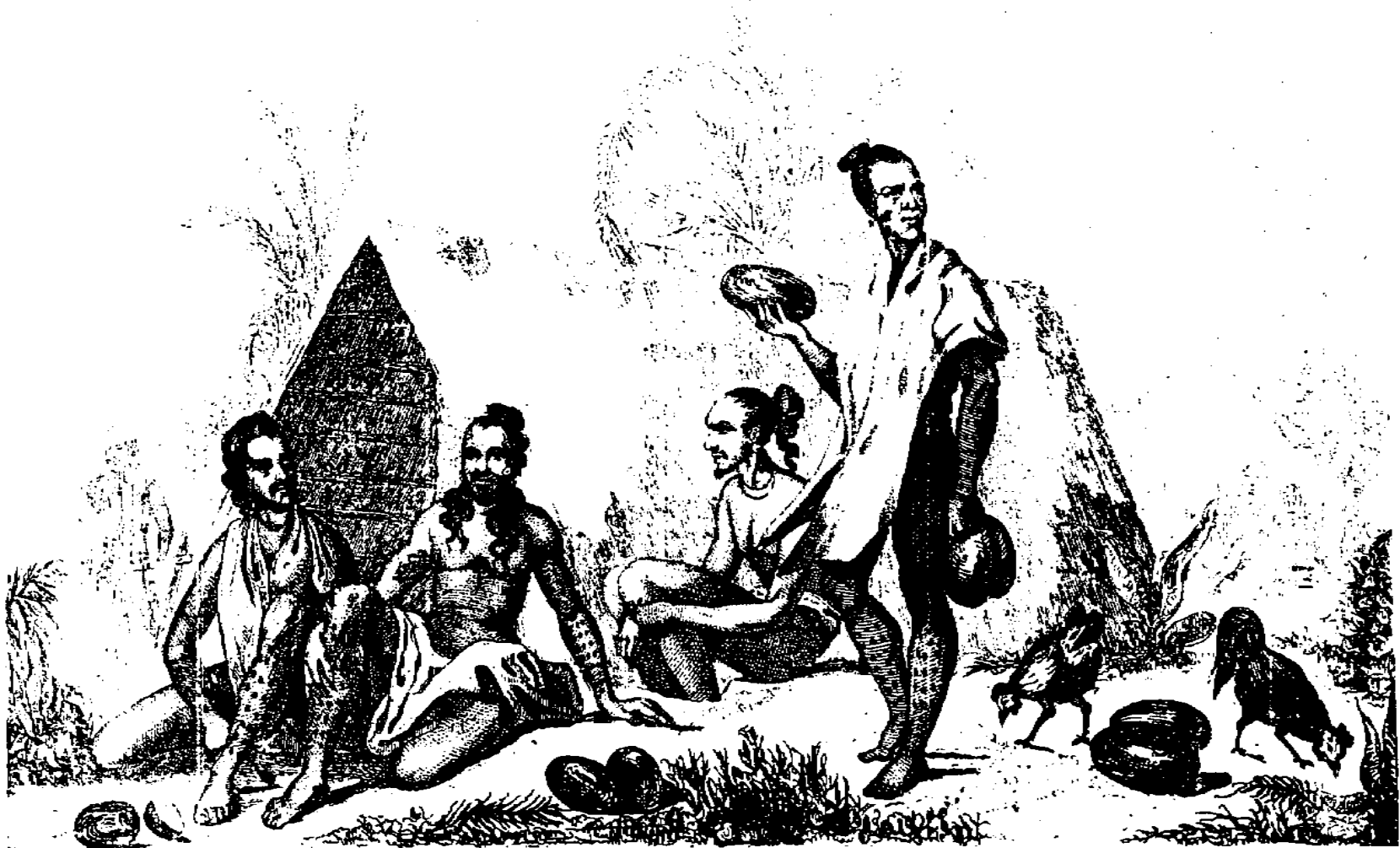




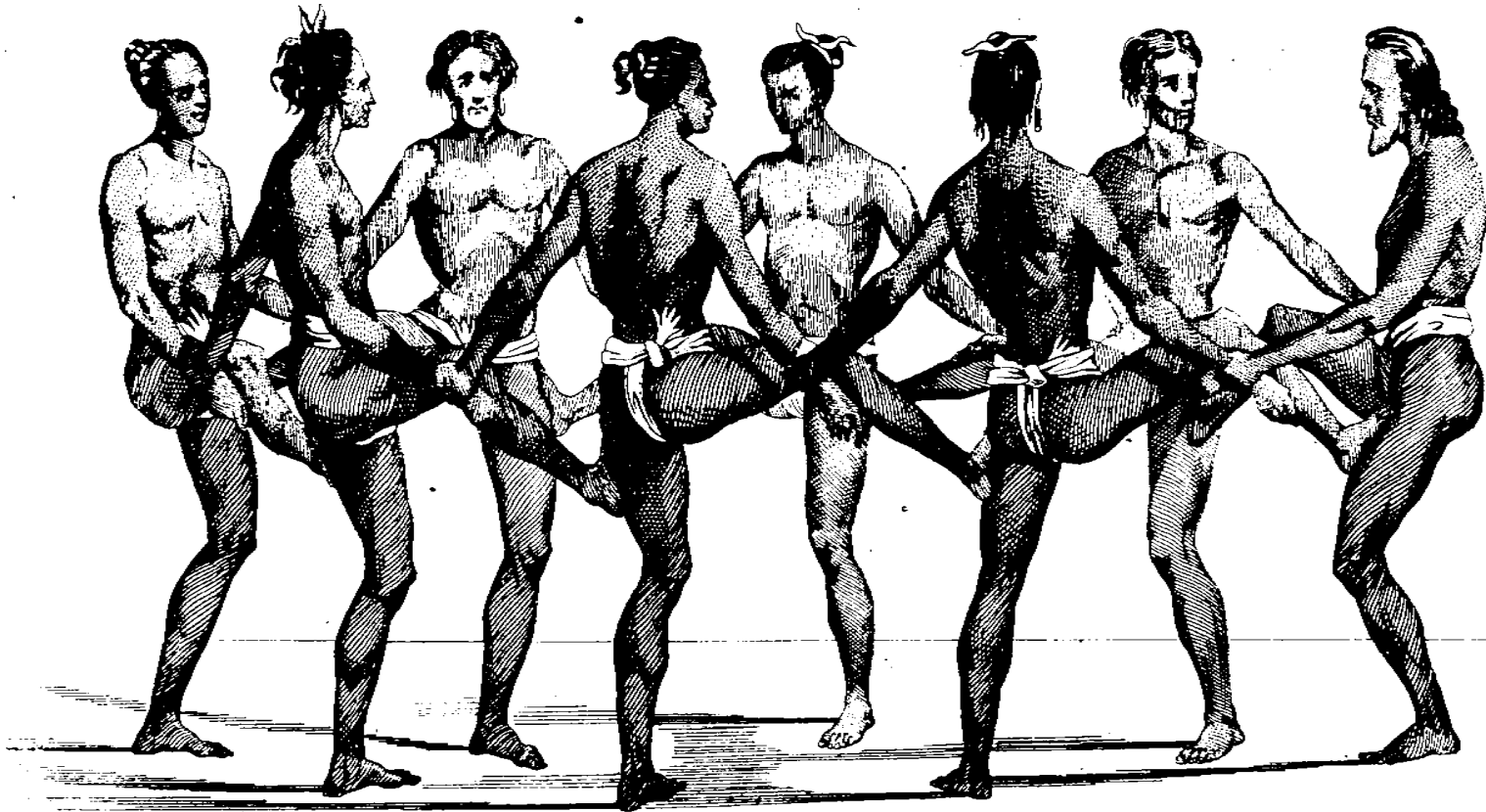














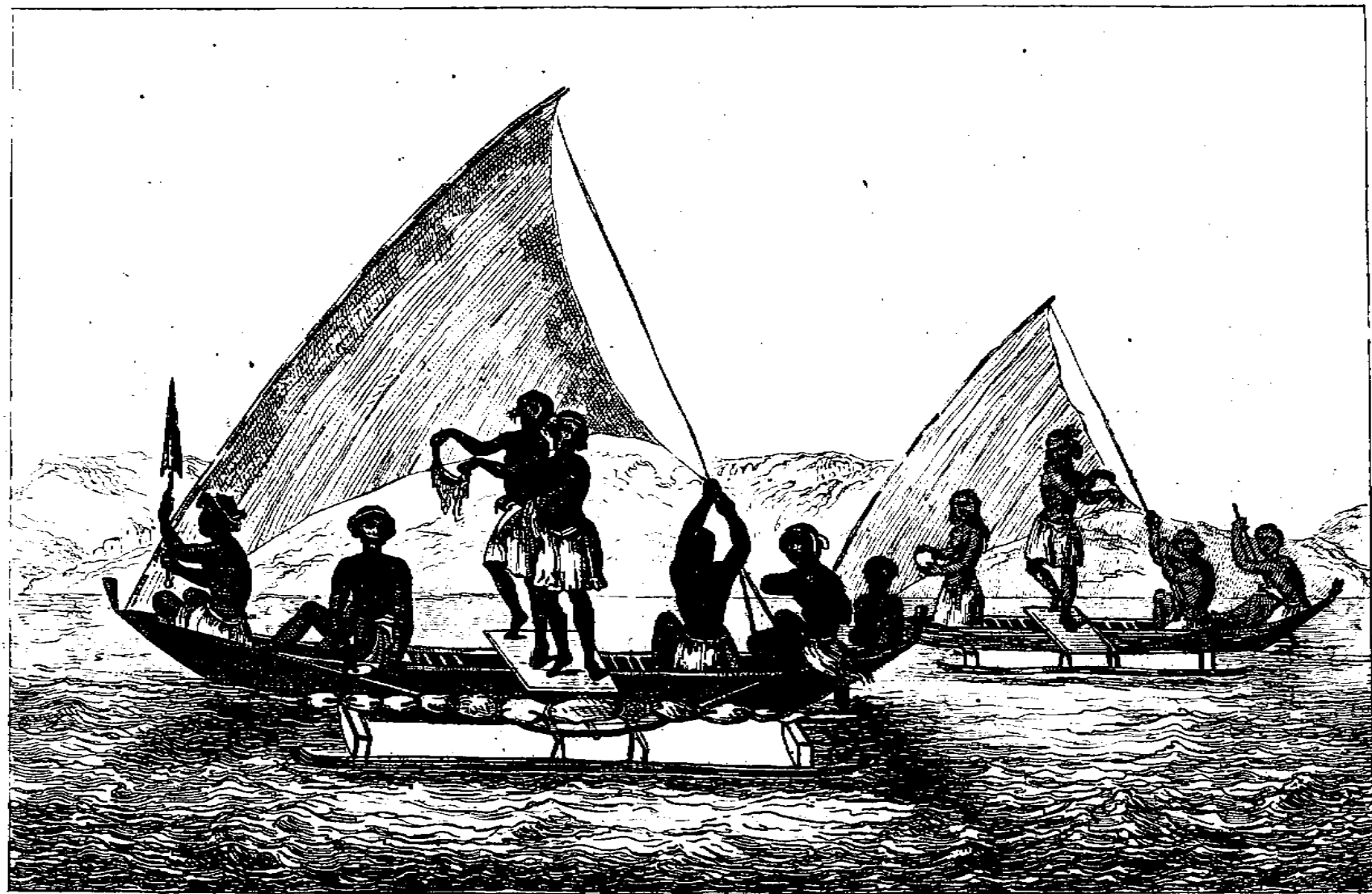


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Chavannes de

Vue de la rivière Lual.

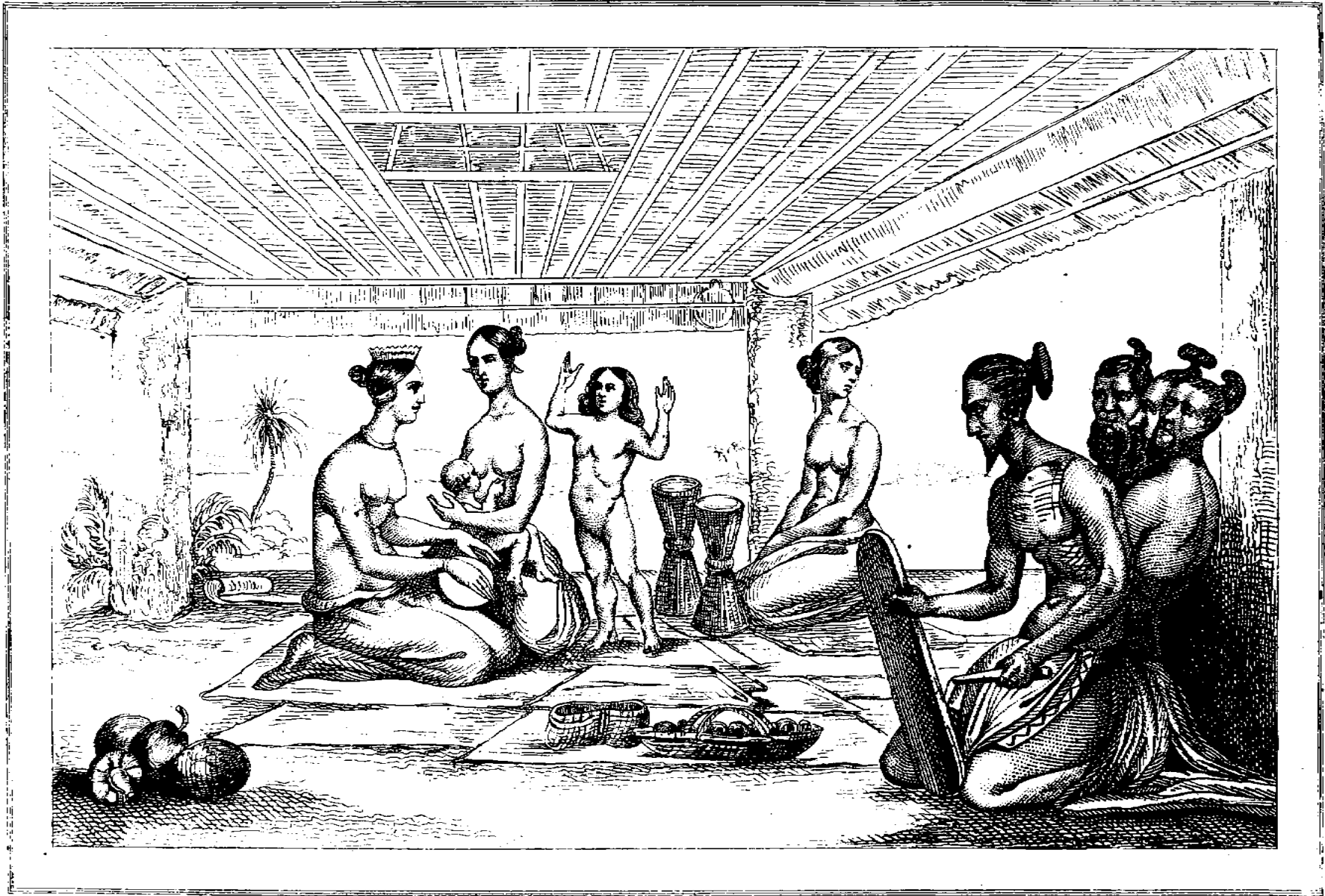
Vista del Rio Lual.



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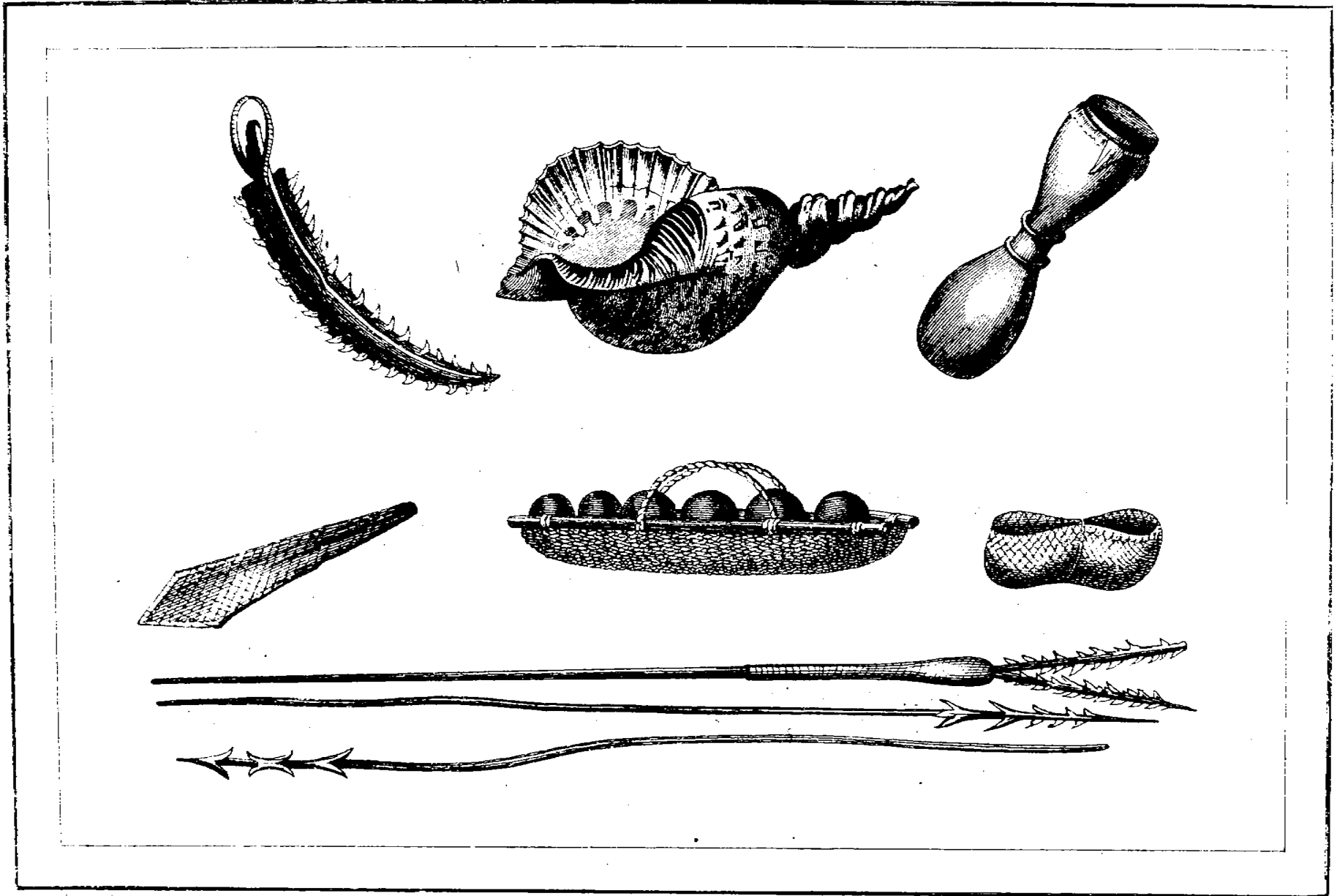
Vue de l'île Pouquipet et Danse de femmes à bord des Pirogues.



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Ch. J.

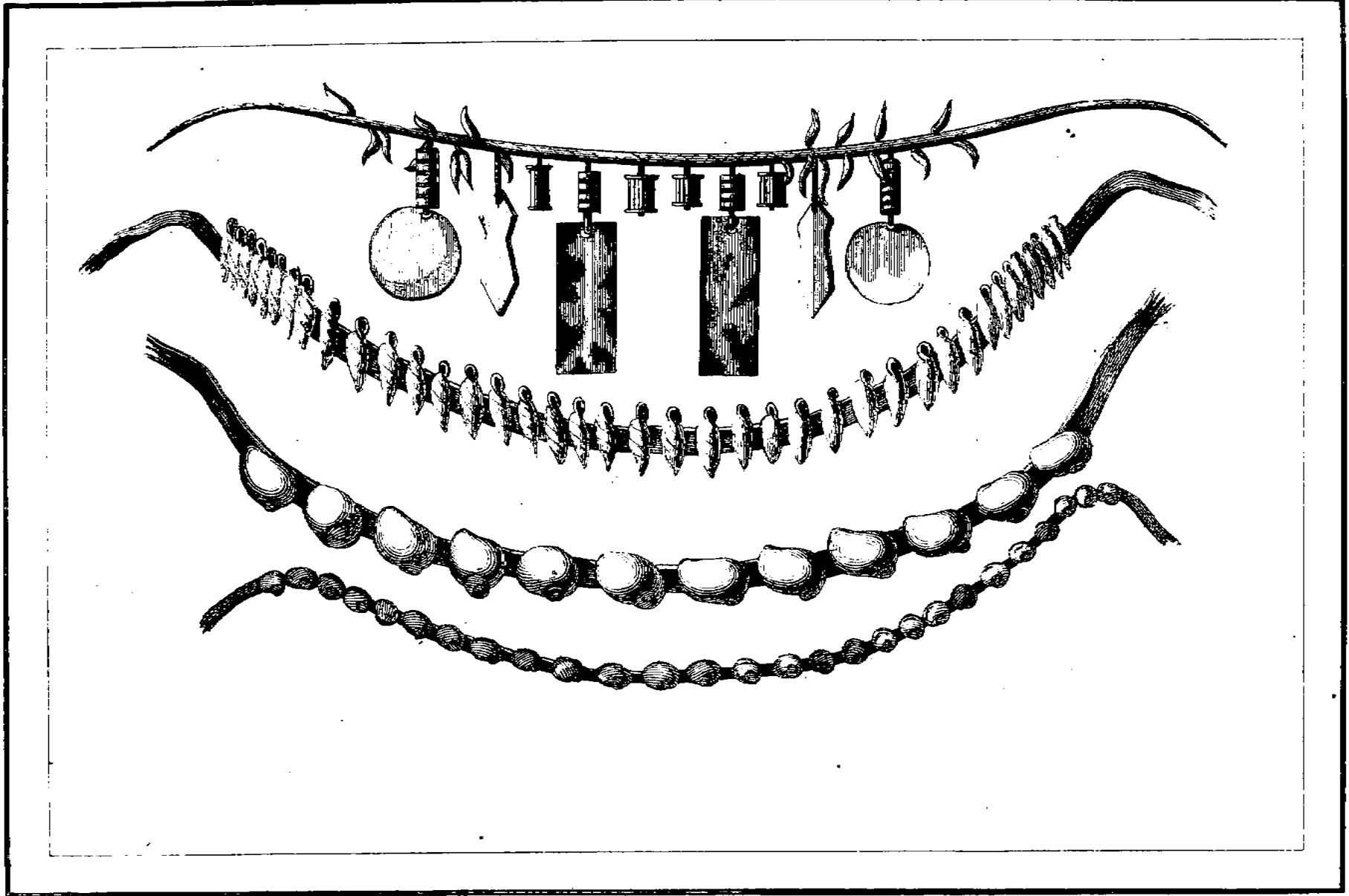
Intérieur d'une maison de l'île Pook.





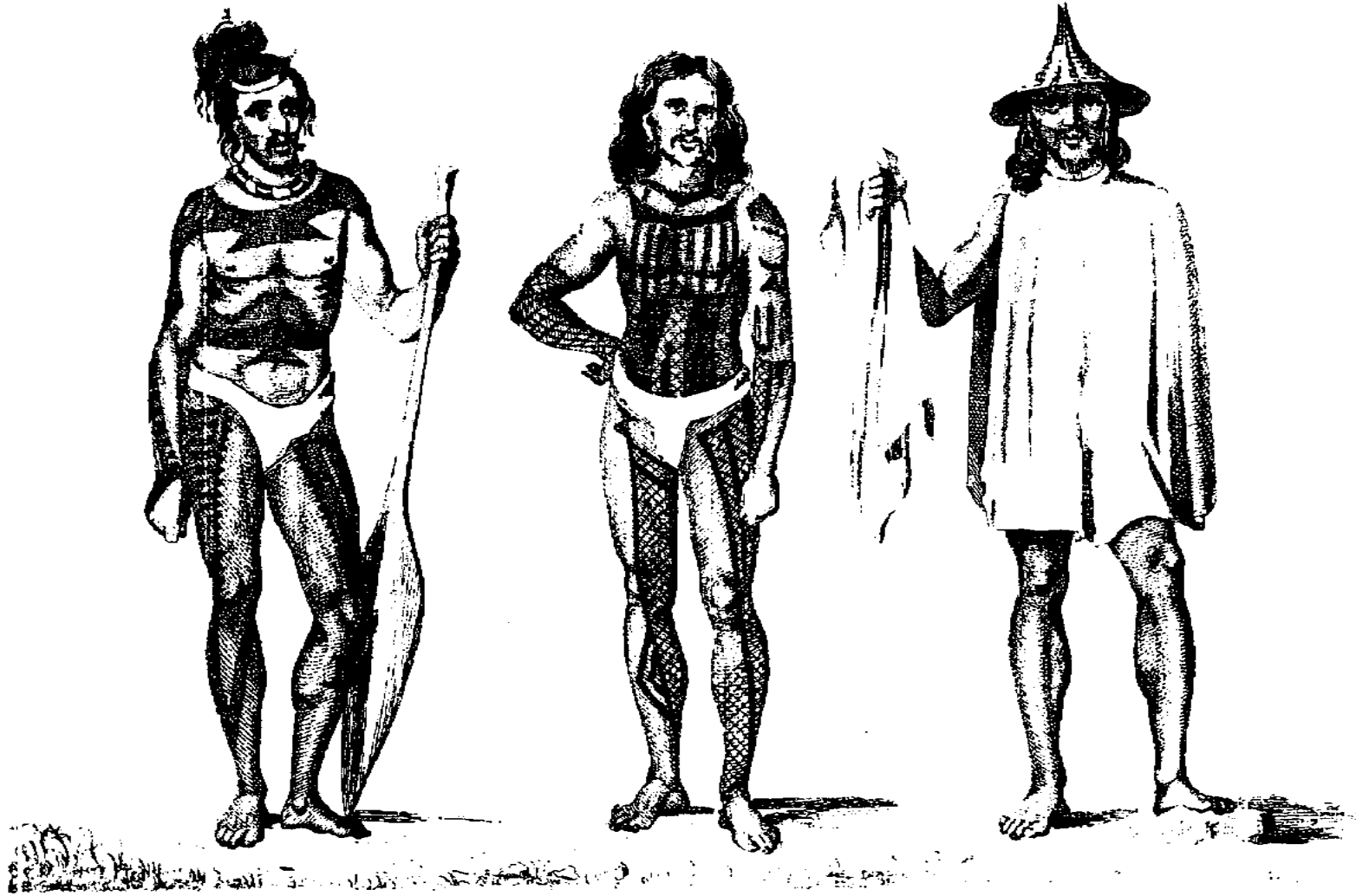
Vista de la Isla Radak.

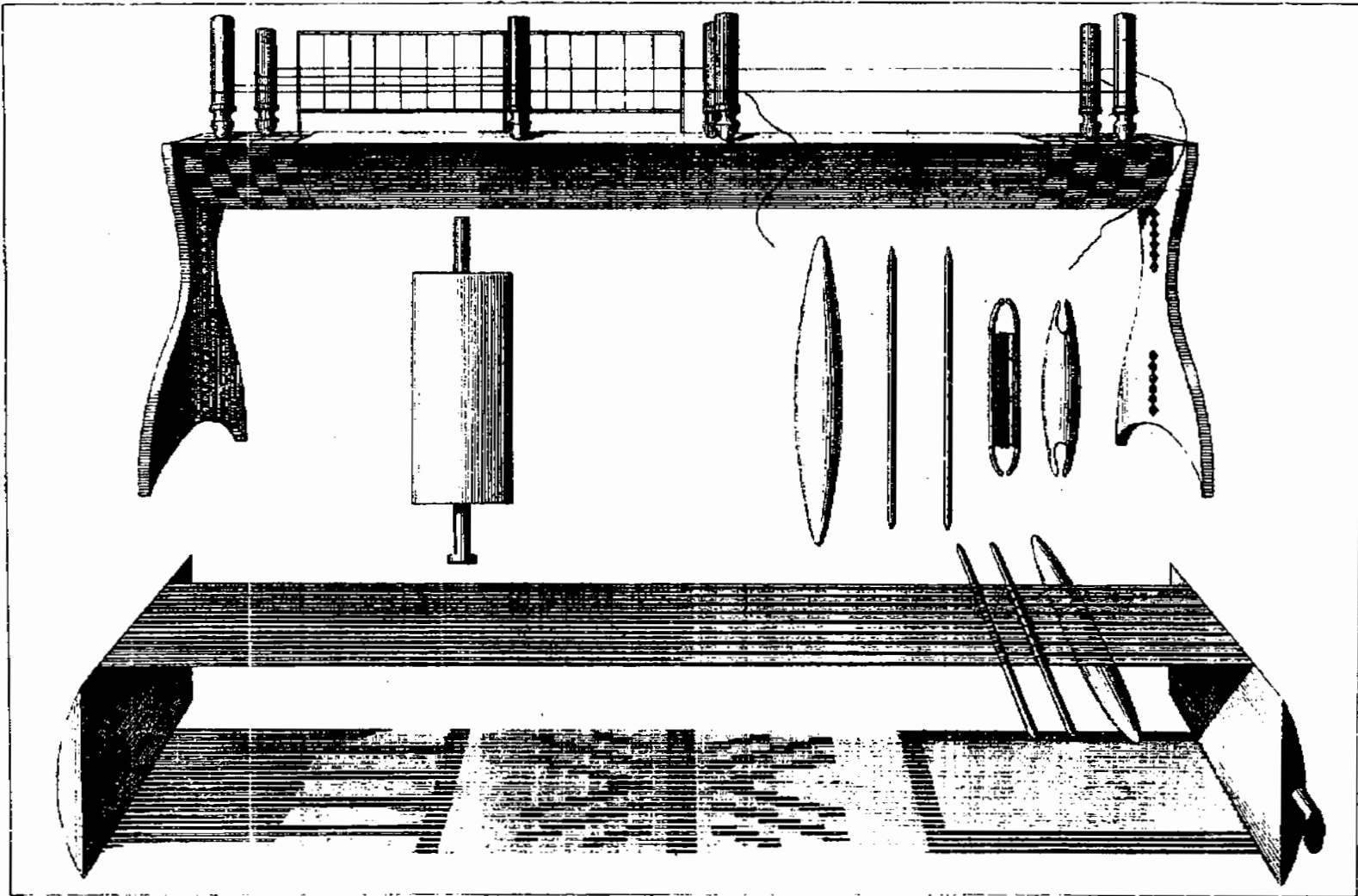
Vista de la Isla Radak

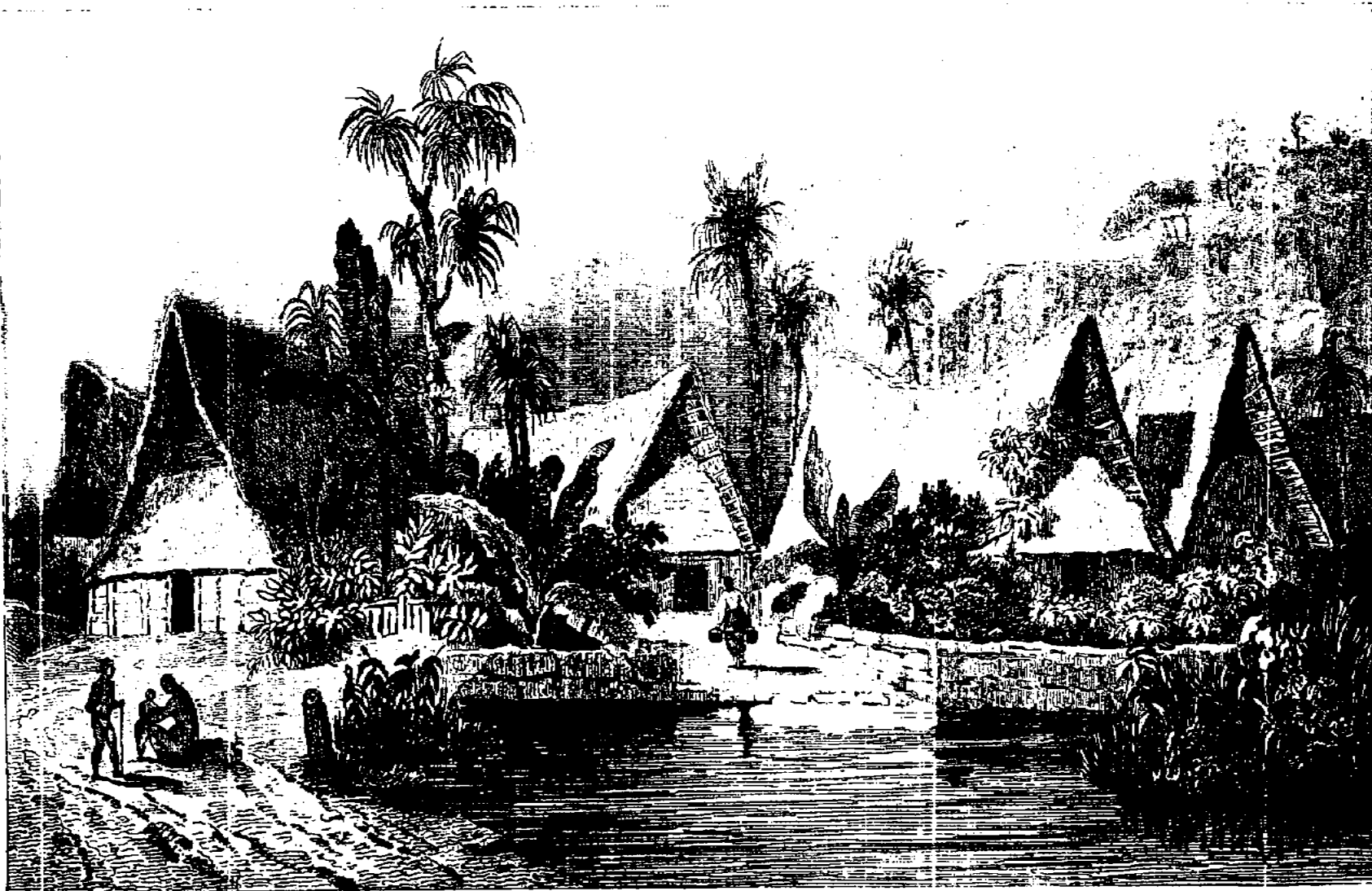


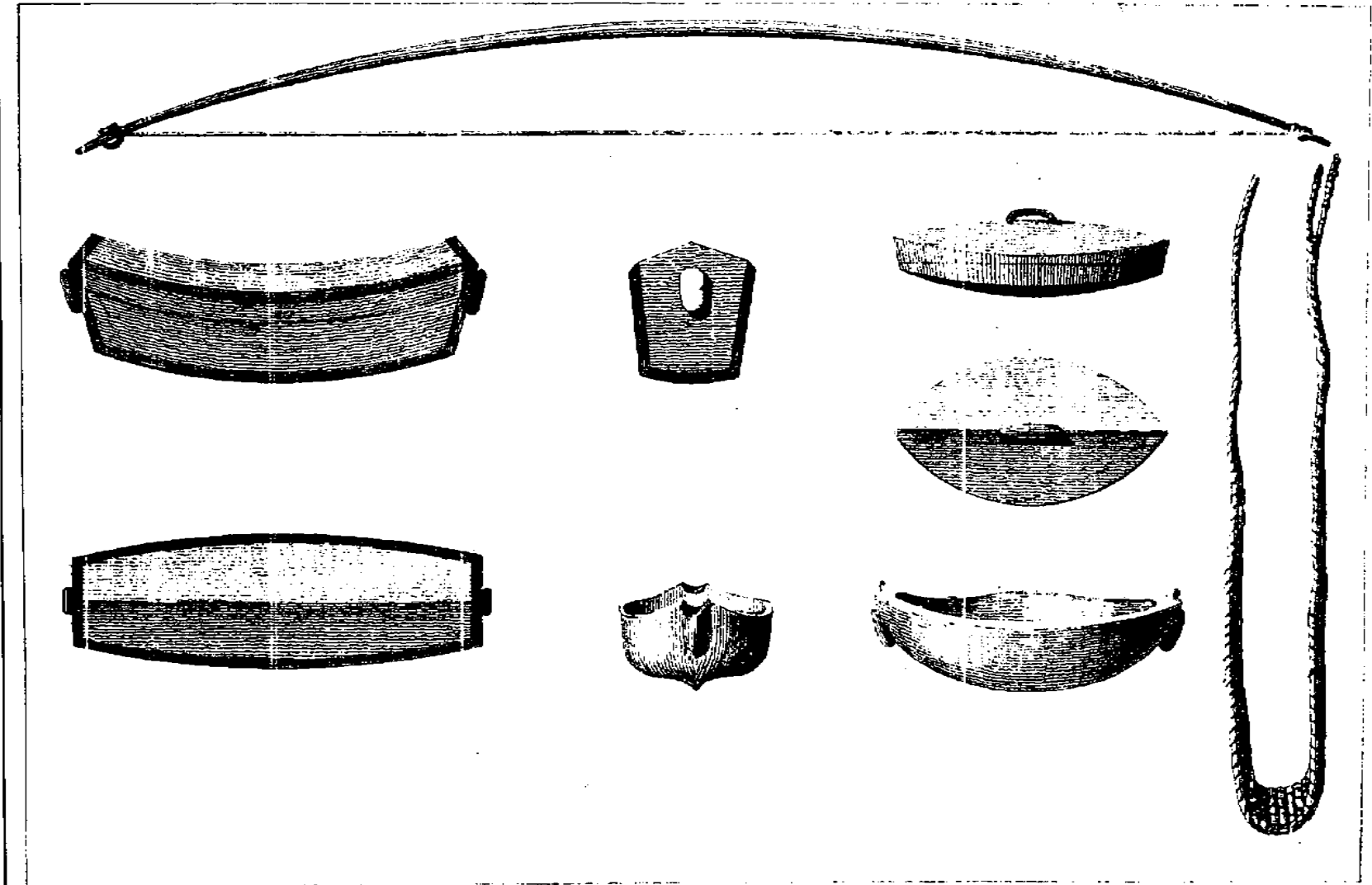
Ornements des Habitants.

Amamentos de los habitantes









Document 1828K

The Dutch Navy corvette *Wilhelmina en Maria*, via Agrigan

Source: Jacobus Boelen. Reize naar de oost-en westkust van Zuid-Amerika (Amsterdam, 1835-36).

[Title of the book reads:]

Voyage to the east and west coast of South America, and from there, to the Sandwich and Philippine Islands, China, etc. carried out in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829, with the corvette **Wilhelmina & Maria**, Captain J. Boelen Johnson, Navy Lieutenant, 1st class, and member of the Order of William, 4th class, then Commander. Out of and back to Deel. With plates and maps.

Original text in Dutch.

...

Zes en Twintigste Hoofdstuk.

Vervolg der reize naar Canton. Opmerkingen omtrent eenige nieuwontdekte eilanden in deze route. Passeren de Marian-, of Ladrone-eilanden. Ontmoeten Chinesche visschers, etc...

...

Zielen in de noorder Stillen oceaen.

Zeo als ik aan het slot van hoofdstuk XXIV gezegd heb, boegden wij met het schip om de zuid, naar de parallel tusschen de 18° en 19° noorderbreedte; vervolgende daarop met kracht van zeil onzen koers om de west. Woensdag, den negentienden Maart, passeerden wij, gelijk de tijdmetre aanwees, den laatsten meridiaan van Greenwich...

...

De Ladrone- of Marian-eilanden.

Den eersten April ontwaarden wij, met het opkomen van de zon, de Ladrone- of Marian-eilanden, peilende het noordelijkste van dezelve, Grigan genaamd, over het midden West, misw. k., en heblende hetzelfde toen naar gissing op zes mijlen afstands van ons. Wij stuurden Z. W. t. W., om den doortogt te nemen tusschen Grigan en Pagon. Op den middag hadden wij het laatste, volgens misw. k., in het Zuiden 1/4 West van ons, op den afstand van zes mijlen naar gissing; het eiland Grigan peilden wij toen in het N. W. t. W., op anderhalve mijl naar gissing van ons, zijnde de miswijzing 7° noor-

R E I Z E

NAAR DE

OOST-EN WESTKUST VAN ZUID-AMERIKA

EN, VAN DAAR, NAAR DE

SANDWICHS-EN PHILIPPIJNSCHE EILANDEN, CHINA

gedaan, in de jaren 1826, 1827, 1828 en 1829

MET HET KOOPVAARTSCHEEP

WILHELMINA EN MARIA;

DOOR

J. BOELEN, JOH. ZOON.

destijds Luitenant ter zee, 1^e klasse en Ridder der Militaire
Willems-orde, 4^e klasse, thans Kapitein Luitenant.

DERDE EN LAATSTE DEEL.

MET PLATEN EN KAARTEN.



Gezigt op de Praya van de Stad Macao.

Te AMSTERDAM.

TEN-BRINK & DE VRIES.

MDCCCXXXVI.

doostering. Op den middg was onze bevondene noorderbreedte $18^{\circ}41'$ en onze leagte, volgens chronometer, $145^{\circ}58'$. Volgens dien ontwaarde ik, dat deze beide eilanden in de kaart van Arrowsmith 1822, waarin ik mijn bestek hield, én te noordelijk én te oostelijk geplaatst waren. Hij toch bepaalt Grigan zuidhoek op $19^{\circ}3'$ noorderbreedte en $146^{\circ}11'$ oosterlengte, en Pagons noordhoek op $18^{\circ}51'$ noorderbreedte en $146^{\circ}2'$ oosterlengte. Terwijl nu in diezelfde kaart de zuidkust van Pagon op $18^{\circ}30'$ noorderbreedte gestelk is, zoo zouden wij derhalve, naar onze bevondene breedte, met het schip op gezegd eiland hebben moeten staan; waardoor ik geleid werd, den zuidhoek van Grigan, volgens onze observatien, op $18^{\circ}45'$ noorderbreedte en $145^{\circ}53'$ oosterlengte te brengen, en den noordhoek van Pagon op $18^{\circ}17'$ noorderbreedte en $145^{\circ}55'$ lengte beoosten Greenwich. Drie dagen te voren had ik, door berekening van den middlbaren tijd op Greenwich naar waargenomen afstand van zon en maan, den gang van het zeehorologie getoetst; waarnaar ik mij voorstelde, dit bevonden verschil, bij de eerste te vertrouwen peiling op het land, nader te vergelijken.

De Marian- of Ladrone-eilanden, overignes, leveren in ligging, door derzelve hoog voorland, hetwelk als groote koepels uit zee verrijst, eene waarlijk prachtige vertooning. Bijzonder was dit het geval, hij ons eerste ontwaren derzelve. De zon was toen nog niet boven de kim, en meest majestueus verheften nu de kruinen dezer groep zich hoog in de wolken, die, met het purper van den dageraad reeds geverwd, eene allerverrukkelijkste afwisseling aanboden met het donkerblauwe van den nacht, hetwelk over het benedenland alsnog verbreid lag. Ofschoon wij voorts, bij ons aannaderen, geen bewijs van eenig vaartnig zagen, kwamen mij deze eilanden toch bewoond voor. Wij verbeeldden ons, op Grigan rook te zien opgaan. Over het algemeen echter was het aanzien van dezelve niet zeer vruchtbaar, en schenen zij gedeeltelijk uit eene bergvorming van vulkanische stoffen te bestaan.

Gelegenheid na het passeren dier eilanden.

Na de Marian-eilanden gepasseerd te zijn, ondervonden wij eenen meer ongeregelden passaat, en werd het van tijd tot tijd flauw, buijig, met veelal dikke, donkere lucht en zware stortregens. De wind varieerde nu en dan het geheele kompas rond.

Den zesden, zevenden, achtsten en negenden vergeleken wij andermaal den gang van den tijdmet, door goede waarnemingen van zons- en maansafstanden.

Den dertienden April — de wind van het Z.Z.W. tot Z.W. zijnde — hadden wij, gedurende den nacht, eene dikke, donkere lucht, met weerlicht en donder in het rond, zoo dat, indien de barometer, welke op den middag 29,14 stond, niet op die hoogte gebleven, maar slechts 0,02 gedaald ware, ik alle klarigheden zou gemaakt hebben tot het waarnemen van eenen dier zware stormen of orkanen, welke men, in de Chinesche zee en hij de Bashee-eilanden, zoo menigmaal kan aantreffen en die bij de Chinezen den naam dragen van ty-foengs. Dan ten zeven ure des morgens kregen wij den wind uit de lij, of van het Noorden en N.N.O. Het weder klaarde op, en wij hadden andermaal den noordoost-passaat, met eene flauwe tot bramzeilskoelte.

Den veertienden, des morgens ten elf ure, zagen wij het noordelijkste der Bashee-eilanden, en peilden hetzelve op den middag over het midden in het Z.W. t. W. Ik nam

de doorvaart tusschen het kanaal van Formosa. Op den middag peilden wij noorder Bashee-eiland in het Z. W. t. W., misw. k. De miswijzing was nul, de bevondene noorderbreedte 21°23'; hetwelk ons, in de kaart van J. W. Norie 1821, bragt op 122°23' lengte beoosten Greenwich. De tijdmetre gaf ons, mede op den middag, 122°37' bengte, en bragt ons dus 14' ostelijker. Om derhalve op de vroegere bepaling, aangaande de eilanden Grigan en Pagon, van den eersten dezer maand terug te komen, zou, zaar de tegenwoordige vergelijking met het zeehorologie, het eerste dezer maand terug te komen, zou, naar de tegenwoordige vergelijking met het zeehorologie, het eerste liggen op 18°45' noorderbreedte en 145°39' oosterlengte, en het tweede 18°17' noorderbreedte en 145°39' oosterlengte.

...

Translation.

...

[The Wilhemina & Maria was at Honolulu in February 1828, when the Prussian ship Princess Louise arrived from Callao.¹ The ship left for Canton in March.]

Chapter 22.

Continuation of the voyage to Canton. ... of islands along this route. Crossing the Mariana, or Ladrone, Islands. Encounter with Chinese fishermen...

Sailing in the north Pacific Ocean.

...

[There follows a discussion about islands appearing on the 1798 Arrowsmith chart (Wake, Halcyon), and one appearing on Norie's chart (Sebastian Lobos Island).]

¹ Ed. note: The part about this visit to Hawaii has been translated by Frank J. A. Broeze and published by The Hawaiian Historical Society, under the title: *A Merchant's Perspective*.

Documents 1828L

The first Chilean ships to cross Micronesia officially did so in 1828

Source: PNA.

L1. Letter from Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 8 February 1828

Letters N° 48 & 50 from the Governor of the Marianas reporting the arrival at that island of the Chilean schooner La Araucana and the brig Figueroa that were seized by the Spanish brig named Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias El Griego.

Most Excellent Sir:

In the afternoon of the 28th of last month [January 1828], a two-masted ship appeared at the northern cape of this island, headed for the bar of this town, and having had her reconnoitered, she turned out to be the 80-ton Chilean schooner **La Araucana**, commanded by Capt. José Donato, which, in Lat. 33° S. and Long. 67° E. of Cadiz, was made a prize by the Spanish brig named **Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias El Griego** that is privateering in said seas and coasts of Chile and Peru. The above is on the way to Manila, consigned to Mr. José Azcarraga. This is to advise Your Excellency for your greater intelligence.

May our Lord save your important life and health for many happy years.

San Ignacio de Agaña, capital of the Mariana Islands, 8 February 1828.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Kingdom.

L2. Letter dated 1 April 1828

Letter N° 50.

Most Excellent Sir:

In the afternoon of the 28th of last month [March 1828], the Mayor of the town of Umata reported to me that the brig **Figueroa** had anchored in that roadstead, coming

from the South Seas, and was the prize of the brig **Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias El Griego**, on the way to Manila, consigned to Mr. José Azcarraga, and I communicate this to Your Excellency for your greater intelligence.

May our Lord save you, etc.

San Ignacio de Agaña, capital of the Mariana Islands, 1 April 1828.

[To] His Excellency Mariano Ricafort, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Kingdom.

L3. Letter dated 12 June 1828

Letter N° 54.

Most Excellent Sir:

At this moment and at 7 p.m., I have received a letter from the Mayor of the town of Umata, and attached, another from Mr. Juan Manuel de la Matta, Captain of the privateer named **Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias El Griego**, and among other things, he tells me that, because the season is very advanced, it is not easy for him to delay [his departure] beyond 10 p.m. and that if I want to write to Your Excellency I should do so as soon as possible, as he will not be there beyond the indicated time. There is a distance of seven leagues from this city to the town, and the worst road in the island. The express is leaving now (8 p.m.), and thus I fear it will get there before day-break by waling fast. In conclusion, if the said Matta puts his intention into effect, and that he is not detained in sailing by any incident, this letter may not get into the hands of Your Excellency, etc.

May our Lord save You, etc.

San Ignacio de Agaña, capital of the Mariana Islands, 12 June 1828.

[To] His Excellency Mariano Ricafort, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Kingdom.

Document 1828M

Captain Lafond, aboard the *Alzire*, sailed by Saipan in 1828

Source: Capitaine Gabriel Lafond (de Lurcy). Voyages autour du monde (Paris, 1870). Vol. 4.

*Notes: This is a continuation of his previous narratives, under 1818, and 1822. The author was aboard the French ship *Alzire* of Marseille, Captain Darluc, which sailed in company with the English ship *Solitude*, Captain Anderson. See under 1821 for his next adventure.*

Voyages in the Sandwich Islands, in the Philippines and in China.

Chapter 1.

Departure from Lima.—Arrival at the Sandwich Islands.—Wahou Island.—The port.—Visit to French missionaries.—The English Consul, Mr. Richard Charlton.

In 1828, I was still in Lima, but I had almost finished with the operation that had led me there. I then conceived the plan to go to Guayaquil, and go from there to the Philippines, to China, and bring various Asian products back to Peru, as such merchandise could be easily sold there at a profit. Since I could count on a quick return, I could not fail to make a good speculation. I already knew Manila and knew that I could take advantage of a few products that were unknown to foreign traders.

I also wanted to visit Malaysia once more.¹ In case my return to Peru would turn out to be too difficult, I intended to spend a few years visiting the various archipelagos of the Pacific Ocean. In this plan, I was not just led by a mercantile interest; I expected that my trading activities would give me the means of seeing for myself, and studying at leisure, all the countries that I planned to write about when I returned to Europe, and make them known in a new light, perhaps the commercial aspect. To be useful to my countrymen, by making their relations beyond the seas easier, that was the goal that I sought endlessly during the course of all my travels. I leave to others, rather to time—this sovereign and impartial judge—the care of deciding if my efforts have been crowned with success.

1 Ed. note: Malaysia in the geographic sense, not the modern country by that name.

Consequently, I dealt with Captain Darluc, the commander of the brig **Alzire** of Marseille, for my passage from Callao to Guayaquil, and from Guayaquil to the Philippines. I even got his promise to bring me back to Peru, if he chose to come back himself...

The English ship **Solitude** was then at Guayaquil and intended to follow the same route as ourselves. The two captains agreed to sail in company. For this purpose, I made up a table of common signals for communication between the two ships, based of the work of Mr. Ducome of Bordeaux. An Italian who was a friend of mine, Frederico Farinoli, had decided, to my great joy, to undertake a voyage to China with me. In April 1828, we left the coasts of America.

We were leaving these shores, drunk with pleasure; indeed, the American women had decided to make sure we would regret them. Ah! charming girls of the New World, I have spent among you, the best eight years of my life, when I was still young.¹ I will never forget you!

...

We knew that a Spanish cruiser had recently appeared on the coasts of Peru;² we did not fear being made prisoner, but did not ignore either how dangerous the meeting of the pirate ship can be dangerous. They first despoil you of what you have, then it is up to you to make a claim against them. The affair can last for 20 years in the courts...

In the meantime, you are ruined, your contracts cannot be respected, and you have to declare bankruptcy! It is therefore prudent to avoid such meetings at all costs; so, I advised Captain Darluc to get away from the coast as fast as possible. Calm weather caused some delay near the Galapagos. If, instead of heading NNW, we had headed WSW, with SE winds we would have been able to cross the Line at a certain distance of the Galapagos and our crossing to the Sandwich Islands would have been faster. We had given rendez-vous to the **Solitude**, Captain Anderson, at those islands.

...

Finally, on 28 April 1828, we sighted the high peak of Muna-Roa, half covered with snow, with its head proudly emerging through the low-lying clouds. Soon we could see the big Island of Owhyhi, one that made us recall the famous adventurer, Captain Cook...

...

Chapter 5.

Departure from the Sandwich Islands.—Crossing to the Philippines.—Arrival at Manila.

...

At last we reached the **Alzire**. While the men were busy weighing the anchor and unfurling the sails, I went to sit down at the poop and looked behind us. A light shadow could still be seen in the northeast; it was Wahou, and it was already far away.

1 Ed. note: From 20 to 28 years old, approximately.

2 Ed. note: The N.S. del Carmen, alias El Griego (see Doc. 1828L).

saw one. It was a coral group surrounded by a very dangerous reef. While we skirted its southern side, two canoes soon came to meet us. Among the islanders we could see one that stood out with blond hair and the extraordinary whiteness of his body when compared with the others. He surprised us by asking in good English for permission to come aboard. He was an English sailor left there by a whaling ship. His name was William Floyd. He begged me to take him along and, naturally, I could not refuse. He was overwhelmed by our questions; his only response for a while was to beg me to give an order for him to get a haircut, a bath and some clothes. Later on, he gave us much interesting information about the people with whom he had lived for two years.¹

Meanwhile a fair trade was taking place with the inhabitants who, by the way, were not richly supplied. Only one of them dared to come aboard; the others were too frightened by our number, and Floyd was far too busy with himself and his new unexpected situation to take time to reassure them. Our friends from before were braver.

The group that we had just come to was Murileu [Murilo]. I thought I had come to Falalu (everyone here pronounced Fananu), but it is situated a few miles further west [Nomwin]. The Murilo Group consists of 9 islands, the main ones being: Murileu, Rua and Namorus [Numurus]. The reef that encircles it is of irregular shape. Its lee side is mostly submerged and can only be seen as green water; if one came upon such a reef at night, there would be no hope of salvation. South of Rua I., there is a passage, even for large ships, and it is probable that a good anchorage could be found inside the lagoon. The inhabitants live only on the windward islands and only go to the SW corner of the group for fishing.

After rounding the western point of the group, we headed north. I wished, by tacking NE, to get up far enough so that in the morning I could survey the NW reef up close as well as the islets located upon it. However, at daybreak, seeing that we were still 10 miles from it, we headed again between the Murileu and Fananu Groups, and then, along the southern part of the latter to SW. The wind was very weak. None of the many canoes that came to us had any sail on account of a festival during which they are forbidden to use sails. As we were proceeding slowly along the reef, we had time to take care of the islanders. We found them to be exactly like the inhabitants of Onun. In our relations with them we did not get much help from our Englishman, even when it came to language; for this, a certain intelligence and some education are necessary. As he had shown them how to say many things in English, and did not know the corresponding words in their language, he assured us, for instance, with a comical ingenuity that the word "good" was "good" in their language, not even realizing that they had borrowed that word from him. Some of them spent some happy time with me in my cabin and communicated to me many geographical details about their archipelago, while others traded coconuts and fish with us; they had a good supply of fish. They all left us before sunset.

1 See the 11th supplement in Vol. 3. Ed. comment: Dr. Mertens' paper on the Carolines has been reproduced as Doc. 1827C.

The Fananu Group is also known by the general designation of Namolipiafan. It is 40 miles in circumference and contains 13 islands, the most important ones being: Ikop [Igup], Fananu and Namuin [Nomwin]. These islands, as well as those comprised in the Murilo Group, are very small; the largest are no more than one kilometer in length. The rest of the space is taken up by the reef, no less dangerous here than at Murileu. The entrance into the lagoon is located on the southern side.

We continued to advance slowly toward the western point. We came abreast of it only by nightfall. During that night, the rain was falling and we ran on short tacks to SE or NE with variable winds, and the current carried us so that by daybreak (12th), we could only see one islet belonging to the Fananu Group, but we could also see another one to the west. The latter we recognized as being Faieu, the second by that name, which has been called East Faieu to distinguish it from the other. One often meets the same names used over again for different islands in the Carolines, and this fact has led to much confusion in the geography of this archipelago.

At 8 o'clock, we were already before this islet. Its survey did not take us long because, including the enclosing reef, it is no more than one mile in length by about 3/4 of a mile in width. The Carolinians, during their voyages, sometimes stop here to get fresh water that the rain accumulates in a small basin.

After having surveyed and determined the position of Faieu Island, we headed NW in order to get to the latitude of Maguir Island that we had seen from afar on our first voyage and that I now wished to survey up close. That night, we sighted Onoup and Unalik Islands belonging to the Namonuito Group, and the next morning (13th), we sighted Maguir and Maguirarik Islands that form the northern limit of this group, and so it was verified. From Maguir there came a few canoes that we took in tow. The islanders climbed aboard without any problem. I hoped, with the help of Floyd, to learn from them some details about the reefs and the banks inside this remarkable lagoon, but again I became convinced that he could hardly be used as an interpreter. Our interview, however, was brief because I could not reduce sails on account of the presence of a dangerous reef to leeward, and their canoes were being buffeted while in tow, so that they soon separated.

After having rounded, on the north, Maguir and Maguirarik Islands that are linked together by a reef, we followed the submerged reef that begins from these islands and extends SW; with the banks we had seen on the first voyage, it forms the boundary of this group on that side. We then ran toward Onun I. located in the western corner. Nightfall came as we approached it but that did not stop two canoes from coming to us. We met again some of our old acquaintances and among them the intelligent Sukizeum.¹ Except for those who stayed to watch over the canoes, all came aboard and soon let us know that they wished to spend the night with us; I did not consent to this, much to their displeasure. They were in no hurry to leave us so soon. First, they settled

1 I learned then that Sukizeum was from Sotoan and had come here to trade; he now had the intention of going back home and then to Guahan. I therefore took this opportunity to write to our Guahan acquaintances.

themselves up on deck; then, when they saw our sailors dance, they began to dance and sing. We witnessed two of their dances that time. In one of them, they sit down in a circle, begin to beat the measure by hitting their hands upon the thighs, and then with a rather monotonous air during which they continue to beat the measure, either with the hands or with the elbow joints. From time to time, one or two of them get up and, not leaving the spot, perform some gyrations with the hands and the hips, as we had already seen at Namoluk. They sometimes beat the measure with two coconut leaves. Or else, they form a line and make various gyrations with the hands and the head, in a manner very similar to one that is described in various places in Cook's Voyages. We were unable to get rid of them before we ourselves needed to rest. We invited them to come back the next day, telling them that they should bring their wives along.

During the night, we were carried off by the current 10 miles SW. We again experienced the difficulty of maintaining our position at night in the lee of a coral group. If one carries much sail and the current happens to be not as strong as average, then one runs the risk of piling over the reef that is invisible even at a short distance. Under reduced sail, one is almost always carried far to leeward.

On December 14th, we were still in the lee of Onun Island, when about 10 canoes came to us and we traded with them as usual; but we were wrong in expecting as many fish as last spring because the canoes had not yet returned from fishing. There were enough coconuts, a few chicken and some breadfruits. Their wives did not think proper or feared to respond to our invitation. I learned during this interview that the 24-fathom bank seen by Mr. Torres, is known by the inhabitants under the name of Manaijeu.¹ Sukizeum pointed it out, towards the south.

After having checked the chronometers through some observations, and taken leave of our friends now loaded with gifts, we headed SE in search of the above-mentioned bank, and once at 8°20' of latitude mentioned by Mr. Torres, headed due west. Every hour we sounded and did not find any bottom at 60 to 70 fathoms; at 6 p.m., we came again to the point where we had started last time, also unsuccessfully, to search for this bank. There must be a mistake in latitude; the navigators who are to follow us will surely find it 6 to 7 miles further south of our route.

We left from there to go to the Farroilap Group whose longitude needed to be checked, and where I wished to ask for information about the position of Feis Island that I now wanted to find. We arrived at Farroilap on December 16th. We again received the visit of some of our acquaintances, but we awaited in vain our interesting friend Alberto; he was not there. Worse than this, we could not make the others understand which one we meant to inquire about. No-one knew any Alberto; this confirmed my original conjecture that this was not his native name. Even if the inhabitants of Farroilap came, as before, empty-handed and with empty stomachs as well, this did not prevent them from very heartily enjoying themselves with us, and we had a hard time to make them go home.

1 Ed. note: Same as the Gray Feather Bank.

A difference discovered in the previous determination of the longitude of Farroilap now made it necessary for us to go back to Uleai, upon which the longitudes of this part of the archipelago were based. Thus, we headed S1/4SW when we left Farroilap, with all sails out, given that there no longer remains any danger in this part of the archipelago. In the morning, we sighted Uleai. Having rounded the group on the east, we hove to in front of the port. Tapeligar, Aman, and most of our previous friends, came to see us. Aman, from aboard his canoe, was shouting as loudly as he could: "*Maulik Uleai!*" just as they shouted "*Mamal Lugunor!*" at Lugunor, which confirms my conjecture that *mamal* and *maulik*, as well as *aidara* at Radak, are also used to mean "friend." They all showed their happiness at seeing us again, either in a sincere or simulated fashion. They were trying to make us understand that we had done a good thing to have come back to them after having gone to Russia: "*Fragata farak Russia, farak Uleai, maulik, etc.*" Of course, each of them fully expected to be rewarded after such demonstrations, even though they had all come empty-handed themselves. They dispatched one canoe, it is true, to go and get coconuts, but we did not see it again. Many were asking for cigars, something we had not noticed here on the previous occasion. We met here, among others, one tamol whom we had met before at Elato, and he told us that Tamol Oralitau whom we had met at Guahan had by now returned to his native country. During our absence, the old Rua had died; his brother Ruameun, who had gone to Namurrek, was his successor. Tapeligar had gone to Fais and to Mogmog [Ulithi], and Aman to Farroilap. The former assured me that after my visit, he had undertaken his voyage out of boredom, hoping that he would meet me somewhere; when our ship appeared, his wife had begged him to lead her to see "*capital Litske*" who would certainly give her some *lujeush* (glass beads). We never met among other Carolinians such an astute story to attract a few gifts. In general, there is much more envy and bad faith here than in the other groups; if you give something to one, you can be sure that all the others will ask for the same thing. Theft is known only at Uleai and the neighboring groups. One of our friends tried to steal an axe but we stopped him in time. Without being a cynic, one can say that the more a savage comes in contact with civilized people, the more he becomes corrupted. Relations with civilized people make them know about luxury, give them new needs, and the desire to satisfy them brings all the vices in its wake. IN this sense, the Uleai islanders could be soon at the same degree of civilization as their brothers in the Pelly [Palau] Islands, unless their small population preserves them from such a fate.¹

Having finished the observations for which we had come, we hastened to continue our route, but our friends just did not want to leave us. Tapeligar assured us that he was already too far out from the land and that he would surely drown if he left the vessel. I made him uncomfortable by asking him how it was that he did not drown when he

1 Too bad that the inhabitants of the Pelly (Palaos) Islands are already so far away from the simplicity and purity of customs that Captain Wilson found in them! Dr. Chamisso has already mentioned this change. Today they pilfer vessels, like the inhabitants of New Zealand and the Marquesas; luckily, they do not eat their prisoners.

went to Fais; this remark made the others laugh but he tried to correct me by saying that he had a large canoe then. When they had all left us, two canoes, as if to prove Tapeligar wrong, followed us with yells and laughs until the island was almost out of sight. Finally, after having shouted many times: "*Alios capital*" (Adios capitan), they turned around to go home.

Guided by information gathered at various places about the position of Fais Island, we now calculated our route so as not to overrun it, and at daybreak (December 20th) we sighted it exactly where we thought we would find it. The first canoe that came to us was small and had only two oarsmen; it grabbed the rope we threw down but it was in vain: it overturned and broke completely. The oarsmen then tried as they could to stay on top of the wreck and held their oars up, as a signal to the other canoes, but the latter could not see them; that is why we sent our boat over to bring them back, along with their canoe. Meanwhile, 4 to 5 large canoes came to us; the wrecked canoe was placed on top of one of them and it was sent ashore. The islanders came aboard willingly, and when we communicated to them the greetings from their acquaintances at Uleai, they became our friends. A very sensible and friendly old man, named Timai, introduced himself to us as one of the main chiefs of the island. The corvette, in tacking, damaged his big canoe; he calmly sent it back ashore, saying that his *fragata* was *alios*, and he ordered that another one be brought to him. A short time later, half of the party went back aboard the one remaining canoe but Timai, with a dozen others, settled himself in as if he had been at home. There was a man from Uleai among this group, the chief of Ulimirai Island; he became our fast friend because we had just come from his country.

Our gentlemen scientists, accompanied by Mr. Ratmanov, went ashore where they stayed a few hours. They were unable to beach their boat but they transferred to the small native canoes to reach the sandy beach on the south side, where the tide is not so bad. This island is remarkable in that it is the only low [inhabited] island in the Carolines without a lagoon; it is formed by coral rocks, some 30 meters in height, against which the sea breaks directly. It has a circumference of 4 km. There is no anchorage anywhere.

That night one canoe came for Timai and in so doing it brought us a rather large quantity of fruits. Timai, upon bidding us farewell, announced his intention to come back the next day. When I told him that we would already be far away because we were going to Mogmog, Manila and Russia, he begged me to come back to Fais one day to see him. "*Farak Fais, pipi ngan.*"¹ All of those in his company also repeated: "*Farak Russia, farak Fais pipi taraman Fais, taraman Russia pipi robut Fais, maulik taraman Russia*" which means: "Go to Russia, come back to Fais to see men of Fais, Russian men to see women of Fais, Russian men good!"² One could sense the sincerity of these manifestations; on the other hand, they had every reason to be happy with us because they were going away all loaded with our gifts.

1 Ed. note: *Faaragh Fais, piipi ngaang*, means "Travel to Fais, look for me."

2 Ed. note: Man is *mwaan*, Men is *kka-mwaan*, and woman is *rhoobwut*.

We did not notice any difference between the people of Fais and the others. One must perhaps attribute to chance the fact that a large number of them were rather short. Their canoes and their tattoos are exactly the same. The language varies a little, and our Englishman could hardly make himself understood by them, in part because he mixed in many foreign words. The word *alios* (adios) is in common use among them and replaces their native word *matai*[sic]. If a canoe breaks up, someone dies, or a headache strikes, "alios" expresses all of this; finally, in saying farewell, they also shout "alios." All, without exception, know the Spanish names for the first 3 or 4 numbers which they pronounce: "ul, los, tres, uatru"¹ One man counted up to 10, but in such a way that after 4, it was almost impossible to make out what he said. Most of them asked for tobacco, but few of them smoked while with us. The Fais islanders are not as good sailors as their eastern neighbors, and we could notice this already by the awkward way with which they handled their canoes. Among many who stayed behind aboard the corvette, many suffered from seasickness, although the ship rolled very little. They never travel to the islands to the east but only go to Mogmog, Eap, Ngoli, Sorol, Lamoniur and Pally. They praised all the inhabitants of these islands, except those of Pally who did not please them because they go stark naked. They say that much tobacco is now grown on these islands.

Having ran NW the whole night to reach the latitude of the islands discovered by the Spanish navigator Egoi [rather Egui], and seen in 1823 by the English Captain Mackenzie, we turned west on the morning of December 21st, and we soon sighted two small islands (Ear and Kielap) linked together by a reef, and a few others beyond. We intended, by passing south of the islets, to go directly to the others, but at about a mile and a half from the islets, we suddenly saw that we were on top of a bank. With an easterly wind blowing, we turned around to leave the bank, then we went further south and headed west again, only to meet the bank once more. We repeated the same maneuver a third, then a fourth time until finally we were 10 to 11 miles from the islets and could see the far ones only from the masthead. We had bottom each time at 9 to 12 fathoms. After going another 3 miles further south, this time we no longer met the bank and therefore it extends 12 miles south of the islets. Such banks can normally be spotted on account of a change in the color of the water, as long as the sun is not ahead; if so, it is impossible to notice it, and this is what happened to us. The best position to notice them is from the side of the ship with the sun shining from behind; the ship's shadow then makes visible the least little spot on the bottom, even at depths of 35 fathoms.

A few canoes came to us from the islands beyond (the islets of Ear and Kielap are uninhabited). The men aboard them seemed to us to be as good a people as those we had already seen. When, for the third time, we noticed rocks under the vessel, they all shouted together: "*orr, orr*" (shoal);² they nevertheless assured us that we could go straight through to their islands. They were perhaps right, but I could not trust this

1 Ed. note: For "Un[o], dos, tres, cuatro."

2 Ed. note: *Oorh* also means reef.

judgment, because their ideas about danger and safety must be quite different from ours.

This bank took us so far away from the islands that we had to tack all night to try and recover the lost ground. At dawn of the 22^{ne}, we saw again the two islets of the day before and three others in the NE, while to the north and the west there was a multitude of islands forming a large group. We turned south to go and skirt the western side that consists almost entirely of one reef, as far as the NW point that we reached only at night.

Two or three canoes had been following us for quite some time already. The islanders would have flocked to us if we had stopped our survey to receive them. We learned that we had before us the Mogmog Group where, a century ago, Father Cantova had founded a mission and received the crown of martyrdom, and we recognized all the islands that he had mentioned. The islanders give to the whole group the general name of Uluthy [sic].¹

Our guests, showed themselves, as always, to be pleasant and decent. Each one of them selected a particular friend among us, as is the custom, by mutually mixing fingers and pulling strongly in opposite directions. They asked us for tobacco here, more so than anywhere else before; they say *tamako* (from the Spanish "tabaco.") Would it be that the Mogmog people have known this plant since the time of Fr. Cantova? Would the others have learned about it through them? The comment about the lack of sailing experience on the part of the inhabitants of Fais equally applies to the Mogmog islanders. They handled their canoes very awkwardly; they almost broke one up when they came alongside, and what is most extraordinary, they were all extremely scared. We noticed two types of canoes among them: some were exactly the same as at Uleai, and they probably have been purchased there; the others were not so well crafted and their ends were upturned. Both types though are handled in the same way. A few faces looked slightly different than those of Uleai; they had wide and upturned noses, and thicker lips. They tie the hair bun in front and let the ends fall free; some wore two buns, one on each side. They fasten some coconut leaves on their head, hands and feet, leaving the ends free. The tattoos are exactly the same as at Uleai.

At sunset, our visitors left us loaded with gifts. One of the chiefs wished to spend the night on board but I refused, telling him that if the wind became stronger during the night, he would then have to come with me to Russia. They derived such pleasure from the fact that I had been able to explain all of this in their language.

Mogmog, Falalep and the other islands upon which the Spanish mission had been located are at the eastern end of the group; although they were in sight, the distance from us was a fair one. I had a strong desire to find out if any trace of that mission still existed. Although the length of time that I could afford to spend in the Carolines was already extended, I decided to spend just one more day to reach that spot, but after tacking the whole night and day that followed (23rd), we made little headway against a weak wind, a heavy sea and a strong current from the east. All I could do was to take

1 The *th* is pronounced as in the English word *the*.

bearings and link together the northern side of the group. I only I would have had an extra week to devote to the survey of this group, interesting in many ways, but I was now obliged not to make by travelling companion¹ wait too long for me, and I therefore turned that very night toward the China Sea.

During the morning of that day, a few canoes had come to us very early; some from the NW point were running after us by tacking and soon reached us, while others, reached us by crossing over the northern reef. Among our visitors, there could be seen a few of our earlier acquaintances. Chief Elubuot who, the previous day, had chosen me as his particular friend, presented me with an assortment of fishes and performed the above-mentioned friendship ceremony and sniffed my hand noisily. There were two turtles in his canoe, one large one whose specie they call *uol*; the other, whose type they call *kaf*, was smaller. The latter was cruelly biting the former. Our guests spent the whole day with us and they were gay and decent; they praised everything they saw. The portraits were what astonished them the most, above all the fact that, no matter which side they looked from, the eyes of the portraits followed them along and looked at all of them at the same time. Their astonishment was a natural one; after all, even among us, so many people cannot give a sufficient explanation of this phenomenon.

In spite of all our efforts, our passage to the China Sea was not a happy one...

On January 4th [1829], we sighted the Bashi Islands...

It was only on January 13th that we came into Manila Bay...

We learned that the corvette **Moller** had arrived there a long time ago. That evening, we came to anchor next to our companion.

1 Ed. note: Captain Staniukovich.

CHAPTER XIII

General remarks about the Caroline Archipelago.

The Spanish navigator Lazcano discovered in 1686, south of Guahan, a large island which he named Carolina in honor of King Charles II. Others after him, met other islands and, supposing that they were the same one discovered by Lazcano, applied the same name to them until all the islands in that part of the Great Ocean became known as the Carolines.

We think, like Admiral Krusenstern, that the limits of this archipelago may be ascribed as follows: in longitude, from the Pally [Palau] Islands in the west to Ualan [Kosrae] Island in the east; in latitude, from 2° to 12° north. Such boundaries are rather arbitrary. The inhabitants of the Radak and Ralik [Marshall] Islands belong to the same race and do not differ from the Carolinians more than the Carolinians among themselves. The proposal made by Dr. Chamisso to link all these islands together, including even the Marianas, under one general name is not therefore without foundation.¹ However, if divisions are necessary, one should consider to keep together that part of the Caroline Archipelago from the Mortlocks to the Uluthy Group, as they are inhabited by a seafaring and trading people. Those of the same race living further east do not have regular communications with them and those living further west, though they receive strangers among them, do not themselves undertake voyages.

The Jesuit missionaries of the College of Manila were the first to make known the fact that these islands are inhabited by a good and humane people, seafarers and traders. This was enough to stir the zeal of these Fathers and inspire them with the desire to carry the light of religion to a population that was so promising. Father Juan Antonio Cantova, who lived in Guahan, became acquainted with Carolinians thrown upon the coasts of that island in 1721, and he collected from them detailed information about the position of these islands and their government and customs. Cantova visited them the following year, and went back later to pursue his missionary work; with what success, we do not know. Finally, in 1731, he founded a mission on Falalep Island (Uluthy Group), and some time later, he was killed on the neighboring island of Mogmog; this put a stop to the relationships between the Spanish and the Caroline Islands.

The information gathered by the missionaries, the maps that they drew up following the indications of the islanders, mainly Cantova's map, became the only guides to

1 Ed. note: De Rienzi, in his 3-vol. work entitled "Océanie" was the first to use the word Micronesia, but he applied it to the islands of the North Pacific Ocean presently outside of Micronesia: Bonin Is., etc. (see Bibliography, under ca. 1828).

European geographers for almost one century. The missionaries, when receiving some reasonably-accurate data about the names and relative positions, were unable to determine with the same accuracy their sizes and relative distances.¹ The result was that some islands, hardly visible above the water, but having a name, of course, were shown as being a few miles in size, and that some groups of 10 to 15 miles in circumference occupied a few degrees; this appeared on their charts as an inextricable maze that was copied as is onto the navigational charts.²

Therefore, the navigators avoided the Carolines as if they were Charybdis and Scylla.³ Some, braver than most, would cross them in various directions and were amazed not to find any signs of land where they had expected large archipelagos. Those who discovered any islands did not bother to find out their native names, so as to link them up with the old charts, but instead took the opportunity to immortalize the names of their friends, or their own, by putting them on the map. Thus, they added new islands without removing old ones, creating additional confusion. The native names that are sometimes repeated here and there, and that are often confused on account of the various pronunciations of the islanders themselves or the various spellings given to them by travellers, became mixed up with European names, often no less strange than the native names themselves. The final result was such a mess that even the most skilful geographers gave up trying to unscramble it. Some map-makers bravely decided to cut the Gordian knot, that is, to solve the problem by not even reproducing these islands on their charts, in the supposition that most of them did not even exist. By doing so, they fell into the opposite extreme, but it was difficult not to fall into one of these extremes.

Doctor Chamisso was the first person to make some sense out of this mess. His lucky meeting with Kadu, a native of Uleai, and later with Don Luís de Torres at Guahan, gave him the opportunity to recognize the correspondence of some of the new discoveries with the old names; however, the lack of accurate data left the field open to some speculations on his part, some of which were not always correct. For instance, his comparison of the Uleai Group with that of FLugulos is completely wrong, because the names of the former belong to small islands within one small group, whereas the latter are names for separate groups, some of which are bigger than the whole of Uleai. The map that he published, as well as that of Cantova, have not been very useful in map-making.

While Dr. Chamisso was writing his interesting notes about the Caroline Islands, the French corvette **Uranie**, crossing the archipelago from south to north, sighted three of his islands. Soug (that Mr. Freycinet called Pulusuk), Puluot [Puluwat] and Fanadik [Pulap], to which he applied their real names, although they had already been seen by

1 See our comments about this matter in Chapter VIII.

2 The Uleai Group is a notable example of this. On the old charts, this group occupied from 3 to 4 degrees in longitude. Captain Freycinet reduced it to 70 miles, but it is in fact no more than 6 Italian miles in that direction [E-W]. Captain Meares had been worried when he was obliged to cross the space marked with the Caroline Islands on his chart. Also, it was formally forbidden to Spanish galleons to go near them on their way back from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands.

3 Ed. note: Famous whirlpool and rock off the coast of Sicily.

some European navigators. During his two-month stay at Guahan, Captain Freycinet had the opportunity, much more so than his predecessor Chamisso, to consult the journals of Don Luís and get verbal information from him; also, he had the opportunity to collect much information from the Carolinians then living in the Mariana Islands. The chapter on the Carolines, in the Voyage of the *Uranie*, contains very interesting ethnographic information, but a solid basis was missing for the establishment of a general system that would include the geographical knowledge of these islanders, and that is why the Atlas annexed to his Voyage was still imperfect.

Some years later, Captain Duperrey, crossing the Caroline Archipelago from east to west, determined the position of a few islands and groups, among them those of Hogo-leu (Rug on our chart), Sataual (or Sotoan) and Piguela [Pikelot].

Such was the state of geography in the Caroline Archipelago when the *Seniavin* undertook her exploration. The notes and explorations that we have just mentioned made our task easier, by serving us as bench-marks to which we could tie in our own work, and above all, the information collected here and there among the islanders, and that helped to direct our navigation so as to leave the fewest number of unexplored islands. Thus, the geographical knowledge of the Carolinians, insufficient for scientific purposes, although quite vast for savages, and that had caused such a great confusion on charts, was used to clear itself up.

When the places corresponding to their names for islands, banks, shoals, etc. collected over time will have been identified, one will then be sure that there remain no more unknown dangers in the Caroline Archipelago, because one can probably assume that not one such point is unknown to the islanders themselves. There are but very few names, about which the chart-makers were uncertain, that we have not placed accurately. We keep this discussion for the geographical part of this Voyage, but let us mention here only two or three important ones.¹

We had heard in many places about the high island Arao. It was known to Floyd, and it appears on Luito's map of 1787; there remains no doubt as to its existence. This island, say the Carolinians, is situated between E and SE of Puinipet, at a distance of 6 to 8 days of navigation; it is smaller and lower than Puinipet, and there exist between them a few low groups where one stops to rest along the way. If to this description, which corresponds exactly to the relative position of Puinipet and Ualan, one adds the fact that no other high island exists besides Arao, then there is not much doubt remaining about the identity of these two islands.² However, the following circumstance prevents me from making a positive judgment on this score. Floyd told me that, five years before his arrival at Rua, a canoe from this island was blown off by a westerly wind to Puinipet, where the inhabitants received them well, and together they went on to Arao,

1 Ed. note: The geographical part of Lütke's voyage contains a detailed navigational log (pp. 56-67, 101-102 are about Micronesia), and his remarks about navigation are too detailed and tedious to be translated into English and published. In fact, Lütke's narrative is comprehensive enough.

2 Ed. note: Some Carolinians revealed their knowledge of Carrau (same as Arao, or Kosrae) as far back as 1664 (HM4:254).

where they traded for a few of the roots that give the yellow powder. Floyd also added that the Puinipet people had constant relations with Arao in order to obtain this root, because they do not have much of it, as well as mats and cloth. If all of this is true, then Arao cannot correspond to Ualan, because, in this case, we ourselves would have found traces of such relations. All our efforts to learn if the Ualan people knew about other islands were to no avail. It was said also that those visiting Arao were not allowed to go about the island freely; this does not resemble Ualan. Thus, the question must remain doubtful for now; only time will clarify this point.¹

Kadu had mentioned a low group called Taroa and we also heard about it at Lugunor and other places. We cannot, even approximately, locate it as we know only that it is somewhere south of Arao Island.²

We have already talked about the island or group called Piguiram.³ According to information that we received at Lugunor, it is situated directly south of Lugunor and SW1/4W of Nuguor; therefore, at about 2°20' lat. N and 206°15' [153°45' E] longitude.

The positions of the islets of Pig and Orolug are almost known; the former is situated between Fanadik [Pulap] and Piguela [Pikelot], and the latter is to the east of the Murileu Group; they should therefore not be hard to find.⁴

ONce all these islands will have been found, the exploration of the Caroline Archipelago could then be considered complete.

Not counting the islands of Yap and Pally [Palau] where we did not go, the Caroline Archipelago consists of 46 groups containing up to 400 islands. During the two voyages of the *Seniavin*, 26 groups or isolated islands have been surveyed, 10 to 12 of which are new discoveries. It is, it seems, a considerably large archipelago. However, if we do not count the high islands of Ualan, Puinipet and Rug, and if we could place all the others side by side, they would not cover the whole of St. Petersburg and its suburbs. Such are coral islands! The sum of all the lengths of the islands, not including the reefs, amounts to 25 German miles; the width of few of them exceed 200 meters, and half of them are less than that. If we take 200 meters as the average width, the total area would be less than one German square mile.⁵

It is as difficult to determine the population here as elsewhere. A calculation, even an approximate one, cannot be without some interest, on account of the great difference that exists here in population per given unit of lan area when compared with other countries.

1 Ed. note: If Lütke had heard the expression Kosrae, for Ualan + Lela, when he was there, he might have realized the connection between Arao with Kosrae.

2 Ed. note: Tarawa, the most important island of the Gilbert Islands, is indeed south of Kosrae.

3 See Chapter VIII. Ed. comment: Same as Kapingamarangi.

4 Ed. note: Pig, Pik, or Piik, is the true native name for the Pikelot on the chart, whereas Pikelot is the true native name for West Fayu on the modern map (see Riesenbergs' article). It stands to reason, therefore, that the natives were right in saying that Pik is located between PULap and Pikelot. The mis-labelling of these islets has not yet been corrected.

5 Ed. note: One German short mile was equivalent to almost 4 English miles; therefore, the total area mentioned was about 12 English square miles.

We suppose the population of the low islands to be as follows:

Mortlocks	300 adult men
Ngarik	30
Namoluk	40
Namonuito	150
Namurrek and Elato	100
Olimarao	20
Ifaluk	150
Euripik	30
Uleai	350
Farroilap	60
Murileu	150
Fanamu [Nomwin]	150
Fais	100
Uluthy	200

Islands we have not seen:

Palelap [Pulap] and neighboring
islands [Puluwat]..... 60

Islands seen by Freycinet

Luasap [Losap] 80
Sataual 40
Sorol 30
Nuguor 200
Piguiram {Kaping.} 150

Total: -----
2,490

This calculation is much different from the one by the Carolinian Chief Luito or that of a note found by Captain Freycinet in the archives of the town of Agaña, also based on the ideas of another chief, because both of the latter are exaggerated beyond measure. Let us quote one example: in the Namurrek Group, the former gives 1,400 individuals and the latter 2,000 whereas all three adjoining atolls taken together amount to about 1 sq. km., and could certainly not provide for more than 30 families. As for the main groups, like Lugunor, Ifaluk, Uleai, Murileu, etc., as well as Fais Island, our calculation is probably not far from the truth. For the others, we have had to make an approximation, either based on the number of canoes that we saw, or on the size of the place compared to other places. Thus, all the low islands from Ualan [Kosrae] to Mogmog [Ulithi] may contain 2,500 adult men, about 5,000 of both sexes, not counting the children. We counted 800 men and women at Ualan, and at Puinipet about 2,000. We have no information about the population of Rug [Chuuk]. Based on its size, it could contain 1,000 individuals. Thus, the whole population of the whole Caroline Archipelago (except Eap and Pally) would be about 9,000 inhabitants.

The population of the low islands appears, at first sight, to be way over that of the high islands, because it is 5,000 inhabitants per [German] square mile. This exceeds the population density of the most populated places in Europe. However, the population of coral islands can in no way be compared with that of a continent. Overthere, in accordance with the usual practice of political economy, about two-thirds of the land is not counted because it is arid and uninhabitable and even then, it is supposed that one [German] square mile can feed 3,000 individuals. There are no sterile places on coral islands; the narrow band forming an island is entirely covered by plants and fruit trees. The sea bathes the feet of coconut trees whose heads, loaded with fruit, often bend over the water a few meters off the shore. What we call a marsh is the type of land that is best for various root plants that give a flour-like substance (*Arum esculentum*, *A. macrorrhizon*, *Tacca pinnatifida*, etc.). The lack of proportion, therefore, becomes more reasonable. But if we add the high islands, only three of which are known in these parts, the proportion then changes entirely. Ualan Island is 1-1/2 [German] square miles; Puinipet 6 sq. miles.¹

The area of Rug is not exactly known, but one may suppose that the two [sic] islands are 1-1/2 times bigger than Puinipet, that is, their area is about 9[German] sq. miles. All together then they would yield 17 [German] sq. miles, including the low islands, and give 500 individuals per [German] square mile. This figure is lower than in all the countries of Europe, except for Russia and Sweden. This result comes from the high islands, because only their shores are populated and their interior is but an impassable jungle.

The inhabitants, not only of the Carolines, but also of the Radak Archipelago situated further east, and maybe also those of the Marianas, as shown by their languages, all have a common racial origin. All travellers and ethnographers, as far as I know, agree about this; however, the opinions are not so united when it comes to deciding where such roots came from. Doctor Chamisso thinks that they came out of the same Malay race than all the tribes that inhabit eastern Polynesia; this opinion is also shared by the famous Balbi.

A reputable traveller² reports, however, that they belong to the Mongolian race and he invents a particular branch for them, which he calls "Pegalic Mongolian." This opinion is based mainly on two aspects: the physical make-up of the inhabitants (the slanted eyes, the clear-yellow or lemon color of the skin) and the traces of a few customs and art forms; the power of the chiefs, the oppression of the lower classes, the Chinese shape of the hats, the cloths, the compass [sic], the shiny coat of the canoes.

The educated traveller to whom we owe these remarks about the Carolinians has taken them mostly from Ualan, and such remarks are indeed partly applicable to them. We ourselves noticed that some men on that island had eyes that were narrow and oblique (for example, Nena, whom we have talked about a lot in our narrative); however,

1 Ed. note: In English miles and modern measurements, Kosrae is 42 sq. miles, whereas Pohnpei is over 125 sq. miles.

2 Ed. note: He refers to Mr. Lesson (see below).

the majority of them had faces entirely different, and, among the women, we did not find a single Mongolian face.

The chiefs of this island spend their idle and carefree life at home; they do not but rarely expose themselves to the hot rays of the sun or the cold winds; that is why the color of their skin is less dark than that of their inferiors whose brown skin does not differ in anything from other skins in Oceania. We have also spoken elsewhere about the domination of the Ualan people by their chiefs.

Even if all of Mr. Lesson's remarks were completely applicable to the Ualan people, the question would nevertheless remain half settled; indeed, if we apply them to the other Carolinians, we find great differences. Their large and prominent eyes, their thick lips, their upturned noses, make a sharp contrast with Japanese and Chinese faces, but to the contrary, look much like the faces of the people of Tonga and the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands; we found this similarity to apply to their whole body. The brown color of their body is not even hidden by the layer of yellow powder they daub themselves with (and which could very well have misled our traveller as to their body color). The noisy gaiety that they generally show, the equality that is the norm among them, the extremely-narrow power of the tamols, do not leave any observable trace of Mongolian serfdom.

The manner with which they prepare their cloth is entirely different from that in use in eastern Oceania, and proves no doubt that they come from a people where the arts flourished, but this people could just have easily been of Indian rather than Mongolian origin. Their conical hats much resembles those of the Chinese, and one may easily assume upon seeing them that they borrowed them from the Chinese, but that does not prove their Chinese origin any more than their cloaks, similar to the South American ponchos, can prove that they are of the same race as the Araucanos [Chilean Indians], not more so that the helmets and mantles found among the Sandwich Islanders could link them with Romans. One may make the same comment about the long fingernails that we found on some Lugunor chiefs; it could have just as easily come from contact with the Chinese in the Philippine Islands, covered with immigrants from China, or from some Chinese accidentally thrown upon their islands.

The same traveller talks about the compass in use among Carolinians. If this instrument had been found among them by the first Europeans visiting them, one could then safely assume that they are descendants of the Chinese, who knew about the compass before Europeans; however, the Carolinians today still do not know the use of the compass, even though they make yearly visits to European colonies and see such instruments in use aboard passing ships.¹

The luster that the Carolinians give to their canoes is also considered [by Mr. Lesson] to be a trace of Chinese and Japanese arts; one must agree, indeed, that their light and pretty canoes shine like their pottery but not like their heavy and ugly junks.

1 Ed. note: The word "compass" has often been used improperly to describe wind charts, or star charts, something the natives used in lieu of a compass. Hence the present misunderstanding.

Finally, if Japan were the birthplace of the Carolinians, one would have to explain why all traces of their primitive language have been erased. In our vocabulary of words from various Carolinian dialects, only two have been found to have a slight resemblance to Japanese words: *titi* for tits (in Japanese *tsi-tsi*), and *fuenmai* for orange leaf [sic],¹ resembling *kfu-nen-bo* which means orange in Japanese. On the other hand, one finds over 20 words that are either exactly the same or have a great resemblance to words in the language of Tonga. In fact, out of the 10 main numbers in Tongan, there are no fewer than 7 that are the same as in Carolinian dialects; what is remarkable, part of them look like Ualan words and part of them like Lugunor words. Kadu, born in Uleai, after a few days at the Sandwich Islands, was able to freely converse with them.² Taking all these considerations together, one can only conclude that the Carolinian dialects have the same origin as the language of the Friendly Islands [Tonga], Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] and others, that is, are of Malay origin.

The canoes, tools, even many customs and ceremonies, besides the exterior appearance of the Carolinians, recall the islanders of Eastern Polynesia. The canoes of both have one outrigger, a triangular sail and oars, prow and poop the same. If one group decorates their canoes with carved figures, and the other with a varnish, if one group tie two canoes together to carry a large number of warriors, and the other rig theirs for long journeys, we find the obvious cause of this diversity in the different direction that their civilization has taken. Some have chosen to become warriors while the others have become seafarers and traders. Some have chosen glory, others profit. From this comes the difference in customs, and maybe also the remarkable fact that the Carolinians do not know idol worship, so general in other archipelagos, and their peaceful enterprises in which passion and human sacrifices have no place cannot but be agreeable to the Supreme Being; their success depends on their own skill and therefore they do not need to have recourse to bloody divinations to forecast their destiny.

The same stone and shell adzes, the same fishhooks, the *tol* of the Carolinians and the *maro* of the Eastern Oceanians, the very similar pantomime dances, the same method of making fire, the baking of fruits underground, the *seka* of Ualan and the *kava* of Tahiti and other islands, both of them prepared with the root of a kind of pepper plant; would all such similarities be the effect of chance? many other examples could be cited, but it seems the above are sufficient to prove the common origin of the peoples in Question. We may repeat here that the Carolinians, based on their external appearance and other factors, resemble the inhabitants of the Tongan Islands more so than any other place in Polynesia. In Tonga, in houses specially dedicated to the divinity, there is no misshapen idol carvings; their priests do not make up a separate class but are confused with the other classes; the memory of their deceased chiefs is preserved by their descendents and their graves are considered sacred; the men behave politely toward their wives and do not overload them with work; the women stand out by their chastity and faithfulness to their husbands, and the pure morals of both sexes make a

1 Ed. note: "Feuille" is a misprint for "fleur", i.e. blossom, instead of leaf (see Vocabulary below).

2 See the Voyage of the *Rurik*, vol. 3, p. 175.

sharp contrast with those of the Society [Tahiti] and Sandwich [Hawaii] Islands; they observe special decency and politeness in their relationships; all such special character traits in the Tongan islanders make them similar to the Carolinians. One could also add the ceremonies followed while drinking *kava* at Tonga, and *seka* at Ualan.

A detailed analysis of their political state, religious ideas, traditions, sciences and arts, could more surely lead us to the discovery of their origin, but so far we lack a sufficient basis for such an analysis. It is not likely that fondness for long sea voyages, often with their whole families and only to attend feasts on other islands, that the observation of the stars, indispensable for such voyages, the division of the horizon, the observation of the phases of the moon, are not likely to have originated among some populations dispersed at great distances on coral islands, and who could hardly survive. We are persuaded that they must have come from a people whose civilization had already made great progress, from a seafaring and trading people; here again we may look to the Indian races that have a passion for travel, rather than the Chinese and Japanese who do not leave their homes.

Their sea voyages are worthy of admiration. Besides a great bravery, even temerity, they require a detailed knowledge of the places to be visited. The Carolinians determine with a surprising accuracy the relative position of all the islands in their archipelago, as we were able to find out on many occasions, but their distances are not so clear. As for all peoples at the beginning of their civilization, they have only one measure for distance, and it is uncertain and variable; it is the length of the voyage itself [i.e. daily runs]. From Uleai to Feis, the distance in straight line is 410 miles; with a good wind, they count two sailing days, and with a weak wind three days; four days for the return trip, because they must tack. From Mogmog, five days; from Uleai to Namurrek, 150 miles, two days. Any distance under 150 miles is counted as one day, whether it be 2 or 3 times shorter than any other.

The accidents are less frequent than would seem possible with their kind of navigation. They undertake them mostly during the months in which there are no breadfruits; this corresponds to the winter months in the northern hemisphere. The violent storms occur only two or three times a year, but a few canoes then become their victims. Last November, one of these storms hit; it began in the south, veered west and then north. In the Murileu Group and the neighboring groups, it uprooted many breadfruit trees and scattered many canoes. During that season, the Carolinians go to sea only in their large canoes, but during the summer they even do so in the small ones that carry no more than four men. They try and navigate during times of good weather, with moonlight. At night, they navigate by the stars and the moon; in the daytime, by the sun. If the sky is overcast, they govern by the wind until the sky clears up, and this is when they are most likely to get lost.

They have no sure way of forecasting the weather, but in its place they have sorcerers who, by singing and shaking a package of herbs tied to the end of a stick, know how to disperse the clouds. Such means of navigation are usually sufficient, because it is unusual when a voyage with a fair wind lasts longer than three days. When they have to

tack against the wind, the risk of missing their landfall is less. When they overrun the island in question, sooner or later they reach another island and re-orient themselves. However, should they be so unlucky as not to encounter land before Lugunor, and they overrun it, then they may tack until God knows what island, because the islands east of Lugunor are few and far between. It was such an accident that brought Kadu to Radak. There was no need to remain at sea 8 months, as he said, for that to happen. Judging from the time it takes to go from Mogmog to Uleai, he could have tacked from Uleai to Radak in less than one month. It seems impossible to me for someone to stay alive at sea for 8 months without means of survival. However, it would not be surprising that Kadu, in the condition that he was in, interpreted 8 weeks as 8 months.

Their food provisions consist of fresh and fermented breadfruits (the *huro*), and young cocouts. They take the *huro* in case they get lost and have to come ashore at an uninhabited island without breadfruit trees, but the supply of fresh breadfruits is calculated on the length of the journey. To cook breadfruits, they place baskets full of sand in the center of the canoe and they place the fire in them. They take along only a little fresh water, in coconut shells.

They carry no spare masts or yards; their mat sails are so strong that the yard would break before the sail would tear. In violent winds, they reduce the sail by letting the top down. They have no anchor of any kind; to hold the canoe, they tie it to stones with ropes, and if none are on the surface, they dive in to tie it to stones at the bottom, if the depth is not too great. In order to assist them in such an operation, Floyd advised them to carry stones as anchors, and tried to show them how to make a slip hitch, but they retained their old and gruelling method. During short cruises, they do not lay down to sleep; when the cruise lasts a few days, they take turns to sleep, one at a time on small canoes, and two at a time on large ones, but never more, under the roof that covers the outrigger. When the wake is strong, two or three or even four men are required to steer. Steering requires continuous attention. Their chiefs are usually their best pilots; that is why, at certain places, they speak of their chiefs in European fashion as *pulot* (pilot).

Their voyages are not always for trading or some other useful purpose; sometimes they go on pleasure cruises and they then take their families along. The inhabitants of Murileu and other eastern islands do not like to take their wives to sea, but their western neighbors often visit them with their families. In 1829, a large party was expected at Fananu.¹

The Caroline Islands are [politically] divided into a certain number of districts, each with a few groups that obey and pay tribute to one or two main tamols. By giving the name of Kings to the latter, some travellers have communicated false ideas as to their power. Their power is very restricted and is limited to raising some very moderate taxes, because war is unknown to the inhabitants of the low islands. The most important of these chiefs, that of Uleai, is not at all like the important person taht Dr. Chamisso has described in his remarks.

1 See Vol. 3, 11th Supplement. Ed. comment: See Dr. Mertens' Paper, HM18:646.

At the time of our visit, the main chiefs were as follows. We mention only those whom we heard about, and there is no guarantee that the list is complete.

—Rua was chief over the following groups: Uleai, Elato, Namurrek, East Lamulior, West Sataual, Olimarao, Euripig;

—Kafalu over the Ifaluk and Farroilap Groups;

—Rautumur over Sug, Puluot, Tametam, Onun;

—Timai and Fasig, over Feis;

—Tasso and Thyg, over Uluthy;

—Patau, over Eap [Yap];

—Mareno, over Rug [Chuuk];

—Uolap, over Piserarr and Luasap Is.;

—Sorry, over Fananu and the Murileu Group;

—Selen, over the Mortlocks.

One can therefore see that these “kings” commanded over rather small territories. Their domains are strangely intermixed; Rua controlled islands far removed from Uleai, whereas Farroilap and Ifaluk that are not far from it belong to another. Namuin Island, in the same group as Fananu, does not recognize the power of Sorry, whereas Murileu which is a separate group obeys him. Onun and Piserarr Islands, situated in the same [Namonuito] group belong to different chiefs, etc. etc.

Floyd's accounts were completely in agreement with those of Kadu with respect to the continuous but short fights among the inhabitants of the high islands, the safety of strangers, the peace reigning over the low islands, etc. Such a difference in the political state of the high islands is probably the reason why the chiefs of these islands, although richer and therefore stronger, have not yet thought about extending their domination over the low islands; they are rather busy at home.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE INHABITANTS
OF THE CAROLINE ARCHIPELAGO

Among all the dialects of the Caroline Archipelago, that of Ualan [Kosrae] is the most diversified, smoothest and softest in its sounds. I do not know of another language with as many different sounds. It has the pure Russian *bi* (ë) sound, as in *Talék*, small child; the Russian [Reversed R] (*yä*) sound; the hard *l*; the *b* or soft *yer*; the French *an* at its purest, as in *Ran[g]*, yellow; the French *u*; the German *ä*; the Portuguese *áo*, as in *Fuáon*, nose;¹ the English *w* and *oa*; the soft *h* of the Romance languages, and the hard *x* [kh] of the Russians. The juxtaposition of consonants is met with very rarely in the language of these peoples, and it was difficult for them to pronounce our words in which they appear; nevertheless, they have the strangest juxtaposition of consonants ever: the Polish *prz*, as in the word *przosh*, tasting bad; as well as the *ng* that is so hard to pronounce at the beginning of a word, for instance, *nga*, I or me. They often mispronounced the final *-v* and usually changed it to a *-z*. However, the above are exceptions; as a matter of fact, they pronounced our [Russian] words with greater clarity than any stranger could do it, even one living in Russia. They could not pronounce our *tch* [ch] and *tz*; they changed them to *t* and *s* respectively. Their *f* is a sound that they form by placing the lips as is normally done to whistle, and not like we do by placing the upper teeth over the lower lip. Their *sh* is half-way between our *s* and our *sh*. They have many nasal sounds, even some that are not found in the French language; for example, *mincia*, dead.² In this word, the *in* is nasal but its *i* remains pure and is not changed into *e* as in French. The accent may occur on any syllable, but it does so on the last syllable more often than not.

The language appears to be very rich; at least, we did not find a single object without its particular name. It has declensions and conjugations. *Kuof* which means "sea," becomes *kuofo* in the vocative case, e.g. the sun has set into the sea, *fuon kuofo*; has risen from the sea, *ut une kuof*. At home in Lual: *fuinmezo Lualo*. The suffix *-me* means "of": *Ualanme*, of Ualan; *fuinmezame*, of the house. To go, *fuaj*; he goes, *fuajot*. The plural is sometimes indicated by the suffix *-ze* and sometimes by *-na*; for instance, star, *itu*, plural *ituze*; ant, *maak*, plural *maakze*; *mogul*, *matain*, *talyk* become *mogulna*, *matainna* and *talykna* in the plural form.

Many causes prevented us from making a deep study of this remarkable language; the main one was that everyone of us had a task to perform exclusively, and it was only occasionally and during our short leisure hours that we could collect words and phrases, analyze them, compare them, etc. It was therefore not possible during our three weeks to gain a deep knowledge of the construction of this language, which is indeed the most important thing to do in such cases. I cannot be positive about the number of its cases, or say much about its verbs, etc.

1 Ed. note: Now written "fwac."

2 Ed. note: Now written *misac*, death.

The language of Lugunor is already harsher and more difficult to pronounce than that of Ualan, although it is rare for consonants to come together. In pronouncing our words, the Lugunor people would usually place a vowel between two consonants: Liteke or Lisheke, instead of Litké;¹ Mertenes, Potelis, instead of Mertens, Postels. The language of Puinipet is the harshest and most unpleasant of all.

All these languages have similarities between themselves, but from Lugunor as far as Uluthy, they speak basically the same language, although with considerable modifications, specially with respect to pronunciation. The Englishman whom we found at Murileu and who spoke the language of this group fluently, could still converse somewhat with the Uleai people, but he understood nothing in the Uluthy language. According to him, the islanders of even neighboring groups, for instance, Murileu and Sataual, do not at first understand one another, but they soon learn to do so.

Their *r* is what causes the most problems and confusion, not only with general words but also with geographic names. At Lugunor, this extraordinary sound is nearest to the pure *r* sound, as for example in the words *Lugunor*, *Rug*; but elsewhere a certain whistling sound is heard besides *r*, a sort of *rs* or *rsh*. In the northern groups, *r* at the end of words is pronounced almost like *rsh*, as in *Piserarsh*; and, in the middle of words, somewhat like *r* pronounced by a Londoner. It is at Uleai and the neighboring groups that the pronunciation of this letter is the strangest, hardest, and almost impossible for us. They appear to pronounce it by turning the tongue backward and touching it to the palate, so that it becomes a sound somewhere between *t*, *r* and *sh*; they themselves cannot differentiate between these three sounds. At Uluthy, this sound becomes close to the pure *t* sound. Such differences have led to different spellings for so many words; for example, *Lanurrek*, *Namuttek*, *Lamursek*; *Rua*, *Sua*, *Tua*; *Rug*, *Tug*, *Sug*; *Lugulos* instead of *Lugunor*; *Pisaras* instead of *Piserarr*.

In all the islands, *l* and *n* are confused, just as *k* and *t* are in the Sandwich Islands; however, the *n* is most often used in the eastern part of the archipelago, and *l* in the western part. For instance, at Lugunor, they say: *Unei*, *Satauan* which locally they call *Uleai* and *Sataual*; on the other hand, at Uleai, they say *Falalu*, *Lugulorr*, instead of *Fananu* and *Lugunor*. On our charts, we have adopted the pronunciations used by the islanders of the locality itself.

The letters *s* and *t* are also confused everywhere; but *t* is preferred in the east while *s* is preferred in the west. At Lugunor, they would sometimes say *tamol*, but at western islands, they almost always say *samol*.

At Feis and Uluthy, one finds that a large number of words contain the pure Greek theta sound, or the English *th* as in the words "the, this, their" and not as in "thin, thick." We did not hear this sound in any of the groups further east. At Uleai, the name of the Uluthy Group is pronounced "Ulutu", and it appears that in identical words, the *th* is always changed to *t*. For instance, the word for rain is *uth* at Feis, *ut* at Uleai, and *uit* at Lugunor; eyebrows are *fathy* (Feis), *fatil* or *fatel* (Uleai) and *fat* (Lugunor); etc., etc.

1 Ed. note: A possible transliteration for Lütke.

The language of Lugunor is already harsher and more difficult to pronounce than that of Ualan, although it is rare for consonants to come together. In pronouncing our words, the Lugunor people would usually place a vowel between two consonants: Liteke or Lisheke, instead of Litké;¹ Mertenes, Potelis, instead of Mertens, Postels. The language of Puinipet is the harshest and most unpleasant of all.

All these languages have similarities between themselves, but from Lugunor as far as Uluthy, they speak basically the same language, although with considerable modifications, specially with respect to pronunciation. The Englishman whom we found at Murileu and who spoke the language of this group fluently, could still converse somewhat with the Uleai people, but he understood nothing in the Uluthy language. According to him, the islanders of even neighboring groups, for instance, Murileu and Sataual, do not at first understand one another, but they soon learn to do so.

Their *rr* is what causes the most problems and confusion, not only with general words but also with geographic names. At Lugunor, this extraordinary sound is nearest to the pure *r* sound, as for example in the words *Lugunor*, *Rug*; but elsewhere a certain whistling sound is heard besides *r*, a sort of *rs* or *rsh*. In the northern groups, *r* at the end of words is pronounced almost like *rsh*, as in Piserarsh; and, in the middle of words, somewhat like *r* pronounced by a Londoner. It is at Uleai and the neighboring groups that the pronunciation of this letter is the strangest, hardest, and almost impossible for us. They appear to pronounce it by turning the tongue backward and touching it to the palate, so that it becomes a sound somewhere between *t*, *r* and *sh*; they themselves cannot differentiate between these three sounds. At Uluthy, this sound becomes close to the pure *t* sound. Such differences have led to different spellings for so many words; for example, Lanurrek, Namuttek, Lamursek; Rua, Sua, Tua; Rug, Tug, Sug; Lugulos instead of Lugunor; Pisasas instead of Piserarr.

In all the islands, *l* and *n* are confused, just as *k* and *t* are in the Sandwich Islands; however, the *n* is most often used in the eastern part of the archipelago, and *l* in the western part. For instance, at Lugunor, they say: Unei, Satauan which locally they call Uleai and Sataual; on the other hand, at Uleai, they say Falalu, Lugulorr, instead of Fananu and Lugunor. On our charts, we have adopted the pronunciations used by the islanders of the locality itself.

The letters *s* and *t* are also confused everywhere; but *t* is preferred in the east while *s* is preferred in the west. At Lugunor, they would sometimes say *tamol*, but at western islands, they almost always say *samol*.

At Feis and Uluthy, one finds that a large number of words contain the pure Greek theta sound, or the English *th* as in the words "the, this, their" and not as in "thin, thick." We did not hear this sound in any of the groups further east. At Uleai, the name of the Uluthy Group is pronounced "Ulutu", and it appears that in identical words, the *th* is always changed to *t*. For instance, the word for rain is *uth* at Feis, *ut* at Uleai, and *uit* at Lugunor; eyebrows are *fathy* (Feis), *fatil* or *fatel* (Uleai) and *fat* (Lugunor); etc., etc.

1 Ed. note: A possible transliteration for Lütke.

Given such a diversity in pronunciation, for a vocabulary to be useful, one must specify the spelling conventions used. The lack of such a specification has rendered many long vocabularies completely useless, and has only caused confusion.

It would have been too awkward to invent letters for every extraordinary sound. We have adopted the following convention, while retaining the pure French sounds [for vowels]:¹

бI (Russian yer) that cannot be rendered by any combination of French vowels [transcribed as *ě* below];

8 to express the [French] diphthong *ou* [transcribed as *u*, or *w* below];

IO [linked together in Russian] is pronounced as one vowel with the *i* almost inaudible, more so than in the Italian word *piu* [transcribed *ü* below];

R [reversed in Russian, and pronounced *yä*] as above [transcribed *ia* below];

æ as the [French] *ai* [ai], very open;

h to render the Russian *x* [kh] or the German *ch* [kh] sound; this *h* is always pronounced hard, as in German;

th [Greek theta] is pronounced like the English “th” in the word “the;”

t is pronounced clearly, and linked to the letter that follows it;

rr has been explained above;

f, **sh** as pronounced at Ualan, has been explained above;

en, **an**, **in** is usually pronounced simply and not nasally;

g [the Russian and Greek gamma] is always hard in its pronunciation, as when preceding the vowel “a”.

Here are the words that I have collected at various places in the Caroline Archipelago; they are not very numerous, but I guarantee their accuracy, in meaning as well as in pronunciation; that is why my vocabulary is not as extensive as it could have been if I had not taken extreme care to prevent a mistake. I have placed, for the sake of comparison, a few words in the footnotes, as follows: U = Uleai; Ch = Chamorro; E = Eap [Yap]; T = Tonga. The words from the first four languages come from Dr. Chamisso's vocabulary (*Voyage of the **Rurik***, vol. 3, pp. 103-122),² and those of Tonga have been taken from the “Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.” Sickness prevented me from collecting words during our stay at the Uleai Group.

1 Ed. note: I have had to make close approximations when Russian and German sounds are cited as model sounds.

2 Ed. note: See HM18:323 et seq.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY
OF SOME CAROLINIAN DIALECTS

English	Feis [Fais]	Lugunor [Lukunor]	Puinipet [Pohnpei]	Ualan [Kosrae]
Head	...	...	...	Siguash
Hair	Tëmaïi ¹	Makor	Mangui-mia	Seuf
Forehead	Mangoi	Ramarr	...	Motonshu
Eyes	Matai ²	Mass	Mazai-mia	Atru
Nose	Puathëi	Pott	Tumai-mia	Fuaon ³
Mouth	Yauai ⁴	Auar	...	Ingual
Tongue	Lauai ⁵	...	...	La
Teeth	Ngëi ⁶	Ngë	Nëi	Muiss
Lips	Thëliwai	...	Kulunoai	Nguash
Chin	Yatheï	...	...	Kapenualash
Ears	Talëngei ⁷	Seleng	Salangai-mia	Sha
Neck	...	...	Oroi-mia	Kaua ⁸
Hair bun	...	...	...⁹	Karrag
Tits	...	...	...	Titi
Arm	Paiï	Pal	Peai-mia	Po
Hand	Humattëi ¹⁰	Kumur	...	Przanpo
Finger	Hathëlipaiï ¹¹	Aët	Miat	Kunpo
Leg	Pettei ¹²	Offo, Uar	Nei-mia	Nai
Foot	Falëpettei	It	...	Przannai
Toe ¹³	Hathëlipettai	...	...	Kunnai
Belly	...	...	...	Shai

1 U. Timui.

2 Ch. Mata; U. Matai; T. Matta.

3 R. Vatu.

4 U. Eol.

5 U. & R. Luel; T. Elelo.

6 U. & R. Nir.

7 U. & R. Talengel; Ch. Talania; T. Telinga.

8 T. Kaua, means Necklace.

9 U., R & E. Titi.

10 U. Humutel.

11 E. Pugelipak.

12 U. Petel.

13 T. Kou-nima.

Navel	...	...	...	Huat
Behind	Fasëlikapi	...	...	Kap
Beard	Raibuaii	Alëss	...	...
Fingernail	Këi	Kërr	Këgëi	...
Moustache	...	Uom	...	...
Eyebrows	Fathëi	Fat	...	...
Penis	Haem	...	..	..
<i>Pudenda</i> ¹	Morum	...	...	...
Tattoos	...	Mmaik	Idnjin	Shizin
Man	Taraman	Moan ²	...	Mogul
Woman	Tobut ³	Róbut	...	Matain
Father	...	...	...	Pápa
Mother	...	...	...	Nina
Son	...	...	...	Náta (?)
Daughter	...	...	...	Natál (?)
Child	...	Pëgëilil	...	Talëk
Person	...	Arramëss	...	...
Chief	Samol	Tamol	Uros	Uros ⁴
Tree	...	...	...	Siakh
Coconut tree/fruit	... ⁵	Niü	...	Niu
Coconut fibers	...	...	...	Koainiu
Breadfruit & tree	... ⁶	Maï	...	Moze
Fermented "	...	Puro (Huro?)	...	Huro
Bananas	... ⁷	...	...	Kalash, Uze+
Sugarcane	... ⁸	...	...	Ta
Orange	...	...	...	Muai
Orange blossom	...	...	...	Fuenmai
Lemon	...	...	...	Enutnut (?)
Pickle (fruit)	...	...	...	Sefua
Pandanus	...	...	Ua	...
Bird ⁹	...	...	...	Mon, Monchi
Bird of prey	...	Asaf	...	...

1 Ed. note: Latin word meaning Female sexual parts.

2 U. & R. Momoan.

3 U. Tabut.

4 R. Irus. Ed. comment: Now writen Iroj.

5 E. Nu; R. Ni; T. Nu.

6 U. & R. Ma; T. Me.

7 U. Ut.

8 T. Tau.

9 T. Manu.

Feather	...	...	...	Katá
Pelican	...	...	...	Neugulap
Snipe	...	...	...	Kulul
Cock	... ¹	Malék	Malek	...
Bat	... ²	...	...	Fuak
Fish	...	Ik	...	Ik
Swordfish(?)	...	...	...	Ikseuk
Turtle	Uol, Kaf	...	...	Shri
Pig	...	...	...	Kosho
Dog	...	Kolak	...	...
Cat	...	Kátò ³	...	...
Shell	...	Simm	...	...
Red ant	...	...	...	Maák
Black ant	...	...	...	Kashelap ⁴
Fly ⁵	...	...	...	Loang
Sun	Sakkar	Akkar	...	Fuat
Moon	...	Maram	...	Aluēt
Star	...	...	...	Ittu ⁶
Sky, heaven	... ⁷	Liang	...	...
Clouds	...	Matau	...	Pagánie
Wind	... ⁸	Asapuail	...	Eaing
Rain	Uth ⁹	Uit	...	Eáuf
Storm	...	Meulteul	...	...
Thunder	Parr	Robulap	...	...
Sea	...	Pungepung	...	Kuof
Breakers	...	Noa	...	Noa ¹⁰
Flotsam	...	...	...	Noa ebozaek
Mountain	...	...	...	Foak

1 U. Malih.

2 U. & R. Ik; T. Ika.

3 From the Spanish, Gato.

4 R. Kalep.

5 T. Lango.

6 R. Idiu; T. Fetu.

7 E., U. & R. Lang; Ch. Langin; T. Langi.

8 U. Eang.

9 U. & R. Ut; Ch. Utian. Ed. comment: The latter usually written Uchan.

10 R. No; in Chamorro, it means the sea.

Coral stone	...	Fal	...	Utien ¹
Rock	...	...	...	Utiap, Utmoen
Water, river	...	Shan	...	Kuof ²
Land, shore	Ulefaliu	...	...	...
Sand	...	Pei	...	Pök, Poak
Red coral	...	Faurou	...	...
Shoal, reef	Ot ₃	...	...	...
Fire	...	Eaf	...	Ai
Smoke	...	Ateneaf ⁴	...	...
Iron	...	...	Mata ⁵	Masha ⁶
Tide	...	...	...	Aizla
Flow tide	...	...	...	Lapaép
Ebb tide	...	...	...	Maizi
House	...	...	...	Lom
Roof	...	...	...	Haus ⁷
Enclosure	...	...	...	Kal
Stone wall	...	...	...	Pot
Hat	Parang	Farr	...	...
Belt	Kapalei	Tol	...	Tol
Cloth	...	Tol	Tor	Tol
Necklace	Lujoush	...	...	Fuor
Ear plug	...	...	Imantiai	...
Bone/shell ornament	...	...	...	Moék
id. (on arms)	...	...	...	Moék lúo
id. (on neck)	...	...	...	Moék fuae
Sling	...	Aileul	Ninuat	... ⁸
Canoe	...	Oa	...	Oák ⁹
Oar	... ¹⁰	Fatël	Patën	Oû

1 They say that Utien is male, and Utiap is female. Ch. Atiu. Ed. comment: Rather Achu, or Achó.

2 Same as for the sea.

3 U. Eaf; T. Afi.

4 T, Atanenevi.

5 Mata in Malay means the blade of a knife.

6 They use the same word for anything made of iron that is unknown to them.

7 Exactly like the German word for house, Haus.

8 R. Vuat.

9 Naturally, they use the same word to refer to our corvette. U. & R. Oa; T. Vaka.

10 U. Fatel.

English	Lugunor	Ualan	Remarks
Side-boards	...	...	... Pap ¹
Twarts	...	Lóa	
Outrigger poles	Këio ²	Kuas	
Diagonal stays	Masianëfeung	...	
Float	Tam	Eém	
Forks tying float	Eam	...	
Mat on platform	Tilimeui	Këia	Over outrigger
Scoop or bailer	...	Anom	
Cord or rope	Tal	...	U. and E. Tal
Axe	Tele	Taila ³	
To chop	Sapesap	...	Another word for adze.
Knife	Mitmit	Mitmit	Also means: to cut.
Fishing-net	Uk	Neek	U. Uh
Food basket	U	...	
Some apparatus	Ruhou	...	
Fish spear	...	Mósha	
id. (smaller)	...	Otonie ⁴	
String holding the barb	...	Fuoï	
Pole to collect bradfruits	...	Tangas	
Water trough	...	Top	U. & R. Tapi
Box	Sop ⁵	...	
Pestle (for <i>seka</i>)	...	Tok	
<i>Seka</i> cup	...	Allai	It is a coconut shell.
Mats (many types)	...	Lol, Saki, Taila ⁶	U. & R. Zaghi
To net fish	...	Tàlak ik	
To spear fish	...	Fuàkos ik	
To go	Farak	Uaza, Uauàza	
Go to sea, to row	Farak	Kal, Kalkal	
Come here	To rei	Uàza inge	U. Vozangazog
Go there	Itiloren	...	

- 1 Papa-lua in the western Carolines, according to Mr. Freycinet.
- 2 The similarity of the words Eem, Eam, Këio, Këia are such that we may very well have been mistaken in recording canoe parts.
- 3 They use this word to indicate not only the adzes but also the shells used to make them. Everyone learned the Russian words Topor, Nojik (axe, knife); it may be that such words may be adopted by them.
- 4 A small tool to kill the fish; Same word used to mean fish-bone barb.
- 5 Box which they always carry on their canoes.
- 6 Different words for different uses, e.g. one for a mattress, another for a coverlet.

Ahead, that way	...	Tungo	
Behind, return	...	Fulógo	
Back home, gone home	...	Fuinmezo fulógo	Fuinmeza means home.
Arrived from home	...	Toàla fuinmezàme ¹	
From Lela to Ualan	...	Toàla Lelaémme na Uàlan	
From Ualan to Lela	...	Toàla Ualànme na Lela	
I go back to Lela	...	Kal ma na Lela fulógo	
I want to go	Ai pël farak	...	
To go away	...	Azeum	
To walk	...	Fuaje	
To run	...	Kajash	
To crawl	...	Kalakóton	
To fall	...	Patatlia, Igul	E. Idol
To sit	Nono	...	
To cough	Nau	...	
To sneeze	Massei	...	U. & R. Musi
To sleep	Motmo	Motul	U. & R. Miadur; T. Mohe-tuli.
To cry	Ngafol	...	
To speak	Kapass	Kazào (?)	
I don't know, or understand Sighili	...	...	U. Itagela
I can't speak Russian	Sighila kapasei	Rossia	
To sing	...	Oon	
To dance	...	Shal-shal	
To eat	...	Mungo	U. & R. Mogai
To drink	...	Oos	
To move bowels	...	Sën, Pok	
To urinate	...	Më	
To bury	...	Pakpëk	
To tie a knot	...	Lólo, Loloin	T. Lalava
To die	...	Minsia ²	
Death (grave?)	Shomai	...	
Good, in taste	Emem	Emem	
Bad, in taste	Maras	Przosh	
Good, well	Mamal ³	...	F. Maulik; Ch. Maui
Good, kind	...	Muo	
Bad, evil	...	Kolúk	
Disease	...	Kolúk	
Skin disease ⁴	...	Kolúk-muaranit	

1 In Tonga as well, the suffix -me means "of/from."

2 The pronunciation of the syllable "in" is nasal, but without changing i into 3, as in French.

3 This wrod sometimes means Friend, like the word Aidara in Radak.

4 Disease known in all the islands of this ocean.

Sick	...	Mize	
Fever	...	Rararlan	
Pregnant	...	Pëtéta	
Satiated	Mat	...	
Enough, That's all, finished	Àros	Lish	
Great, big	...	Fulàet	T. Fula-hi
High, tall	Rugh	...	
Small	...	Nfokotën	
Dear, beloved	...	Kuleu	
Warm, hot	...	Fuol ¹	
Cold	...	Mazish	
Heavy	...	Toash	
Humid, damp	...	Shuk-shuk	
Red	...	Shiza	
Black	...	Shual-shual ²	
White	...	Fuash-fuash	
Yellow	...	Ran ³	
What?	...	Mea?	
How?	...	Ma?	
Where?	...	Pea?	
Here, here is, that	Farë	Inge	U. Iga; Yet, in Pohnpei; R. Idi.
What is that?	...	Mea inge?	
No, nothing	Sor	Moengin	F. Taia; U. Tor
There is	...	...	F. Megaii
There is much	...	...	F. Megaii-megaii
[Wow! Hurrah!]	...	Uai! Ua? ⁴	
I, me	Ngan	Nga	U. Ngang; R. Nga
Today ⁵	Epong	Miseinge	R. Ebong
Tomorrow	Ruápong	Lúttu	
Tomorrow morning	...	Luttútte	
Day after tomorrow	...	Muuleil	
3rd day " "	Elupong	Sosolfung	
4th day " "	Fapong	Iaffung	
5th day " "	Lápong	Lummóffung	
6th day " "	Uonapong	Uonfung	
7th day " "	Fëpong	...	

1 They sometimes added the prefix Kat to words dealing with temperature, e.g. Kat-fuol, Kat-mazish.

2 The same word is used to designate any dark color: blue, green, etc.

3 Pronounced as in French. In Yap and Uleai, this word is applied to a yellow powder.

4 Said in a slow and singing voice.

5 I never heard the words for yesterday, day before yesterday, etc.

8th day " " Oalupong ...
 9th day " " Tëuapong ...

Numbers

English	Feis	Lugunor	Ualan	Tongan
1	Séu	Eu	Sha	Taha
2	Ruóu	Ruh	Lo	Ua
3	Seulu	Eeul	Tol	Tolu
4	Fàu	Fan	Eaing ¹	Fa
5	Lummóu	Lim	Lom	Nima
6	Olóu	Uón	Uon	Ono
7	Fissúu	Fëss	Ut	Pitu
8	Uálu	Ual	Oal	Valu
9	Luóu	Tiu	Eo	Hiva
10	Seh	Engol	Singul ²	Ongofulu
11	(3) ³	(3)	Shasingul	
12	(3)	(3)	Losingul	
13	(3)	(3)	Tolsingul	
14	(3)	(3)	Eaiangsingul	
15	(3)	(3)	Lomsingul	
16	(3)	(3)	Uonsingul	
17	(3)	(3)	Utsingul	
18	(3)	(3)	Oalsingul	
19	(3)	(3)	Eosingul	
20	Ruaih	Ruai	Longul	
21	...	...	Shalongul	
22	...	...	Lolongul	
etc.				
30	Salih	Ailik	Tolngul	
40	Faeh	Fa	Eainggul	
50	Lummeh	Limma	Lomngul	
60	Uleh	Uonna	Uonngul	
70	Fissih	Fik	Utngul	
80	Oalih	Oalik	Oalngul	
90	Lueh	Tiuai	Eo	
100	Sabuggi	Epukkë	Sievok	

1 One of the most difficult sounds to pronounce; the e and ai are combined and is nasal.

2 Sin- is nasal, as in French.

3 After this, they start over by counting in units.

101	...	...	Sha-sievok
102	...	...	Lo-sievok
etc.			
110	...	...	Sio
120	...	...	Léo
130	...	...	Tólu
140	...	...	Eào
150	...	...	Lúmmo
160	...	...	Onno
170	...	...	Uttu
180	...	...	Oálu
190	...	...	Eo
200	...	Ruapukkë	Singula
300	...	Elipukkë	...
400	...	Fapukkë	...
500	...	Limmapukkë	...
600	...	Uonnapukkë	...
700	...	Fëpukkë	...
800	...	Oalipukkë	...
900	...	Tiuapukkë	...
1000	...	Enggarau ¹	...
2000	...	Ruanggarau	...
3000	...	Elinggarau	...
4000	...	Fanggarau	...
5000	...	Limmanggarau	...
6000	...	Uononggarau	...
7000	...	Fënggarau	...
8000	...	Oalinggarau	...
9000	...	Tiuonggarau	...
10000	...	Aikkaitain	...

1 Beginnin here, the final -u is pronounced half-way between ü and u.

English	Lugunor	Ualan
---------	---------	-------

Cardinal points

North	...	Épan
East	...	Kotoliáp
South	...	Aiir
West	...	Róttö

Periods of the sun

Dawn	...	Lenailik	
Sunrise	Tata	Tagàek fuat ¹	
Forenoon	Uropol, Lingarafat, Afana-uonouon	Sikila, Semma	
Noon	Uonouon	Fuluenlen	
Afternoon	Uofahhan, Uopal, Alopal, Palato, Uranparèkemason, Shangakanouk.	Sauan pètek, Sauan komàeka	
Sunset	Tubuleu	Tëla	These words mean To sleep. ²

1 Tagaek means To rise; fuat means Sun.

2 In explaining them, they would place their head over their hands and close their eyes.

NAMES FOR THE DAYS OF THE LUNAR MONTH counting from the New Moon

	Lugunor	Ualan
1?	Sukkouru	...
1	Eleng	Maispang
2	Maissai-leng	Maza-lam
3	Mosso-on	Moze-uon
4	Maissai-fe	Moze-ut
5	Maissai-wal	Moze-oal
6	Maissai-teu	Alatlato
7	Ruopung	Matal
8	Eppaii	Sheovan
9	Ematal	Arfuga
10	Auropekkë	Sagainpai
11	Ollopuai	Olofshen
12	Ollomai	Olmuen
13	Emmarr	Maish
14	Eër	Eal
15	Nettëg	Lelti
16	Omallai	Komula
17	Omallai	Komula
18	Saparr	Seupash
19	Affanak	Eapnag
20	Osolang	Oislang
21	Affanakomootu	Eapnag
22	Saparr	Seupash
23	Omallai	Sennak
24	Arra	Kesaf
25	Romannefal	Sauanpair
26	Arrofë	Arpë
27	Eë	I
28	Effen	Shepëp
29	Erraf	Lingenë
30	...	Lingalang

If we remember that the letters L and N, P and F, rr and sh are interchangeable in these two languages, we find that more than half of these names are the same. However, in copying them down, I or my informants made a mistake in the order given, which varies by one number [in my notes]; that is why I have adopted the Ualan count because I consider it more accurate.

Besides the resemblance in the names, the two systems resemble each other in the arrangement of the days themselves. For instance, both use the number 5, 6, 7 and 8 in the endings of days 2, 3, 4 and 5; at Lugunor, even number 9 is used in day 6. In both systems, days 16 and 17 have the same name, as well as days 19 and 21, 18 and 22, and at Lugunor, 17 and 23; all of these are at the same distance on either side of day 20. Such an arrangement could not be the result of chance, but it is difficult to discover the reason for this.

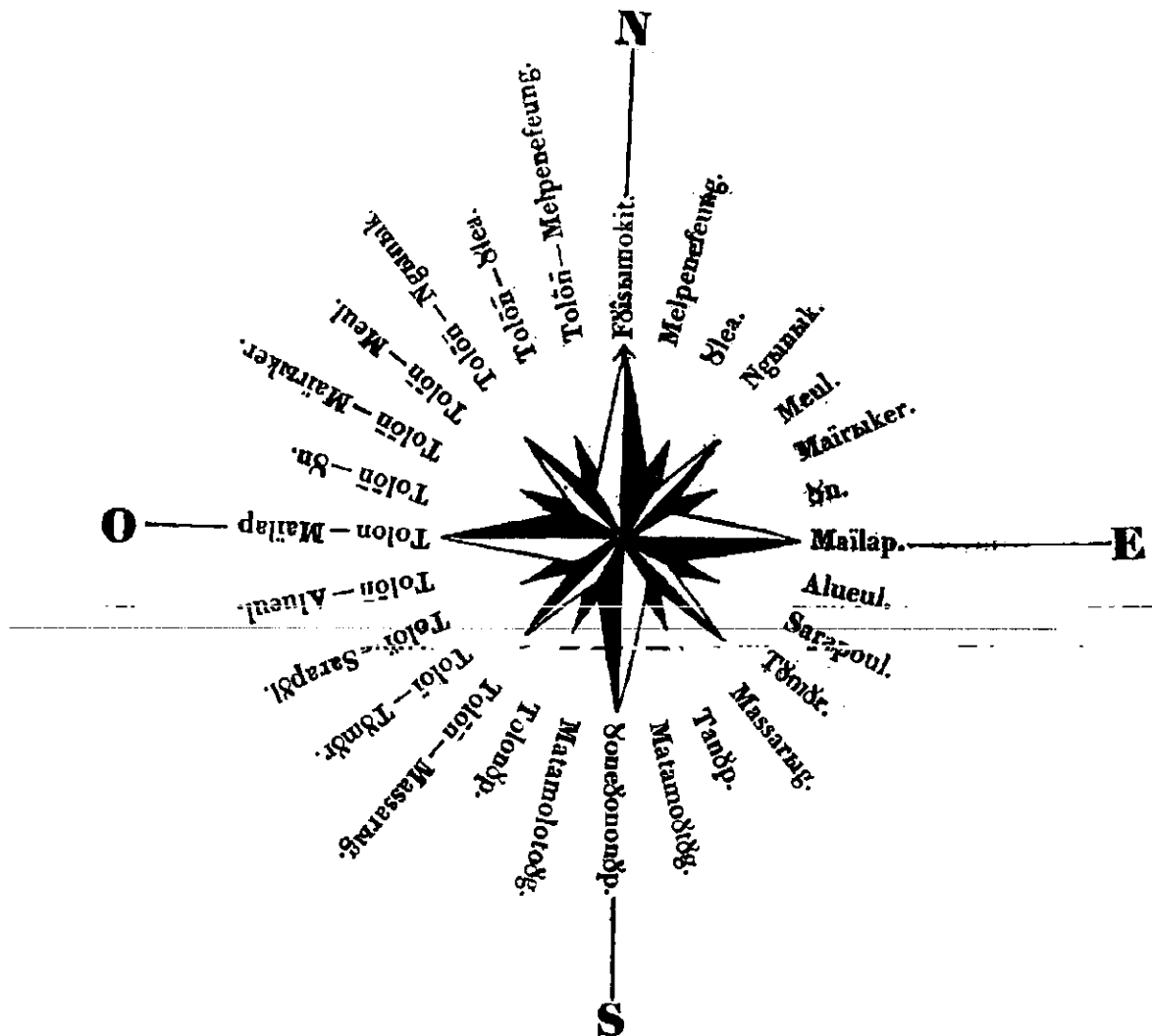
The names of the days of the month at Uleai, according to Kadu, are similar enough to the above, when taking into consideration the difference in pronunciation and spelling. However, his names are more similar to those of Lugunor.

 NAMES OF THE MAIN STARS

English	Lugunor	Ualan
Orion	...	Nuomlaltin ¹
Orion's belt	Alueul	...
Orion's 4 corners	Taraganeul	...
Sirius	Anuoneman	Neazëren
Aldebaran	Un	Infufue
Capella	Fangenun	Laselsel
Akernar	Ngënëk	Koluan
Fomalhaut	...	Itishreka
Canopus	Pouneman, —Meeur	...
Aquarius (4 stars)	Pulap	...
Gemeni	Anneman	...
Procyon	Pouneman, —Mefeung	...
Pleiades	Maïrekër	Safuro
Regulus	Mailap	...
Saturn	Mangoïshop	...
Venus	Aláu	Tumur (?)

1 They say that the 4 main stars of this constellation represent two husbands and their wives.

Lukunor's wind compass.



[Clockwise from North: Fuëmokit; Melpenefeung; Ulea; Ngänäk; Meul; Mairäker; Un; Mailap; Alueul; Satapul; Tëmër; Massaräg; Tanöp; Matamoëtög; Eone-ënonöp; Matamolotoög; Tolonöp; Tolon-Massaräg; Tolon-Tëmër; Tolon-Satapul; Tolon-Alueul; Tolon-Mailap (or simply Mailap); Tolon-Un; Tolon-Mairäker; Tolon-Meul; Tolon-Ngänäk; Tolon-Ulea; Tolon-Nelpenefeung.]

This wind compass differs from that of Uleai, which Mr. Torres communicated to Mr. Chamisso and Captain Freycinet, in the number of names of the winds. It may be that different wind compasses are used at different places, or even at any one place; it is the more likely when our questions at Uleai and in the neighboring groups about the relative position of various lands were always answered by making use of the Lugunor compass. That of Uleai is remarkable by the fact that its four cardinal points recall the names of the 4 main winds at ualan:

	Uleai	Ualan
N =	Pangi/Epangi	Épan
S =	Ioru	Eir
E =	Kotu	Koto-lap
W =	Loto	Róto

Captain Freycinet's narrative contains the names of a few stars and constellations in the Uleai and Sataual dialects; some are similar to the above, others are different. Still others appear in the wind compass above but not in our list of stars; they are as follows:

Ule-ga, or Ulea	Ursa Major
Sharapol, or Sarapul	Corvus
Meul	Lyra
Tumur	Antares, and also Spica
Tuatub, maybe also	
Tanup or Matamutgu	Southern Cross

If we compare the names of the wind directions with the names of the stars, we find that out of 13 directions in the eastern half of the wind compass, 10 bear the names of stars, and probably the 3 others also. The order in which they appear from North to South corresponds to the distance of the stars from the North Pole (except Nginik which means Achernar (alpha of Eridanus to us) or from the South Pole, beginning with Ursa Major whose declination is 62 degrees as far as the Southern Cross which, on the other side, is at the same distance from the equator. Therefore, this brings to mind that various points on the horizon take their names from the main stars that rise or set near these points, as we have said in Part 1. The names in the western half of the wind compass are the same as those of the eastern half, except for the addition of the word *tolon* which probably means "to set."¹



There are rather great differences between our vocabulary of Ualan words and that of Mr. Lesson. Such differences are partly explained by his very accurate remarks: ... "The manner in which two writers from a same country codify sounds by symbols is often very different, and even more so between two writers from different countries."

¹ Ed. note: In the Central Carolines, this word is *Tolo, toloo, tololo*, or simply *Tool*.

The Ualan language has many sounds that Mr. Lesson himself called "unintelligible to our ears;" such sounds are, for instance, the [Russian] *bl*, [reverse R (*yä*); the differences between the hard and soft endings of the consonants, between *IO* (*ü*) and *u*, between *x* and *kh*, etc. However, all of these difficulties, unsurmountable for a Frenchman, do not exist for a Russian who finds equivalent sounds in his own language. This suffices to explain most of the differences between us.

However, a few rather important differences can only come from errors on either part. For instance, the names of the four most important directions are completely different. The only name common to both of us, *Epan* (Japan, according to Mr. Lesson), means North for me and West for him. One must, however, notice that Mr. Lesson's three other directions are: *N* = *Matente*, *S* = *Leap*, *E* = *Wakata* (*Wegat* for us), are the names of villages situated *N*, *S*, and *E* of Coquille Harbor; it may therefore be that the cardinal points take the names of geographical places situated in the respective directions, as is the custom in other countries.

A very big divergence exists between us in the names for numbers. As far as 100, we are in agreement, but what I call 101, is 200 with him, etc. I cannot understand by which means one could have been able to get from them numbers as high as 20,000, but my numbers have been collected by counting one by one to 200, but not without some effort.



Document 1828P

The voyage of HMS Rainbow—Sketches of Augustus Earle

Bio-sketch of Augustus Earle, painter.

He was born in London in 1793. At the end of a long voyage to America and Oceania, he left Sydney on 12 October 1828, aboard HMS Rainbow, Captain Roos, then crossed the Carolines, stopping at Guam, before visited Manila, Singapore, Malacca, and Madras, etc. He subsequently joined Darwin aboard HMS Beagle, and acted as draughtsman of that expedition (1831-1836). He died soon after, in 1838.

Three watercolors of Guam, by Augustus Earle

Sources: Augustus Earle. A Narrative of a Nine Month's Residence in New Zealand, in 1827 (London, 1832); Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones. Augustus Earle, Travel Artist: Paintings and drawings in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia (Canberra, 1980).

Note: Earle had intended to publish his watercolours, as illustration of a Voyage Round the World, but he died before finishing this project.

Description of the illustrations.

—N° 116. Umatak Harbour, Island of Guam, one of the Ladrões, 1828.

Watercolour 24.7 x 52.8 cm. NK 12/116, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.

Reproduced with permission (ref. 450/13/113, 2 Dec 1983).

—N° 121. Umatak, Island of Guam, 1828.

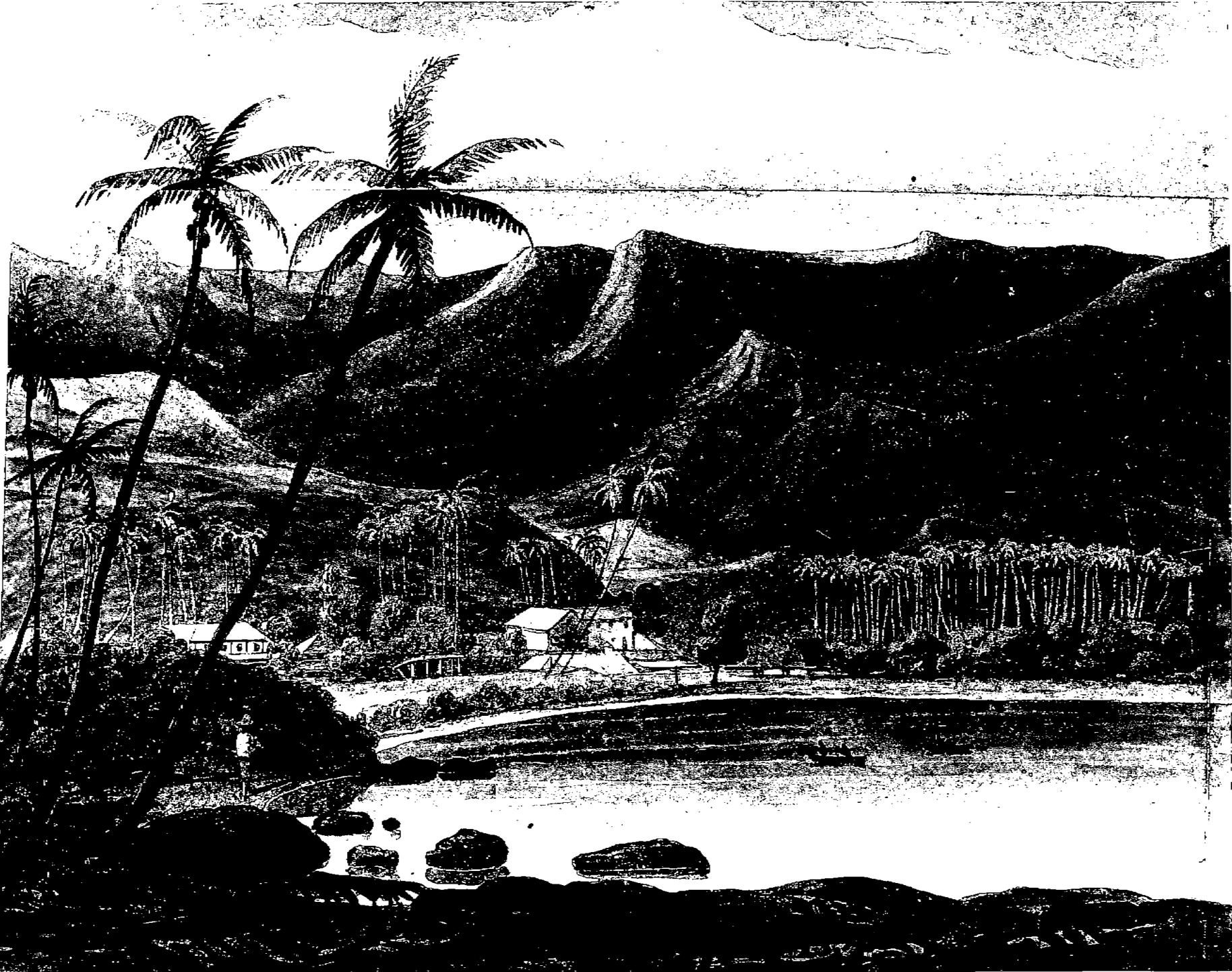
Watercolour 21.6 x 27.3 cm. NK 12/121, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.

Reproduced with permission.

—N° 124. A Woman of the Mariannas or Ladrone Islands, 1828, scraping Yams to make Paste for Bread.

Watercolour 14.9 x 18 cm. NK 12/124, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.

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Note 1828Q

The Russian ship *Helen*, Captain Kromchenko

General references to this ship and captain

Sources: Lütke's Voyage; N. Ivashnitzev. Obezrenie Russkih Krugosvetnic Puteshestvii (St-Petersburg, 1850; article by Captain Edgar K. Thompson, U.S.N. in the American Neptune, entitled: "Bikini—Atom Atoll."

Extract from Captain Kromchenko's log, date not given.

*Note: There is a possibility that his visit to Bikini took place in 1833 instead, aboard the ship *Amerika*, while returning to Russia.*

...
Next day we came up with an island named by the charts Eschscholtz Island. At noon, December 1858 [rather 1828], we were close in shore, in latitude 11°33', longitude 195°37'.¹ Could see twelve islands lying in an east-west direction. We being about the center, stood for a channel 3 miles in width between two islands. On getting near we could see the bottom stretching across; sent a boat to sound, found 11 fathoms, and sailed over, seeing very distinctly the various coloured corals comprising the reef under our keel as we dashed along. After passing this bar found ourselves in smooth water. Soon after saw land in the N.W. and also in the N.E., also a shoal with 10 fathoms of water over it; of course, I was now convinced that we had entered a spacious lagoon. I counted from aloft fourteen islands, and the lagoon must be twenty miles across at least. We tacked and stood out, speaking a canoe on our way, with a chief on board, who informed us that the name of the group was Bikini.²

1 Ed. note: That is, west of Greenwich; in other words, 164°23' E. of Greenwich.

2 Ed. note: Apparently it was Captain Kromchenko who first learned the native name of this atoll: Bikini, which supposedly means "burial place for suicides."

Document 1828R

The Minerva, Captain Tapsell, visited Micronesia about this time

Source: James Cowan. A Trader in Cannibal Land. The Life and Adventures of Captain Tapsell (Wellington, Reed, 1935).

Note: The exact dates are not given, but the voyage took place before 1829, because of her shipwreck on Minerva Reef. The Minerva was a brig of 155 tons.

...

CHAPTER X

Whale-chasing in the Minerva.

A vessel named the **Minerva** was Tapsell's next command. He sailed for Sydney and found the ship waiting for him there to go South Sea whaling. He fitted her out and sailed for the Bay of Islands, bringing a missionary and his wife as passengers. Shipping a supply of water, and potatoes and pork, he was ready for his cruise. His new [third] Maori wife came with him, and she brought with her about a dozen men, to help work the ship. These Maoris were her slaves.

By the time Tapsell reached his old cruising ground near the Gilbert Group,¹ not far south of the Equator, the **Minerva** was so leaky that on one occasion, the boats' crews, after returning from an all-day chase, found over four feet of water in the hold. All hands were set to work the pumps, which after this were kept almost constantly going, mostly worked by the Maori slaves. These strong fellows were capital workers, very willing though they were captives in Maoridom. They were mostly young men who had been taken prisoners in Hongi's raids on the Southern tribes. Some were Arawa men from the Rotorua country. Although slaves they did not work unrewarded. Tapsell paid them all in presents of tobacco and clothing and other goods at the end of the cruise.

But the white hands before the mast were not so willing or so loyal to the captain. There were some ex-convicts there, as there were in most of the ships of that period sailing out of Sydney. These old "lags" presently infected the rest of the Pakeha sailors with

¹ Ed. note: Unfortunately, this book does not specify Captain Tapsell's previous voyages to that neighborhood, nor the names of the ships.

their discontent and they told Tapsell they objected to continue fishing in such a leaky old basket. But Tapsell was determined not to go back without oil. So the fishing went on for several months, the men grumbling all the time. It would have been a profitable voyage, for whales were plentiful, but there was another cause of trouble besides the growling crew. Having been unable to procure gear from other whaling vessels at Sydney, when fitting out, Tapsell had had to get his harpoons made in the town, where no-one knew how to temper the iron. Harpoons require to be of the finest possible quality, but when any strain was put on the **Minerva's** irons they broke, so that many whales were lost.

At last, having procured nearly fifty tons of oil, Tapsell bore away south for the Bay of Islands. In his course there was a very dangerous reef where the frigate **Pandora** had been wrecked.¹ He found himself in a gale of wind close to this peril; the surf-beaten rocks were under his lee. It was an all-hands job, working for life, to 'bout ship and try to weather the reef. Tapsell set all sail, though it blew so hard; it was necessary to press the ship to the utmost to keep to windward of the long-stretching jagged teeth of death.

...

1 Ed. note: HMS Pandora, Captain Edwards, was wrecked on this reef off the coast of Queensland in 1791. It is not the same as the Minerva Reef, south of Fiji, where the Minerva was to be wrecked in 1829.

Document 1828S

The ship Clay, Captain Driver

Sources: Logbook kept by Captain Driver, ms. in Peabody Museum; PMB 216.

Extract from the logbook kept by Captain William R. Driver**Journal of Ship Clay. Voyage from Salem, Mass. to Fiji Island & Manila. Capt. William R. Driver, 1827-1829.**

...
[On a passage from Fiji to Manila]

...
[Satawal]

Saturday March 29th [1828]

... At 8 a.m. saw a small low island bearing NE of us, 10 to 12 miles distant. This we think to be Young William although our latitude by reckoning is a little south of it. It appears only a long group of trees, springing up amidst the ocean by which it seems parted a little Eastward of its centre so as to form two small isles. Coming on rainy, we had but an imperfect view of it...

[Lamotrek]

Monday March 31st

... At 3 a.m. saw land Southward. Wore ship Eastward, the wind from N by East. At 5 a.m. wore ship Westward and stood down for the land, apparently 3 small low isles. At 7 a.m. 5 or 6 canoes put off from the westernmost isle having triangular mat sails. At 7:30 a.m. hove the head sails to the mast to let the canoes come alongside. They at first seemed loath to come on board, of which shyness they soon got rid and came on board, many of them with what they had to sell, hopping overboard and swimming like fish alongside. At 9, the natives having all left us, we made sail NWestward.

There are three small low isles, the largest of which is not over two miles long. They are covered with trees of various kinds, mostly coconut. They are united by a reef which seems to occupy a space of about 9 miles North and South and 4 or 5 East and West-

ward. Their inhabitants are of a fine brown complexion and differ much in all respects from the Carolinos [sic] we have on board. They are stout, well-built, have rather flat noses with good open countenances, nothing appearing sly about them. They wear their hair, which is a little curled, long, tied in a large knot behind, which gives them rather a feminine look. Their ears are cut through the lower part. Many of them wear them large enough to receive a ring 4 inches in circumference in there; they [i.e. the rings] were bones or leaves. They seemed very fond of trinkets, knives, iron hoop, etc. and were the nudest sons of Adam that I ever saw, most of them being completely naked, some few only having a small piece of grass cloth round their waist. Their canoes were small and very neat, being painted the bottoms black, sides a light brown with a black stripe. They are sharp at each end and have a small dammer [i.e. outrigger] to prevent them from upsetting. They had from 2 to 6 men each who guided them with an ease and dexterity incredible. In all the actions of these natives, there seemed a rudeness and originality, the mark of unpolished nature. They spoke "knife" and "coconut" in English. The former of which they received a few of in return for lines, coconuts, etc. The only arms they had with them were things which they very readily sold for iron hoop. We got off them some fine Yeya(?) lines, coconuts and a few pieces of cloth about 12 inches wide made of bow(?) the bark of a tree for which we paid beads, knives, iron hoop, etc. They had several kinds of *beach de marr* in their canoes which they offered for sale, were tattooed about the arms and thighs.

Ends with strong breeze and good weather. Soon lost sight of these isles and a low range run SWestward...

Lat. obs. 7°40' North.

N.B. The name of these isles is Marins [sic].¹

[Faraulep]

Tuesday April 1st

... At 8 p.m. saw two small isles bearing SSW 6 or 8 miles [distant], there being none of these Carolines laid down in the situation, the sight of these a little surprised us, having 76 miles from noon NNW our latitude is 8°15' North...

Distance by log 196 miles.

Lat. obs. 9°01'.

[Fais]

Wednesday April 2nd 1828

... At 5 p.m. a small isle bore N by E 12 miles distant. Our latitude at this time being 9°08' North. There is no isle laid down within 50 miles of this latitude.

[On April 7th, the longitude was reckoned at 134° E.; on April 11th, they saw Samar I. in the Philippines. Upon the return passage to Fiji, the ancient mariner was forced to

¹ Ed. note: Los Martires correspond to Pulap, but the sequence of islands along the track of this ship points to Lamotrek as the true name of this group.

spend his national holiday at sea, somewhere near Lat. 16°29' N. and Long. 160°32' E., and he wrote the following doleful notes on 4 July 1828.]

Thus far from friends and country we pass the 52nd Anniversary of our Independence. This brings to our mind all the endearments of that home which we so long have left. Oh! happy friends, we pass like other days along enjoying alone (amid the seamen of our calling) the pleasure of thinking you happy, perhaps we half envying your happiness, wish you less joy that in the round we may be remembered. In fancy we see your gladdened smile, your joy sparkling eye, we hear you praise each performance, good, and join the loud applause. Thus are our thoughts employed amid the dull round of a ship duty, anxious, eager to enjoy the fond dream we [are] upbraiding by whistling to the lazy breeze whose pleasant langour gives loose and room for thoughts of pleasures past which adds to our weary course of life a clearer shade.

I have and would choose a hardened gale that in our watchful care for objects present, the minds would have those objects dear though distant, and fill with manly fortitude her present station, thus are to forget that which we can't enjoy seem to ask a present trouble (this is the man) not happy and word of gratitude. Have I not every reason to be grateful? when looking back on a voyage of one year, two months and 24 days we have passed and been blessed with the enjoyment of health and all things necessary for the good of man. During this time, how many have lingered on the bed of sickness? how many have felt the keen pangs of hunger? and how many half clothed mortals have turned a supplicating tearful eye to the keen(?) northern blast while the pelting sleet and stifling snow seemed ready to hush their thrilling sigh and bury them and their cares alike in oblivion? Have not many, ah very many, unhappy corpse sunk beneath the howling wave? or cooled disfigured and unknown amid the white sand or cragged rocks of ocean border? Has not parent wept for children, and wife her husband? brother his brother and friend? Has this been my lot? No! Then let me hush the murmuring of an unworthy man, and bear with what I have to be content.

...
[His exact positons at noon for some of the dates mentioned above were recorded at the back of the logbook, as follows.]

1 April 1828: Course N65W; distance [covered] 192 miles; diff. lat. 1°21' N.; lat. by DR [i.e. dead reckoning] 9°14' N.; lat. by obs. 9°01' N.; variation 5° E; diff. long. 2°55' W; long. in[strument] 145°08' E.

2 April 1828: Course N80W; distance 173 miles; diff. lat. 0°31' N.; lat. by DR 9°42' N.; lat. by obs. 9°32' N.; variation 5° E.; diff. long. 2°33' W.; long. in. 142°15' E.

Documents 1828T

Population census of the Marianas for the 1827-1830 period

Source: PNA, reports by Governor Medinilla.

Notes: The 1828 census included totals for 1827. A copy of the 1829 census is also to be found in MN 1662, Doc. 59, i.e. fol. 198.

Common title for all three reports: Status report on the settlements, houses and inhabitants of the Mariana Islands, compiled by the Politico-Military Governor, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda.

In addition, all reports are copied officially by the Government Secretary, Joaquín de León Guerrero, on the last day of December of the respective year.

[Left-hand pages:]

Column 1: Island of Guajan.

Column 2: Number of houses.

Column 3: Officers and soldiers.

Column 4: European Spaniards. Note that the only two Europeans Spaniards living in the Marianas in 1828 were the Governor and his Secretary. Two more were recorded in 1829 and 1830; they were two new missionaries, one of them living at Inarajan, then at Merizo; he was Fr. Bernardo Esteves del Rosario.

Column 5: English settlers and their descendents, male and female.

Column 6: French settlers and their descendents, male and female.

Column 7: Half-breeds (mestizos, in Spanish), male and female.

Column 8: Filipinos and their descendents, male and female.

[Right-hand pages]

Column 9: Native Indians (i.e. Chamorros), male and female.

Column 10: Mulattoes, male and female.

Column 11: Indians from Atuai Islands, male and female. These Hawaiian natives were from the Island of Kauai, and had been removed from an unauthorized settlement in the Gani Islands in the Northern Marianas.

Column 12: Indians from the Caroline Islands. Note that there were other Carolinians residing legally in Saipan, but their number was not reported.

1. Island of Guajan

	2. Houses	3. Mil. Male	4. Eur. Male	5. Eng. M/F	6. French M/F	7. Mest. M/F	8. Fil. M/F
Capital of San Ignacio de Agaña: Its wards: San Ignacio, Santa Cruz, San Nicolás, San Ramón, San Antonio	542	73	2	26 / 12	6 / 2	476 / 461	1172 / 1250
Neighboring villages:							
Anigua	45	1	.....	3 / 1	.....	0 / 3	0 / 7
Asan	30					1 / 2	
Tepungan	14						0 / 2
Mungmung	15						0 / 3
Sinajaña	39					1 / 1	0 / 1
Districts:							
Agat	39	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 / 0	13 / 7
Town of Umata	39					8 / 7	0 / 1
Merizo	55					7 / 1	
Inarajan	49						0 / 1
Pago	43					0 / 1	0 / 2
Islands:							
Rota	103	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 / 1
Tinian	4	4					3 / 2
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Totals:	1,107	78	2	29 / 13	6 / 2	494 / 476	1,189 / 1,277

1. Guajan	9. Native Indians M/F	10. Mulat- toes M/F	11. Hawaii M/F	12. Carolin. M/F	13. 1828	14. 1827	15. +/-
Agaña:							
Its wards:							
San Ignacio, etc.....	250 / 214	6 / 14	13 / 14	16 / 8	4,015	3,934	+81
Villages:							
Anigua	116 / 112	.....	1 / 0	.....	244	240	+4
Asan	81 / 60	.....	.....	.....	144	140	+4
Tepungan	29 / 27	.....	.....	.....	58	56	+2
Mungmung	44 / 40	.....	.....	.....	87	80	+7
Sinajaña	110 / 88	.....	.....	.....	201	186	+15
Districts:							
Agat	84 / 121	.....	.....	.....	226	228	-2
Town of Umata	98 / 94	2 / 1	.....	.....	211	211	.....
Merizo	151 / 143	.....	.....	0 / 2	304	302	+2
Inarajan	107 / 138	.....	.....	.....	246	240	+6
Pago	108 / 102	6 / 7	.....	.....	226	224	+2
Islands:							
Rota	227 / 234	.....	.....	.....	463	467	-4
Tinian	14 / 0	.....	.....	.....	23	.....	+23
Totals:	1,419 / 1,373	14 / 22	14 / 14	16 / 10	6,448	6,308	+140

1. Island of Guajan	2. Houses	3. Mil. Male	4. Eur. Male	5. Eng. M/F	6. French M/F	7. Mest. M/F	8. Fil. M/F
Capital of San Ignacio de Agaña: Its wards: San Ignacio, Santa Cruz, San Nicolás, San Ramón, San Antonio	554	75	4	30 / 13	4 / 2	484 / 472	1212 / 1254
Neighboring villages:							
Anigua	44	1	.....	1 / 1	.....	0 / 1	2 / 8
Asan	33					0 / 4	0 / 2
Tepungan	15						0 / 2
Mungmung	15						0 / 1
Sinajaña	37					0 / 1	5 / 7
Districts:							
Agat	42	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 / 5	11 / 4
Town of Umata	41					9 / 7	3 / 2
Merizo	58					7 / 1	
Inarajan	50		1				0 / 1
Pago	41					0 / 3	8 / 6
Islands:							
Rota	95	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 / 5
Tinian	6	2		1 / 0		9 / 0	21 / 0
Totals:	1,031	79	5	32 / 14	4 / 2	512 / 494	1,265 / 1,292

1. Guajan	9. Native Indians M/F	10. Mulat- toes M/F	11. Hawaii M/F	12. Carolin. M/F	13. 1829	14. 1828	15. +/-
Agaña:							
Its wards:							
San Ignacio, etc.....	210 / 214	4 / 13	14 / 16	15 / 7	4,043	4,015	+28
Villages:							
Anigua	117 / 108	.....	1 / 0	.....	240	244	-4
Asan	85 / 62				153	144	+9
Tepungan	29 / 28				59	58	+1
Mungmung	39 / 40				80	87	-7
Sinajaña	103 / 79	0 / 1			196	201	-5
Districts:							
Agat	82 / 116	.....	.....	0 / 1	222	226	-4
Town of Umata	98 / 99				220	211	+9
Merizo	147 / 145			0 / 1	301	304	-3
Inarajan	105 / 132				239	246	-7
Pago	101 / 99	4 / 5			226	226	
Islands:							
Rota	209 / 219	.....	.....	.....	437	463	-26
Tinian	31 / 0	.....	.....	.....	64	23	+41
Totals:	1,356 / 1,341	10 / 14	15 / 16	15 / 9	6,480	6,448	+32

1. Island of Guajan	2. Houses	3. Mil. Male	4. Eur. Male	5. Eng. M/F	6. French M/F	7. Mest. M/F	8. Fil. M/F
Capital of San Ignacio de Agaña: Its wards: San Ignacio, Santa Cruz, San Nicolás, San Ramón, San Antonio	570	66	4	31 / 7	4 / 1	484 / 472	1197 / 1279
Neighboring villages:							
Anigua	44	1	.....	1 / 1	.....	0 / 3	0 / 6
Asan	33					1 / 4	0 / 2
Tepungan	14						0 / 3
Mungmung	10						1 / 2
Sinajaña	36					3 / 5	4 / 1
Districts:							
Agat	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 / 3	26 / 28
Town of Umata	39					5 / 7	6 / 4
Merizo	57		1			8 / 2	0 / 1
Inarajan	48						0 / 1
Pago	42					0 / 3	9 / 9
Islands:							
Rota	96	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	9 / 4
Tinian	6	2		1 / 0		5 / 0	20 / 0
Totals:	1,039	70	5	33 / 8	4 / 1	508 / 499	1,272 / 1,340

1. Guajan	9. Native Indians M/F	10. Mulat- toes M/F	11. Hawaii M/F	12. Carolin. M/F	13. 1830	14. 1829	15. +/-
Its wards:							
San Ignacio, etc.....	252 / 217	6 / 12	14 / 15	21 / 8	4,090	4,043	+47
Villages:							
Anigua	120 / 99	.....	1 / 0	.....	232	240	-8
Asan	87 / 60				154	153	+1
Tepungan	25 / 24				52	59	-7
Mungmung	36 / 36				75	80	-5
Sinajaña	97 / 75	0 / 1			186	196	-10
Districts:							
Agat	64 / 94	.....	.....	1 / 1	219	222	-3
Town of Umata	94 / 89	3 / 3			211	220	-9
Merizo	150 / 140			0 / 2	313	301	+12
Inarajan	109 / 130				240	239	+1
Pago	100 / 98	4 / 6			229	226	+3
Islands:							
Rota	211 / 226	.....	.....	.....	451	437	+14
Tinian	10 / 0				38	64	-26
Totals:	1,355 / 1,297	13 / 22	15 / 15	22 / 11	6,490	6,480	+10

Document 1828U

The voyage of Thomas Smith aboard the whaler *Hibernia*

Source: Thomas W. Smith. A Narrative of the Life, Travels and Sufferings of Thomas W. Smith (Boston, 1844).

A Narrative of the Life, Travels and Sufferings of Thomas W. Smith:

Comprising an Account of his early life, adoption by the Gipsys; his travels during eighteen voyages to various parts of the World, during which he was five times shipwrecked; thrice on a desolate island near the south pole, once on the coast of England, and once on the coast of Africa.

He took part in several battles on the coast of Spain and Peru and witnessed several others; was once taken by pirates, from whom he was providentially delivered, placed in a small boat and set adrift at a great distance from land, without the means for conducting her to the shore.—He afterwards took part in four minor engagements with savages near New Guinea.

PREFACE.

The Author has presumed to present the public his Biography, which contains an account of the various scenes, through which he had passed during thirty-five years of his life, in his voyages and travels in various parts of the world. In writing, he has been under the necessity of trusting wholly to memory, not having kept a Journal of his Adventures; as the idea of their publication had not until recently occurred to him.

...
[While still a boy, the author served aboard some English warships, during the 1812-1814 period. He deserted from the last ship, and then went on three successive sealing voyages to Antarctica. Circa 1820, he left a whaling ship that had been cruising on the coast of Peru to take part in various battles between the Spanish and their rebellious colonies. He returned to England aboard the whaler Robert, then joined the *Hibernia*

whaler, headed for the Pacific where he spent the latter part of the decade of the 1820s, meeting other whalers, such as the **Alfred** and the **John Bull** in the Solomons, in December 1827.]¹

...

Being under the necessity of continuing my seafaring life, which I ever detested, I shipped on board of the **Hibernia**, bound on a whaling voyage on the coast of Japan.

CHAPTER XV.

Leaves London; arrival at New Zealand, and description of the natives; Cannibalism of the New Zealanders; cruises off the Navigator isles; description of the natives; description of the Duke of Clarence and York's isles; two races of the natives; trading with the natives; cruises off the King's Mill Group; cruises off Mathew's isle; warlike and hideous appearance of the natives; design to take the ship; cruise off the New Hebrides; appearance of Santa Cruz; lands on a volcanic isle; cruises off Solomon's isle; dangerous attack on a canoe; loss of life; then war canoes come off to attack the ship; raises a school of whales; the Alfred's boats and ours are attacked by two fleets of canoes; loss of her captain and second mate; the natives repulsed by our boats and two boats stove; the author stands on the whale's head; the whale takes the author's boat off while the crew are in the water hanging on to her; cruises off Isabel isle; attempt of the natives to take the John Bull; discovery of a deep bay; the ship is attacked by two or three thousand natives; defence of the ship and slaughter of the natives; arrival at Guam isle; description of the natives and manner of living; sails by the Ladrone isles; Volcano; arrives at Japan; cruises along the coast; visited by Japanese fishing boats, boarded by Japanese junks; departure from the Japan seas; a Lascar escapes from the natives and gains the ship; the loss of his vessel and his captivity; the crew eaten by the natives; mode of roasting their victims; arrives at the New Hebrides; the natives sieze two of the ship's crew; departure of the ship and the loss of two men; colored men with yellow hair; discovery of the island where the French ship l'Empereur [rather, of La Pérouse] was wrecked; arrival at the isle of Rotumah; description of the natives; three men desert the ship and remain on the island; arrival at New Zealand...

TWELFTH VOYAGE.

The ship being ready, we sailed on our passage round the cape of Good Hope to New Zealand, where we arrived after having enjoyed a pleasant passage. On our arrival in the harbor of Crorica [Bay of Islands], the deck of our ship was crowded with natives of all ages from the shore, who came to trade with us.

...

Having abundantly supplied the ship with wood, water and potatoes, and thirty hogs, for which we gave some muskets and gunpoder, we sailed toward Tongataboo island, off which we cruised three days; but not meeting with any whales, we bore away and sailed through the midst of Tonga islands, which are very low and scarcely to be seen above the level of the sea, from the vessel's mast-head at a distance of 10 miles. We were informed by our captain, that the natives of these isles were in the most barbarous state of cannibalish; and therefore their shores were to be approached only on the peril of being roasted and immediately eaten.

Having passed by these islands, we soon arrived at the Navigators [Samoa] Islands, off which we cruised several weeks, without meeting with any success.

1 The John Bull was the whaler that James O'Connell had escaped from to go to Pohnpei.

...

[Whaling off the Gilbert Islands]

Having successfully cruised off these islands, we proceeded toward the King's Mill Group, and touched at the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of York's islands, on our passage, merely to trade with the natives...

The chief article of trade which we possessed was iron-hoops, cut in six-inch pieces, for each of which, we generally obtained in many of the islands a dozen of cocoa-nuts or any other kinds of nuts or fruit.

...

Having finished our trading at these islands we proceeded on our passage, and in a few days arrived at King's Mill Group, off which we cruised several weeks and succeeded in obtaining 300 barrels of oil.

After the expiration of the season at these islands, we proceeded to Matthews [Mara-kei] island, off which we cruised several days. The natives appeared to be frequently engaged in war with each other, as they exhibited marks of great violence upon their naked bodies, inflicted by implements of war, which could be none others than these with which they were abundantly supplied, and which consisted of straight hardwood spears, with four rows of sharks' teeth firmly fixed in the same shape as the teeth of a saw.

One morning, the ship being becalmed, we were surrounded by 300 or 400 canoes, each of which contained five natives. A number of them traded with us, while the others rowed round and round the ship apparently looking at us, as though they would make us their prize. By their singular proceedings we anticipated that they had a design on the ship. To defeat them we immediately exhibited our naked lances and spades, and this seemingly had the desired effect in counteracting their designs, and shortly after they dispersed and returned to the shore.

These natives exhibited the most hideous heads of hair ever seen on human beings. It was long and wooly and grew upwards...

...

1 Ed. note: Continuation on pp. 194+ Book available at Library of Congress and the University of Hawaii: # G530.S68.

Note 1829B

**The Dalton Journal, kept aboard the Harriet,
Captain Clark**

Source: Neil Gunson (ed.). The Dalton Journal: Two Whaling Voyages to the South Seas, 1823-1829 (Canberra, 1990).

Editor's note.

This reference contains the journal of William Dalton, surgeon aboard the **Phoenix**, 1823-25 voyage, and aboard the **Harriet**, 1826-29 voyage.

Unfortunately for us, these ships did **not** visit Micronesia. The reference is quoted here for the record.

Documents 1829C

Correspondence of Colonel Villalobos, in 1829

C1. Letter from Colonel Villalobos to Governor Enrile, dated Marianas 12 October 1829

Source: MN 2080, doc. n° 4, fol. 130-130v.

Original text in Spanish.

D. Francisco Ramon Villalobos, Teniente Coronel graduado y Comandante de Marina en estas Yslas.

Por el presente de acuerdo con el Señor Gobernador de las mismas, ordeno lo siguiente:

1° El Capitan del Puerto de ellas que en el día és D. Nicolas de Leon Guerrero, ejercerá las funciones de Practico en el de Apra con el sueldo de ocho pesos mensuales que cobrará de la Real Caja, y ademas exigirá á el Capitan de cada Buque que entra ó sale de dicho Puerto, seis pesos si aquel calare mas de diez y seis pies, cinco si no bajase de doce y quatro quando no llegare á esta medida.

2° Para desempeñar bien sus funciones deberá el Capitan del Puerto establecerse en las inmediaciones de su costa, y vigilar continuamente si hay algun buque que pueda necesitarlo como practico, para entrar en el puerto.

3° El Capitan del Puerto reconocerá á todo buque luego que se verifique su fondeo é igual diligencia practicará antes de su salida cobrará á el Capitan de cada uno el derecho de anclage designado por la tarifa remitida por la Superioridad llevará la cuenta de este fondo, bajo la intervencion del Comandante de Marina y dará parte inmediatamente á este y al Señor Gobernador de quantas novedades ocurran en el Puerto.

4° Para substituir actualmente á el dicho Capitan del Puerto, asi como en todas sus enfermedades ó ausencias, nombro á D. Juan Anderson, Ayudante de aquel debiendo ejercer las propias funciones interinas siempre que hubiere necesidad por las causales expuestas y disfrutará entonces el sueldo fixo de quatro pesos hasta donde el fondo de anclage lo permita á mas de las gratificaciones citadas arriba por via de Practico.

5° En caso de presentarse en el Puerto algun enemigo Pirata y siempre que el decoro del Pabellon Español lo exiga con urgencia, se valdrá el Capitan del Puerto del auxilio del fuego de Cañon que le prestará el Castillo de Santa Cruz artillado al intento.

6º Luego que el Capitan del Puerto haga la primera visita á cualquier buque hará entender á su Capitan y tripulacion el desagrado con que las autoridades de estas Yslas mirarán á cualquiera desertor de él: y que á cada individuo que incurra en este delito se le exigirá á beneficio de sus aprensos la multa de seis pesos que satisfará el Capitan del Buque con cargo á el desertor, si aquel hubiere dado parte de la fuga de este á las autoridades del Pais; ó bien de su cuenta si no lo hubiese dado en cuyo punto así como en todos los demas, que tengan relacion con la publica tranquilidad, orden y buena armonia que debe reynar entre todas las naciones especialmente siendo amigos esperan dichas autoridades que los Capitanes y los Oficiales de los buques contribuirán cuanto este de su parte, para que de ningun parte se altere bajo la responsabilidad de la ley á quien infrinja deberes tan sagrados, en el concepto de que por parte de aquellas se auxiliará tambien á los buques quanto permita la posibilidad del Pais.

7º Si apesar de dichas medidas para impedir la desercion de la gente de mar y evitar las consecuencias sucediere quedar en estas Yslas algun individuo ya como desertor ó ya por exigirlo así (con grave fundamento) el Capitan de algun buque tendrá entendido la persona que quedare no siendo por enfermedad que desde el momento que se le aprendá será destinado á los trabajos publicos con grilletes á cargo de un terrible cabo de tarea y con solo el preciso alimento para su sustencia por le tiempo que tarde en presentarse otro Buque que lo reciba á su bordo ó bien por el termino de dos años sino hubiese entretanto ocasion de separarlo del Pais pasados los quales se remitirá á la desgraciada suerte de una Ysla desierta hasta nuevas providencias del Gobierno Superior.

San Ygnacio de Agaña y Octubre 12 de 1829.

Francisco Villalobos.

Visto Bueno.

Pineda.

Translation.

Don Francisco Ramoón Villalobos, Lieutenant-Colonel and Commander of the Navy of these Islands.

By the present, with the consent of the Governor of these Islands, I order the following:

1º The Port Captain of these Islands, who at present is Don Nicolás de León Guerrero, shall carry out the duties of coastal pilot in the port of Apra with the salary of 8 pesos per month, which he is to draw from the Royal treasury, and in addition he shall collect from the Captain of every ship that enters or leaves said port, 6 pesos when said ship has a draught in excess of 16 feet, and 5 pesos when her draught is 14 feet and under.

2º In order to fulfil his duties well, the Port Captain shall reside in the neighborhood of its coast, and continuously watch to see if some ship that might need him as coastal pilot, to enter the port.

3º The Port Captain shall inspect every ship as soon as she has anchored, and another inspection is to be made upon her departure. He shall collect from the Captain

of every ship the anchorage fee, as stated in the tariff provided by the Superior Government, and shall keep the account for this fund, under the supervision of the Commander of the Navy, and shall report immediately to him and to His Lordship the Governor any occurrences in the port.

4° As an effective substitute to said Port Captain, as well as during all his illnesses or absences, I appoint Mr. John Anderson, as his assistant. As such, he shall carry out the actual duties on an interim basis, as long as there be a need for same and he shall then enjoy the salary of 4 pesos per month, as long as the fund for anchorage fees will permit, in addition to the above-mentioned emoluments assigned to the coastal pilot.

5° In case any enemy Pirate ship should appear in the port, and as long as the decorum of the Spanish Flag may require it urgently, the Port Captain may request fire from the guns of Fort Santa Cruz, which are to be instantly made ready

6° When the Port Captain makes his first visit of any ship, he shall make her Captain and crew understand that the authorities of these Islands will look with displeasure on anyone deserting from her; that a fine of 6 pesos will be imposed on any individual who might incur this crime, for the benefit of his captors, fine which will be collected from the Captain of the ship, to be charged to the deserter, if the former had reported the escape of the latter to the authorities of the country, but on his own account, if he had not done so, With regard to this point, as well as all others that have to do with public peace, order and good harmony that must prevail between all nations, specially friendly nations, said authorities hope that ship Captain and officers will cooperate as best they can, to make sure that the law fully applies to those who infringe such sacred duties, with the understanding that said authorities will also assist the ships with all available local means.

7° If, in spite of said measure to prevent desertion of the sailors and avoid the eventual consequences of some individuals remaining in these Islands, the person in question is to understand that, barring illness, as soon as he will be captured, he shall be assigned to public works, with irons, in charge of the duty Corporal and with only just enough food to keep him alive, until such time as another ship accept him on board, or for the term of two years, after which, unless a means has in the meantime been found to expel him from the country, he shall be sent to the unpleasant luck of a desolate island until the Superior Government decide otherwise.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 12 October 1829.

Francisco Villalobos.

Approved. Pineda.

C2. Letter N° 1, dated 29 December 1829

Source: Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*Acompaño á manos de V.E. testimonio del expediente que he instruido relativamente á la Goleta **Caledonie** [sic] en virtud de la orden de V.E. fecha 23 de Julio proximo pasado, habiendo ceñido mi dictamen á los puntos que V.E. se ha dignado cometerme, ruego á Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

Agaña 29 de Diciembre de mil ochocientos veinte y nueve.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos.

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Capn. General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Please find enclosed the case file that I have created regarding the schooner **Caledonia**¹ by virtue of the order of Y.E. dated 23 July last. I have kept my sentence close to the points that Y.E. was pleased to entrust me with.

I pray God our Lord to save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 29 December 1829.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

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

¹ Ed. note: Although the nationality of this vessel is not mentioned in this covering letter, there existed them a small 25-ton schooner registered in Sydney (ref. Nicholson's Log of Logs, p. 84).

Documents 1829D

The USS Vincennes became the first USN ship to technically visit Micronesia

D1. Note from Paullin's American Voyages to the Orient 1690-1805 Around the World

...

On July 4, 1829, Finch sailed from Callao, Peru, for the Society [Tahiti] Islands... On October 1, he arrived at the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands. Here he delivered to the King the gifts and communication of the President... For some statistics collected by Finch we learn that 25 American merchantmen and 100 whalers, worth with their cargoes \$5,270,000, visited the Sandwich Islands annually...

In the latter part of November the **Vincennes** sailed from Honolulu for China. She passed through the Ladrone Islands, but probably not near enough to Guam to give her crew a sight of that future possession of America...

After a tedious passage of 39 days the good ship anchored at Macao, where Captain Finch was hospitably received by the acting consul of the United States, Mr. C. N. Talbot, and by Dr. Bradford, formerly of Philadelphia.

...

D2. The account of the chaplain, C. S. Stewart

Source: C. S. Stewart. A Visit to the South Seas, in the U.S. Ship Vincennes (New York, 1831).

...

As to the crew in general, I have never been brought in contact with any set of men apparently so hopeless in morals, and so beyond the influence of every good impression. A small portion of them only were shipped in the United States. The rest have been gathered principally from the South American coast—wanderers upon the earth, without a country or a home. I have long felt great discouragement, as to any decisive benefit to them from the discharge of the services of my station...

LETTER II. Arrival in the Chinese Sea.

U.S. Ship Vincennes, at sea,
Dec. 30th, 1829.

The only part of our voyage from Oahu was most uninteresting, characterized chiefly by light and variable winds, an excess of heat, and slow progress; and, but for the blandness and serenity of nights, bright

“With stars unnumbered,
And a moon exceeding beautiful,”

and the irresistibly soothing associations connected with their loveliness, both on land and at sea, we should all have become a prey to *ennui* and the *mal du pays*.

...

On the evening of the 19 inst. [December], we passed the most northern of the Ladrone Islands, between Pagon and Agrigan, at a distance of 13 or 20 miles. Both lofty islands, the last so much so as frequently to be seen at a distance of sixty miles. It was near night when we descried them, and nothing but a dim outline was to be seen against the sky.

Yesterday morning we left another landmark, in the northern Bashee Islands, behind us...

Many of the gentlemen on the quarter-deck bade kind *adios* in Spanish to the Pacific, on whose waters they had for three years been floating—to which I added an *aroha ino*, as the band gave us “Auld lang Syne.”

Editor's notes.

There are two other accounts:

- The letters of Commander Finch, 1829-30, in the U.S. Naval Records;
- The journal of Lieut. Thomas A. Dornin, 1826-30, in the U.S. Naval Records.

Document 1829E

The Australian whaler *Caroline*, Captain Swindles

Sources: Heeberley Manuscript in the Alexander Turnbull Library; Honore Forster's article entitled: "A Sydney Whaler 1829-1832: The Reminiscences of James Heberley," in JPH 10 (1975): 90-104.

*Note: The brig *Caroline* of 198 tons arrived at Sydney from London on 14 March 1829. She was sold and converted to a barque. On 14 June 1829, she left Sydney on a whaling cruise under the command of Captain Thomas Swindles.*

Extract from the journal of James Heberley

...
We touched at the Kings Mill Group (a group of Islands called by that name) then the Natives came off with their canoes laden with Bread Fruit, and other Tropical Fruits, the skin of the Natives of these Islands is Copper colour, and their Hair is Jet Black, they grease their Hair with Cocoa (nut) Oil, and sprinkle themselves with White Coral Sand, their features are like the Jews, they were friendly we traded with them...

...
[The barque then went to the Solomon Islands. Near New Georgia, they spoke the whaler **Tigress** of Sydney, and the **Clarkston**, also of Sydney. In March 1830, they met the **Partridge** of London, Captain Folger,¹ before visiting the Bay of Islands. They met the whaler **L'Aigle** of London (formerly French). Soon after they returned to Sydney with 1,600 barrels of oil.]

...
I did not stop on Shore, I went on board the **Caroline** till she was ready for Sea, we were 3 months fitting out for Sea, then we signed Articles for a Whaling Voyage, that was in the year 1828 [rather 1830]. We came on the middle ground, but the Whales were very scanty, the Captain said we will go to Kingsmill Group, and we shall find plenty of Whales[.] when we arrived off Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island, we saw some Whales, we lowered our Boats, but we had no success, then we touched at Strongs [Kosrae] Island, then the Natives came on Board, there was a White Man with [the] we asked him

1 Ed. note: Voyage of 1826-1830.

what brought him there, he said that the Captain of the **Mary Mitchell**¹ landed him there, he did not tell us what for, we enquired what sort of Natives they were, he said they were very good. The Man from our Mashead sang out there the spouts. Wear [i.e. where] away, said our Captain. About two miles off the weather quarter. The Captain told the stranger to go on Shore, and he would call again. We hove about and stood toward the Whales, we lowered our Boats and captured four, three of them were cow Whales, they would make about 20 Barrells of Oil each of them, one was a Bull Whale, it made us 120 Barrells of Oil. The next day we had to cut in, and the day following we touched Strong Island again; the Natives came on board again, and the White Man with them, they brought off a great deal of Bread Fruit, and Cocoanuts; we traded with them with Iron Hoop 6 inches long. The Women came on board after[,] they were fine featured Women[,] their Hair was Jet Black, it was long, it reached their knees, they seem very Jovial and Merry, they wore some Taper [i.e. Tapa, or maro] round their Loins, the Men were quite naked, they made motions for us to go on Shore, but we did not go, because we were trying out. We gave the Natives some of the Scraps of the Whales, we gave the White Man, some Tobacco, Shirts, and Trousers[,] we cruised cruised about 3 weeks there, then bore up for Duffs Group.² We cruised about a forth-night, and then we fell in with a Whaler called the **Partridge**, out from London, the Captain's name was Stivers.³ We hailed him, he was 18 months out from London, he had 900 Barrells of Oil, he asked us what success, we told him we had 900 Barrells and we were 9 months out from Sydney, he asked where we had been cruising, we told him we cruised off the New Hebrides, and the Kingsmill Group, we asked him where he was going to Cruise, he said at Japan, we kept company together till we arrived at Japan.⁴ We cruised about a month, we had good success, we fell in with several Japan Junks, we boarded them for fresh provisions, but we did not get any, only a little Garlic, we fell in with the **Harriet**,⁵ ... The **Harriet** had been out two years and three months, with 1,400 Barrels of Sperm Oil, the Ship would carry 2,800 Barrels. We then parted Company and shaped our course for New Caledonia.⁶ We captured several Whales on our trip, about 8.

...
[The **Caroline** arrived back at Sydney on 19 February 1832, according to the Sydney Gazette (ref. Forster).]

-
- 1 Ed. note: A 350-ton ship from Nantucket, Captain Timothy Upham, voyage of 1827-1831 (ref. Starbuck).
 - 2 Ed. note: Near the Santa Cruz Islands, Melanesia.
 - 3 Ed. note: Captain Stavers, voyage of 1830-1834.
 - 4 Ed. note: If the two ships visited Guam, it must have been in April or May 1831.
 - 5 Ed. note: One of three ships by that name. This one was likely under the command of Captain Young, and had left London in September 1829 (ref. Jones' Ships).
 - 6 Ed. note: The month may have been December 1831. The ship may have sighted, or visited, Guam that month, or in January 1832.

Note 1829F

HMS Centurion's anchor recovered at Tinian

Source: Ward's American Activities—Tinian 3: Article in the New Bedford Mercury, Oct. 9, 1829.

NEWS COLUMN

A whaler, lately in weighing her anchor at the Island of Tinian, hooked up the anchor of the **Centurion**, 64 guns, which was left there by that ship in the year 1742, when Com. Lord Anson touched there to refresh his crew. It was comparatively little corroded, having merely on it a thick coat of rust. The wooden stock was completely rotted off. The anchor was carried over to the island of Guam, where the natives immediately commenced heating it out into bars and belts, with which they are now building a brig.

Note 1829G

**Captain Peter Kemp visited Guam in 1829,
1830 and 1831**

Source: A. G. E. Jones. "Captain Peter Kemp and Kemp Land's." In The Mariner's Mirror, Vol. 54, N° 3, August 1968, pp. 233-243.

Extract from this article

After a few months ashore, Kemp became master on 6 February 1824 of the **Admiral Cockburn**, a ship of 350-10/94 tons in good repair, owned by Thomas Blyth, a Limehouse sailmaker who, like so many owners, had in the 1790s been a master in the South Seas fishery. In this ship Kemp made a protracted voyage to the Pacific. He sailed from New South Wales on the day he was appointed and was reported at Guam in July 1829 and March 1831, having taken 1,200 barels of oil by October 1839 [sic]. He gave up her command on 6 February 1832 when the ship was sold to new owners.¹

1 Ed. note: Kemp also visited Tinian and Guam in 1830 (see Doc. 1830O).

Note 1829H

Ship Roscoe, Captain Briggs, passed by Saipan and Tinian

Source: Log 1827R in Salem. Ship Roscoe, Capt. Jeremia Briggs, Voyage 27 Oct 1827-3 Sept 1829 from Salem to Chile, Peru, Ecuador, back to Chile, to Manila, to Valparaiso ... (incomplete).

Extract from this logbook

...

Wednesday February 18th 1829.

Comes in fine breezes and squally with light rain, all drawing sails set, crew employed.

At 1 p.m., saw the island of Sapan [sic] bearing NW dist. 15 leagues. At 3 saw Tinian bearing NW by W and WNW 10 leagues dist. At 6 p.m. the peak of Sapan bore North, the south part of Tinian bore W15°N. At 7 took in the studding sails, royal and flying jib. At 8 the westmost land bore N by E dist. 4 miles. At 11 set the fore top mast studding sail and royal. Middle and latter parts pleasant.

At 6 a.m., set flying jib.

Lat. by obs. 15°00 North.

...

1 Ed. note: The ship entered the San Bernardino Strait on 27 February.

Documents 1830A

The 1830 reports of Colonel Villalobos

A1. Letter N° 2, dated 18 January 1830

Source: Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Comisionado por el Señor Gobernador de estas Yslas para instalar en ellas el reglamento de Nueva Planta mandado observar por V.E. en 17 de Diciembre de 1828, he cumplido la indicada disposición gradualmente y con la posible prudencia segun convenia á la circunstancia del Pais, en terminos de que solo falta en el día alguna diligencia de corta entidad al completo desempeño de aquella Comision excepto la parte que manifestare á V.E. en este reverente escrito.

Por el artº 11. Se previene la absoluta libertad de comercio, y abolicion de derechos á las embarcaciones que lleguen á estos puertos con el objeto de que estimulandose la aplicacion é industria de los naturales y moradores de las Yslas Marianas lleguen estas, segun desea V.E., á su mayor felicidad, y a un grado capaz de poder sostenerse con sus propios productos. Los piadosos sentimientos de V.E. serian contra mi el mas fuerte cargo, si por una reprehensible sumision pasará en silencio lo que me dicen en la materia el conocimiento que yo tengo del Pais, y en tal concepto no dudo presentar á V.E. estas sinceras reflexiones que V.E. se digne estimar oportunas.

La falta de circulacion del metalico es causa del escasisimo comercio interior y exterior de este territorio se haya verificado casi totalmente al trueque de unos efectos por otros, con las innumerables dificultades que se presentan, y fueron motivo por que nuestros remotos progenitores establecieron la moneda esta misma causa dedique exclusivamente á un ramo de industria ú oficio viendose cada familia en la precision de desempeñarlos todos segun sus necesidades con la imperfeccion, y escases que es consiguiente; y por último que no siendo posible que un mismo individuo, ó familia se proporcione tantos articulos y recursos como son precisos para su alimento, vestido y comodidad, hayan sido privados estos naturales de las ventajas, que logran los paises en donde la rápida circulacion del dinero les suministra cuanto necesitan. Se evidencia pues que, para que las Yslas Marianas salgan de tan triste estado, es indispensable que

haya en ellas abundancia de moneda, y mientras esto no se verifique, sea por que entran muy poca, y desapareciese luego como en el sistema anterior, ó por que ingrese en grandes sumas y salga inmediatamente despues de haber entrado, como sucederá en el presente, el mal será siempre el mismo á muy poca diferencia.

En el momento no hay en Islas Marianas otros efectos de exportacion, que puedan llamar la atencion del extranjero, sino algunos comestibles ó bebidas del coco; establecida la libertad de comercio, introduciria aquel muchos articulos, y no bastando para su pago los pocos, que puede subministrar el pais, llenara la diferencia el metálico; esto ocasionará que los situados pararán momentaneamente aqui, el pais no será otra cosa que un simple conducto, por donde el dinero de las Reales Cajas pasará á el extranjero, sin esperanza de que retorne al Pais; Marianas estarán siempre destituidas del alma de la agricultura, ó industria, que debe en mi concepto anteceder hasta cierto punto á el comercio, y serán poco menos miserables que lo han sido hasta el dia.

Si la concurrencia y permanencia de los extranjeros ha de sufrir la moralidad van de la felicidad de este territorio, y se reconoce que el suceso ocurrido en esta Capital el 17 de Mayo (1829), puede muy bien atribuirse en parte á el frecuente roce de estos naturales con los extranjeros que han llegado á el Pais, á la permanencia de los que han quedado en él, á el mucho número que sin remedio llegará á haber por la facilidad con que se desertan, se ocultan y son auxiliados, igualmente que por la dificultad de hacerlos salir despues del Pais, no teniendo buques en que embarcarlos, y finalmente se tienen en consideracion la execiva deuda, y atenciones de primera necesidad que han quedado en descubierto, y de que con las fechas de 12 y 13 del mes actual doy cuenta á V.E., opino quedará convenido: 1° Que en la imposibilidad de evitar el arribo de extranjeros á estas islas satisfagan los mismos por lo menos los derechos de anclaje establecidos; 2° que se fomente la industria y agricultura de los naturales obligandolos á ocuparse por su cuenta y para su propia utilidad en objetos de facil exportacion como serán el sibucaon, añil, algodón, carey, nacar, gaugao, balate, crias de animales, grandes sementeras, vinos y aguardientes, azucar, y otros que sucesivamente irán proporcionandose; todo mediante un Reglamento de buen Gobierno, que no habrá dificultad en formar del mismo modo, que se ha hecho segun tengo entendido, en las Yslas Visayas; 3° Que la mencionada libertad de comercio conviene la gozen los naturales, para vender sus efectos, segun se verifica; 4° Que la Real Hacienda continúe remitiendo por mitad los situados en efectos á los precios mas cómodos que sea factible; y 5° finalmente, que si llegan buques nacionales ó extranjeros con articulos de comercio, saquen el valor de los que dejen en el Pais, en efectos del mismo, y si no quieren estos, se les recargue aplicacion estos mismos derechos [para] apremiar las personas que mas hayan sobresalidos en algun ramo de industria, ó agricultura, ó bien en beneficio público.

Por estos medios sostenidos con constancia é inteligencia, en union con la docilidad y buena indole que observo en los moradores de estas islas, creo llegará efectivamente el dia de que las Marianas tendran mucho dinero, muchos efectos que podrán sin dificultad alguna sostenerse con sus propios productos como lo hacen las demas provin-

cias, habrá concurrencia de buques, y podrá darse toda la amplitud, que se quiera á el comercio.

Ynterin V.E. se digna resolver lo que fuere de su superior agrado corre tambien la venta libre del extranjero por metálico ó efectos segun contrato con los particulares en obediencia de esta parte del articulo 11 y el resultado (que no puede ser favorable en mi concepto) en una prueba mas y mas convincente, de que es preciso que las Yslas Marianas, si han de ser felices, y llegar á sostenerse por si mismas, tengan mas articulos de esportacion que necesidad de los de introduccion; estado contrario al en que hasta ahora se hallan, y no muy dificil de conseguir al cabo de cierto número de años empleados con energia á su logro.

Luego que se concluya el expediente tanto voluminoso, en que se acredita el total cumplimiento del Reglamento con la pequeña diferencia sobre el derecho de anclage, remitiré á V.E. testimonio de él para su debida inteligencia y entre tanto ruego á Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña y Enero 18 de 1830.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos.

[A] Excmo. Sor. Capn. General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Excellency:

Having been commissioned by His Lordship the Governor of these Islands to implement the regulation of the **New Organization Plan** which Y.E. has ordered carried out on 17 December 1828, I have been complying to said order gradually and with all possible prudence, in accordance with what was appropriate to local circumstances, in such a way that, as of this date, there remains only a small measure to be taken before that Commission is completely implemented, except for the part that I will mention to Y.E. in the following report, respectfully submitted:

By Article nº 11, freedom of commerce is stipulated, and the duties charged to ships visiting these ports are abolished, for the purpose of stimulating the interest and industry of the natives and residents of the Mariana Islands, and thus lead to a greater happiness, in accordance with the wishes of Y.E., and to a level that would make them sustain themselves with their own products. The pious feelings of Y.E. would affect my conscience the most, if I were to keep silent on this matter and not report what I have learned about this country, and that is why I dare bring to Y.E.'s attention the following sincere remarks that Y.E. may find timely.

The lack of circulation of coins is the cause of the very scarce amount of trade, internal and external, of this territory, which has been carried out almost exclusively through barter of a few articles for others, with the numberless difficulties that this implies, and which were the reason why our ancestors established moeny. For this same reason, every family is forced to dedicate itself to more than just one branch of industry or trade. All families indulge in all of them, according to their needs, with the im-

perfection and scarcities that follow from this system. Finally, it is not possible for a single individual, or family, to benefit from so many articles beyond what he needs to eat, clothe himself, and feel comfortable, as these natives have been deprived of the rapid circulation of money that would provide them with necessities. Therefore, the evidence shows that, in order for the Mariana Islands to come out of their sad condition, it is indispensable that there be in them an abundance of money, and, as long as this becomes possible, either because too little comes in, and then disappears as in the previous system, or because it comes in in large quantities but leaves immediately after it has come in, as would happen at present, the evil will always be the same and not much different.

At the moment there are in the Mariana Islands no export products than might attract the attention of foreigners, except a few eatables or drinks drawn from the coconut. If free trade is established, it would introduce many articles and, the few local products not being enough to pay for them, the difference would be filled with money; this would occasion that the subsidies would end up momentarily here; the country would not be anything but a simple conduit through which the money from the Royal treasury would fall into the hands of foreigners, without any hope of seeing it return to the country. The Marianas would always remain without the engine of agriculture, or industry, which must, in my judgment, and up to a certain point, precede trade; they would just a little less miserable than they were up to now.

If foreigners continue to arrive and stay, morality must suffer and the happiness of this territory too, as was recognized in this Capital on 17 May (1829), which may be attributed in part to the close contact that these natives have with foreigners who have visited the country, and those who have remained in it.¹ It cannot be helped that many more would come, on account of the ease with which they become deserters, hide themselves and are assisted, in addition to the difficulty of making them leave the country afterwards, for lack of ships to take them out, and finally considering the excessive lack of items of first necessity that have resulted, and about which I have reported in my letters dated 12th and 13th instant.

My opinion is that: 1° Given the impossibility to prevent the arrival of foreigners at these islands, they themselves should pay the established anchorage fees; 2° the industry and agriculture of the natives be developed by forcing them to occupy themselves on their own account, and for their own use, by producing articles that are easy to export, such as **sibuca**,² indigo, cotton, tortoise shell, mother-of-pearl, arrowroot, trepang, cattle, large plantations, wine and brandy, sugar, and other that would become available in time; all of this by means of a Regulation for good Government, that should not be difficult to introduce, in the same manner that it has been, according to my in-

1 Ed. note: Safford says, in his Notes, that "on May 19 [sic], 1829, there was a manifestation of discontentment on the part of some of the troops, and Medinilla magnified it in his report to an attempted insurrection, accusing the ex-governor of conspiracy. Villalobos, the successor of Medinilla, declared this to be a gross exaggeration on the part of Medinilla."

2 Ed. note: Filipino word for a species of plant (*Cæalpinia sapan*; it is also known as brazil-wood).

formation, introduced in the Visayas; 3° That it is appropriate for the natives to enjoy said freedom of trade, to sell their products, as is being done; 4° That the Royal Treasury continue to send half of the subsidies in effects, at the lowest prices possible; and 5° Finally, that, if Spanish and foreign ships bring in trade articles, they ought to take out their value out of the country, in local products, and should they refuse, then they have to be charged those same duties, in order to reward the most worthy persons who dedicate themselves to some branch of industry, or agriculture, or service for the public welfare.

By such means, maintained with constancy and intelligence, combined with the docility and good character that I have noticed among the residents of these islands, I believe that, one day, the Marianas will have much money, many effects, and they could then without any difficulty support themselves with their own production, as in the other provinces; there will be ships visiting, and trade will become as great as it can possibly be.

Until Y.E. decides what may be of your superior pleasure, foreigners are free to sell their goods for money, according to contracts made with individuals, in compliance with this part of Article 11 and the result (which cannot be favorable in my judgment) as part of an experiment that is more and more convincing to the effect that the Mariana Islands, for their own happiness and hope of becoming self-sustaining, must have enough products beyond their own needs, for export, whose value will exceed that of those imported—which is not happening at present, but should not be difficult to achieve at the end of a few years of energetic efforts to do so.

Once the voluminous case file regarding compliance with the Regulation is closed, except for the small matter of anchorage fees, I will send the original copy of it to Y.E. for your information. Meanwhile, I remain praying God our Lord to save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 18 January 1830.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

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

A2. Letter dated 27 January 1830

Source: Ms. in Agaña archives (in 1900); translated by William Safford (see his notes, pp. 135-139).

Excellency:

Having examined the country in these islands to report what kind of defensive works could be erected, I do not hesitate to inform you that the whole country in general is broken, covered with a fabric of shrubs, and thickets impenetrable, leaving very few roads and narrow paths; the natives, although they have patches of cultivation and raise a few heads of cattle, have not enough with this for their subsistence and are obliged to complete it to seek the rest of their nourishment in cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and wild yams.

The fortifications called forts, are nothing else than a few batteries elevated and most defective, of which as soon as possible and at a more fit occasion I will send to you plans and descriptions. There is nothing from which to form stores of supplies for subsisting troops unless a schooner or launches be constructed to bring them from Saipan and Timian in greater abundance than the Caroline Islanders' canoes bring at present.¹ They carry very little, are much exposed, and only make their trips with a southerly wind, which very seldom blows in this country. The troops bearing arms, who are available, are fifty-four men of the complement of this station, which are scarcely sufficient for the duties required of them. ... two battalions of Ruban militia which I have formed. I do not deem it prudent to give them much training. Moreover, they are not accustomed to war, are of peaceful dispositions and by the side of the women and children it is presumable that they will serve best.

Under this consideration I think that the most economical method of defending this territory will consist in preventing a surprise, by means of lookouts stationed on the hilltops, begging that Your Excellency will kindly allow the appropriation of anchorage fees to pay them; to repel a landing party according to the manner to which circumstances of the troops and other things will permit; to lie in ambush, to attack and defend passes with an artillery of small caliber, stones that can be rolled, etc., to withdraw the cattle and the country people back to a strong point where the last defense may be made, and in this aided by the artillery, either to defend it at all coasts, or at least to derive from it all advantages possible for the honor of the arms of His Majesty.

Lacking supplies, it is necessary that persons who are not suitable for bearing arms, or a part of the armed people should occupy themselves in gathering provisions from the woods in the rear guard and, lacking a fort to conclude the defense, it will either be necessary to construct a temporary or permanent one, if Your Excellency will kindly direct the necessary appropriation, or that it be constructed at the expense of the counsel [?] under circumstances more suitable; or the entrance to the streets may be barricaded and other means of defending a fortified town may be taken; or resistance may be made as best we can. There are, in the meantime the necessary fixtures for war without necessity of more. I will not omit to mention the enthusiasm of the country: I will die in its defense if necessary and I do not hesitate to declare to Your Excellency that with my limited ability and the most lively desire for the glory of the King our Lord (may God save him), will leave nothing undone which will contribute to the triumph over any enemy whatever.

I pray to God our Lord that he may save the life of Your Excellency for many years.
Francisco Villalobos.

A3. Letter from Colonel Villalobos to Governor Enrile, dated Marianas 16 February 1830

Source: Ms. in MN 2080, doc. n° 4, fol. 131-132.

1 Ed. note: Safford adds, in margin, that there were 50 Carolinians then living in Saipan.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.—

En cumplimiento de las prevenciones, que V.E. se sirvió comunicarme por medio del Exmo. Sor. Capitan General con fecha de 8 de Julio proximo pasado, manifiesto á V.E. lo siguiente:

Llegué á estas Yslas el 22 de Agosto del mismo año: á pocos dias me encargué de la Comandancia de Marina, y en ella no hay mas documentos que los pertenecientes á esta epoca: ningun Bote, ni otra clase de buque, ni ningun otro articulo.

La poca pesca que se hace en este pais se logra con redes, corrales, y unas canoas llamadas barotos sumamente pequeñas á la inmediacion de la playa; y no hay mas que á lo sumo media docena de Botes particulares casi todos inutilis, comprados á los barcos balleneros y cuatro bancas Carolinas de la Real Hacienda destinadas para traer los efectos pertenecientes a la misma de las Yslas de Tinian y Saypan: estas se reducen á una canoa de como ocho varas de largo, y dos pies y medio á tres por su mayor ancho con una especie de batangas que salen bastante por los costados[;] las batangas son formadas con enrejados de madera á modo de balsa y caminan con una gran vela, necesitando tiempos favorables, y con todo no hacen sino de tres á cuatro viages á el año: son capaces de como cuarenta arrobas de carga; necesitan de cuatro, á cinco hombres de tripulacion; y buelcan facilmente.

Cada año puede contraerse [rather contarse] con la presentacion de veinte Fragatas Balleneras de los Estados Unidos de America é Ynglesas unicas naciones que se ocupan en dicho ejercicio en estos mares, y la del Japon: suelen llegar desde fines de Febrero hasta mediados de Abril procedentes del Sud, se dirigen al Norte, y regresan desde ultimos de Agosto hasta mediados de Octubre: refieren, que subcesivamente van experimentando por aqui escases de ballenas, y notan que estan presentandose en mayor abundancia en los mares [de] Nueva Guinea, Nueva Olanda, y Archipiélagos inmediatos.

En Abril de cada año, segun me he informado, suelen llegar de seis á diez Bancas de Carolinos con algunos caracoles, cuerdas formadas de la estopa del fruto del coco, y algunos tejidos ordinarios de las fibras del trunco del platano y corteza del balibago, siendo la estencion de los tejidos de tres varas de largo, y como pie y medio de ancho; no me ès fácil proporcionar muestra en el dia, pero la remitiré en otra ocasion: Su caracter y constitucion fisica ès muy semejante a él de los naturales de Marianas; desnudos y con solo un taparrabo; sus mujeres usan un lienzo de los expresados arriba embuelto á la cintura: navegan rigiendose por las estrellas en tiempos claros, y cuando no lo son, tienen tal conocimiento de las olas, que por ellas deducen su verdadera posicion; á la simple vista, aunque sea de noche, conocen la canal por entre los bajos, aunque no hayan estado en aquel sitio; son particulares buzos, y cuando necesitan salir de las bancas para alguna maniobra en ellas, tienden un petate en el mar, y les sirve como si fuera una balsa: nadan de pie derecho con el agua á la cintura en grande fondo, haciendo algun pequeño movimiento con los pies: Creo que no seria muy difícil lograr ó

sea trasladar muchas familias á poblar en este archipiélago, ó catequizarlos en su país, prestando suficientes auxilios la Real Hacienda.

No hay árbol de teka en estas Yslas; pero en su lugar hay maderas bastante apreciables, como manifestarán á V.E. las muestras que acompaño.

Hay mucho añil silvestre, y prueba [rather podría] ser apropiado el país para este ramo de comercio.

Los terrenos en general son de excelente disposición para siembras, arbolado y crias de ganados; pero és la desgracia que casi todo está cubierto de un tejido de limoncitos, guayabas, enredaderas, y porción de arbustos, sin mas caminos que al rededor de la playa, uno transversal del pueblo de Pago a Agaña y algunos senderos poco frecuentados.

Se saca algun balate y nacar; hay tambien algunos arboles de Sibucao: el árbol de coco, fomentado este ramo hasta el grado de que és capaz, puede ser de inmensa utilidad en el país; pues él sirve para la manutención de hombres y animales, y sus vinos y aguardientes son estimados de los estrangeros; los ácidos como piñas, limones y naranjas son de excelente calidad y los jugos de estos últimos pudiendo hacerse grandes plantíos y beneficiarse como en Europa, si hubiese quien enseñará, tambien sería un renglon de mucho provecho.

Se siembra mais y palay en poca cantidad, camote, y otras raíces como el Dago, Nica, Sune &c. No se conocen insectos ponzoñosos que el mosquito, cienpies y la abispa; no hay abejas, que serian muy utiles, ni otros ganados en Guajan que gallinas, puercos, burros, yeguas y mulas y alguna docena de cabras: en Rota gallinas y puercos, en Tinian muchas vacas, puercos, cabras y gallinas: en Saypan lo mismo que en Tinian, excepto cabras.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña y Febrero 16 de 1830.

Exmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos.

Translation.

Excellency:

To comply with the request that Y.E. has been pleased to communicate to me through His Excellency the Captain General and dated 8 July last, I report the following to Y.E.:

I arrived at these Islands on 22 August of last year. Within a few days I took charge of the Navy Command; in it, I found only documents that belong to the recent past: there is no boat, nor any other type of vessel, or any other article.

The fishery of this country is accomplished only with nets, [stone] corrals, and a few canoes called *barotos* that are very small, used near the beach. There are only at most half a dozen private boats, almost all useless, that have been bought from whaling ships.

[Carolinian canoes]

In addition, there are four Carolinian canoes, belonging to the Royal Trerasury, and used in the transport of goods belonging to same from the Islands of Tinian and Saipan: these canoes measure only about 8 yards in length, and 2-1/2 feet at their greatest width, with a sort of outriggers that come out on their sides: the outriggers are formed with wooden platforms like rafts and they are moved with a large sail, that require a favorable weather, so that they make but three to four trips a year; they are capable of carrying a load of about 40 arrobas, and need four to five men as a crew, and they capsize easily.

Every year, we can count on the arrival of about 20 whaling ships from the United States of America and from Englands, the only two nations that fish for whales in these seas, and that of Japan; they usually arrive from the South at the end of February and stay until the middle of Apri, then they head north and return at the end of August and stay until the middle of October. They report that whales are progressively becoming scarce overhere, and they note that they are appearing in greater abundance in the seas near New Guinea, New Holland, and the neighboring archipelagos.

In April of every year, I am told, there usually arrive from 6 to 10 Carolinian canoes with a few shells, ropes made with the coir of the coconut, and some ordinary cloths made with the fibers from the trunk of the banana tree and bark of the hibiscus. The size of the pieces of cloth is 3 yards in length and about 1-1/2 foot in width; however, it is not easy for me to get a sample today, but I will send one on another occasion. Their physical characteristics and constitution are much the same as those of the natives of the Marianas; naked except for a loin-cloth, their women use a cloth, such as the one described above, around the waist. They navigate by guiding themselves by the stars in clear weather, but when the sky is overcast, they have such a knowledge of the swells that they deduce their true position frfom them. Just by looking, they can detect a pass through the reefs, although they have never been there before. They are specially good divers, and when they need to leave the canoe for some maneuver, they throw a mat upon the sea and it serves them as a sort of raft. They swim by standing vertically in the water up to the waist, in great depth, and making some small movement with the feet. I believe that it would not be very difficult to achieve the move of many families to settle in this archipelago, or to catequize them in their country, if the Royal Treasury should provide sufficient funds.

There is no teack in these Islands, but instead there are other valuable woods, as Y.E. will be able to appreciate from the samples that I enclose.

There is much wild indogo, and the country would be suitable for this branch of commerce.

The soil is generally very appropriate for plantations, or the breeding of cattle, but it is unfortunately covered with a network of Chinese rose bushes, guava trees, all entangled, and partly with shrubs, without any trails except those along the beaches, and one transversal trail from the village of Pago to Agaña, and a few other trails that are almost unused.

There is some trepang and mother-of-pearl. There are also a few Sibucaco [brazil-wood] trees; coconut trees. By developing this branch until the degree that is possible, it would be of huge benefit for the country; indeed, the latter is used for the sustenance of men and animals, and the wine and brandy from them are esteemed by strangers. The acidic fruits, such as pineapples, lemons and oranges are of an excellent quality, as well as the juices made from the latter, to such an extent that large plantations could be made of them, and be as profitable as in Europe, if there was someone to teach how, and this could become a very profitable branch of commerce.

Corn and rice are grown in small quantities, sweet potatoes too, and other root crops, such as Dago, Nica, Suni, etc. There are no biting insects other than the mosquito, centipedes, and wasps; there are no bees, but they would be very useful. The only cattle are: in Guam, chickens, pigs, donkeys, mules and about a dozen goats; in Rota, chickens and pigs; in Tinian, many cows, pigs, goats and chickens; in Saipan, the same as in Tinian, except for goats.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 16 February 1830.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

A4. Letter N° 3, dated 21 February 1830

Source: Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*Habiendose presentado [en el] puerto en la tarde del 15 de Diciembre la barca **María** y tomado despues la vuelta de afuera sin haber parecido mas, he hecho instruir la adjunta justificacion sobre el particular y obtenido el permiso del Señor Governador de estas Yslas he dispuesto en union con el Administrador de Real Hacienda lo conveniente á la marcha del Bergantin **Ynfatigable** á Manila á cargo del Capitan y único Piloto Don Calletano Ramirez que vino de segundo á ellas en la Fragata **Ricafort**, y ha cedido á el efecto el referido Señor Governador como dueño de aquella Fragata[.] para en caso de fallecimiento ó enfermedad de Ramires va en el propio Bergantin el Subteniente graduado Don Francisco Fox, á fin de que con el auxilio del Contramaestre se acerquen al primer punto de Filipinas y pidan alli los auxilios que necesiten; en el compromiso que me encuentro de no haber otro Piloto Español, de no tener confianza en ningun Extranjero, a más del exceso de gastos que esto irrogaria á la Real Hazienda que cualquiera dilacion puede traer gastos y consecuencias funestas, y que de no aprovechar la presente conyuntura puede ser imposible luego la remesa del Bergantin y su carga, no he hallado otro adbitrio para que se verifique su salida: El Señor lo dirija con felicidad.*

El contramaestre Manuel Fernandino de Cavo primero de la Dotacion de estas Yslas y el mas apropiado que ha encontrado: deja dos pesos mensuales de asignacion á su

esposa que ha de satisfacerla el Administrador de Real Hacienda; y los tres restantes hasta cinco, que es su sueldo, le corresponde cobrarlos en Manila si V.E. tiene à bien dar sus superiores ordenes à el intento: he hecho los mayores encargos para la feliz llegada del Bergantin à Manila: llevan las competentes Ynstrucciones por escrito el Capitan Ramirez y su segundo Fox: à el Contramaestre he ofrecido toda la recomendacion posible y asi suplico rendidamente ya sea haciendo continuen su encargo de contra-maestre con los quinze pesos de gratificacion mensuales que va disfrutando, ó bien si es del agrado de V.E. para que se ocupa en cualquier trabajo de la Capitania del Puerto, marina útil, es aproposito, y no dudo merecerà el aprecio de los Jefes que le manden.

*Interin quedo rogando à Dios nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.
San Ygnacio de Agaña y Febrero 21 de 1830.*

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos.

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Capn. General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Excellency:

Since the bark **María** presented herself in the port in the afternoon of 15 December last, but she later went out and never re-appeared, I have opened the enclosed file on the subject and, having obtained the permission of His Lordship the Governor of these Islands, have arranged, along with the Administrator of the Royal Treasury, for what was needed to send the brig **Infatigable** to Manila under the command of Captain, and only pilot [available], Don Cayetano Ramirez who came here as Mate of the frigate **Ricafort**, and who has been lent by the above-mentioned Governor, as owner of said frigate. In case of the death or sickness of said Ramirez, Sub-Lieutenant Francisco Fox is also on board the brig. With the help of the Boatswain, they are to touch at the nearest point in the Philippines and ask for the necessary help. This is a compromise, as I find myself without another Spanish pilot and I do not trust any foreigner; besides, they would cost too much to the Royal Treasury, and any delay may bring more expenditures and undesirable consequences, and, if the present set of circumstances are not taken advantage of, it may be impossible to deliver the brig, and her cargo, later on. I have not found another solution to effect this despatch. May the Lord lead them successfully.

The Boatswain, Manuel Fernandino, is a Corporal First Class in the garrison of these Islands and the best man I could find; he leaves two pesos per month as an allowance to his wife which the Administrator of the Royal Treasury is to hand over to her, and he is entitled to collect the remaining three pesos (to make up five pesos, which is his salary) in Manila, if Y.E. be pleased to issue your superior orders to that effect. I have written instructions for a successful voyage of the brig to Manila; Captain Ramirez and his Mate Fox have received competent Instructions. As for the Boatswain, I have given him as much of a positive recommendation as I could give, and that is why

I humbly beg Y.E. to have him continue his work as boatswain with a salary of 15 pesos per month, that he now enjoys, or else, if Y.E. may be pleased to find him a job with the Port Captain, the active Navy, he is good for it, and I have no doubt that he will deserve the appreciation of the officers who will have him under their command.

In the meantime, I remain praying God our Lord to save the live of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 21 February 1830.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Captain General of the Philippines.¹

A5. Letter, dated 23 April 1830

Source: Ms. formerly in Agañ archives (1900); see Safford's Notes, pp. 139-147.

...
I sent a circular to all the villages ordering that all persons suffereing with leprosy should be segregated in the hospital of San Lázaro, and there entered into the hospital several more than those found there before. I visited the hospital in company with the Reverend Father Fray Ignacio [Sanchez] del Rosario, ecclesiastical judge, the administrator of the Royal Treasury, Don José Romero, an eminent citizen of this city and well informed concerning its necessities. On the 16th of November last, I created a board composed of these gentlemen and other pious citizens. We agreed upon the fact that in the said hospital there are only pronounced lepers, and apart in other places there are under observation those whose condition is doubtful, whether they be lepers or not; that as soon as practicable the wall surrounding the hospital shall be provided with pickets on top, in order to prevent the unauthorized communication of the patients with other persons; that the gates be repaired and that there should be added not only a room for the dying but a separate compartment for women; that in the possession of each one of these unfortunates there should always be two complete changes of clothing, making up what is lacking at the end of each half year and that there should be moreover, sheets, pillows, plates, vesssels, and linen or bandages, so that they may be always as clean as possible; that to the attendants there may be paid the salary of two pesos and a half per month, and food, so that they may have the greatest attention to the care of those unhappy ones, and that there may be no cause for them to leave the hospital, now to commit frauds against the same; that two good marksmen may be sought, as the Governor suggested to me, giving them guns and ammunition so that the patients may have fresh meat, during as many days as possible.

There was commissioned a manager of the hospital, in the person of Don Antonio Guerrero, who is to be under the direction of the Administrator of the Royal Treasury and the supervision of the above-mentioned Board. His piety and that of his wife have caused them to volunteer for this duty, at present without any salary whatever, and in

¹ Ed. note: A passport was issued to Captain Ramirez on 1 March (see Doc. 1830L).

future with that which the said Board may be pleased to fix, if it be requested, and the Administrator of the Royal Treasury took charge of the hospital on the 1st of January of the present year.

On the 12th of November, I addressed a letter to the Governor asking him information as to the amount which could be expected annually as revenue from the cockfights; also as to the existing funds which might be available for this purpose, and he answered on the 14th of the same month, saying that there was no available fund whatever but rather a deficit in his favor, and that the said cockfights might yield from 30 to 35 pesos each year, as indicated by the quantity of 88 pesos 2 reals and 17 maravedis which have been received since last August. In the present year, the Administrator receives the amount which each day on which there are cockfights are given him by the officer in charge of the pit, the Port Captain, Don Nicolás León Guerrero; but as soon as the Governor as well as myself are more at leisure, the said branch will be awarded at a definite quantity and already an offer has been made of 35 pesos per year.

All trade licenses, now levied or to be levied thereafter, should become part of the Hospital Fund. After taking care of the pious objectsives of the hospital, the remainder should be devoted to the many indispensable expenses already referred to above. This fund should be adjusted by the Administrator of the Royal Treasury, after consultation of all the members of the Board, and an account of it should be rendered from time to time to Your Excellency.

Although these Islands are without commerce, as I have before stated, they may hereafter have it, as it exists, according to reports, in the Sandwich Islands. There captains of the ships which arrive here inform me that there is much money there. Goods there cost 25 percent less than the principal;¹ there is a great flocking of vessels, etc. etc. But in the meantime, being aware of the condition of the Royal Treasury, it occurs to me only to say to Y.E. that I believe it to be absolutely necessary that the ordinary expenditures should continue as at present in the new regulations. I again beg Y.E. to attend to the necessities cited above, which will satisfy (reimburse) the Government for the extraordinary expenditures caused by the occurrence of 17 May 1829; and that for similar extraordinary cases; for others a War Council of this archipelago may take the measures which special circumstances may require, without waiting for action to be taken by Y. E., the delay of which might have serious results.

...

1 Ed. note: Less than average? Unclear translation at this point.

Document 1830B

Official reaction to the reports of Governor Villalobos

The Villalobos reports were forwarded to Madrid

Source: MN 2280, doc. n° 4, fol. 128-129v.

Original texts in Spanish.

1830-Diciembre-23-Madrid.-El director general de la Armada traslada al ministro un oficio del capitán general de Filipinas dando cuenta del estado de navegación, comercio y demás de las islas Marianas. Acompaña informes del capitán de Artillería, D. Francisco Villalobos, comisionado en dichas islas.

*Dirección General de la Real Armada
N° 1746.*

Se traslada un oficio del Capitan general de las Yslas Filipinas dando cuenta del estado de navegacion, comercio y demas de las Yslas Marianas.

Exmo. Sr.

El Capitan general de las Yslas Filipinas D. Pascual Enrile en oficio de 2 de Junio del corriente año me participa lo que á la letra copio á V.E.

“Exmo. Sr.—

“Habiendo ido en Comision á las Yslas Marianas el Capitan de Artillería D. Francisco Villalobos, me lo avisó el Capitan General indicandome que le diera cualquier encargo que lo desempeñaria bien. En efecto le di el mando interino de la Comandancia de Marina, y en consecuencia me há dado los avisos oportunos, ya sea sobre lo que existe de este ramo, como sobre la parte de justicia, proporcionandome algunas medidas que aunque buenas no las admito porque aquellas pobres islas no pueden sufragar los gastos.

“Hay Capitan del Puerto en Apra que lo es D. Nicolas de Leon Guerrero y propone a un Ynterprete y Ayudante de aquel, con cierta tarifa que es superior á la del reglamento, y que en su totalidad y al declarar Puerto franco á las Marianas, anuló la Junta Superior de Hacienda fundandose en el derecho de anclage que suprimio.

“Tanto este como el arreglo en general de aquellas onerosas posesiones, está por completarse, y cuando el Capitan general se ponga de acuerdo conmigo participare á V.E. para la Real aprovacion, cuanto se haga. Por de pronto ha establecido con acuerdo del Gobernador el arreglo provisional que incluyo, y en el que se nota la pena establecida para los desertores extranjeros, por que el año anterior contribuyeron ó formaron una insurreccion, que felizmente se apagó y de la que daria cuenta á S.M. el Capitan general.

*“El Bergantin **Ynfatigable** y la Goleta **Constitucion** ambas Chilenas, fueron apresadas en aquellas Yslas. El primero está aqui y aun no he recibido la causa, pero la apresion se debió á que se abrió [sic=alborotó?] la tripulacion. La segunda dió que sospechar, la atacaron con unas canoas, y por el testimonio veo que venia de Lima para Sandwich, y por la ignorancia del Piloto no recaló donde devia. Es cuanto por ahora puedo poner en conocimiento de V.E.”*

Y considerando que dichas noticias podrán combenir en esa Superioridad las trasmito á V.E. por si directamente no se las hubiese comunicado el referido Capitan general y con inclusion de los documentos que acomopaña á fin de que lleguen á la Soberana noticia de S.M. ó para que V.E. haga de ellas el uso que le parezca.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Madrid 23 de Diciembre de 1830.

Exmo. Sr.

El Conde de Salazar.

Exmo. Sr. Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Marina.

Translation.

1830-23 December. Madrid.—The Director General of the Navy forwards to the Minister a copy of a letter received from the Captain General of the Philippines, reporting the condition of navigation, commerce and other news from the Mariana Islands. He encloses reports from Artillery Captain, Don Francisco Villalobos, sent as a Commissioner to said Islands.

Directorate General of the Royal Navy.

Nº 1746.

Forwarding a copy of a letter received from the Captain General of the Philippine Islands reporting the condition of navigation, commerce and other news from the Mariana Islands.

Excellency:

The Captain General of the Philippine Islands, Don Pascual Enrile, in a letter dated 2 June of the present year, reports to me what I copy literally to Y.E.

“Excellency:—

“Having sent Artillery Captain Francisco Villalobos to the Mariana Islands with a Commission, the Captain General advised me that I could give any duty that I saw fit, as the man would carry it out well. Indeed, I gave him the interim command of the local Navy, and consequently he had given me timely reports, not only about the present situation of this branch, but also about the justice system, making some recommendations that, though good, I cannot accept, because those poor Islands cannot afford them.”

“There is a Port Captain in Apra, who is Don Nicolás de León Guerrero, and he proposes an Interpreter and Assiatant for him, with a certain tariff which is superior to that in the regulation; however, upon declaring the Marianas a duty-free port, the Superior Board of the Treasury has annulled it enterily, given that anchorage fees no longer apply.”

“This matter, as well as the general arrangement of those onerous possessions, are about to be finalized, and when the Captain General has come to an agreement with me, I will give you a report to Y.E. for Royal approval, in due course. In the meantime, he has come up with a provisional arrangement, with the approval of the Governor, which I enclose, and in it you may notice that a fine has been given to the foreign deserters who, last year, contributed to, or formed, an insurrection, which fortunately was squashed, and about which the Captain General will inform Y.E.”

“The brig **Infatigable** and the schooner [Bella] **Constitución** were captured at those Islands. The former is here, but I have not yeat received the case file, but her capture was due to the fact that the crew mutinied. The latter acted suspiciously; they attacked her with some canoes, and according to the case file, I see that she was going from Lima to the Sandwich Islands, but, on account of the ignorance of the pilot, they did not end up where they were going. This is as much as I can report to Y.E. for the time being.”

And considering that said news might be well received by that Superior Government, I copy them to Y.E., in case the above-mentioned Captain General has not sent them directly, and I accompany documents to be brought up to the Soveriegn attention of His Majesty, or for Y.E. to make whatever use you see fit.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 23 December 1830.

Excellency.

The Count of Salazar.

[To] His Excellency the Secretary of State and Office of the Navy.

Document 1830D

The Antarctic—Narrative of Captain Morrell

Note: Although Morrell wrote his narrative as if he were captain of the ship, she was in fact skippered by Captain Skiddy, while Benjamin Morrell was acting as Supercargo.

The journal of Benjamin Morrell

Source: Benjamin Morrell, Jr. A Narrative of Four Voyages (New York, 1832).

Note: Mrs. Morrell was accompanying her husband. See Document 1830E for her own narrative.

...

[Passage from New Zealand to the Philippines]

January 25th [1830].—Having completed our “wooding and watering,” as seamen term it, and taken on board a large supply of hogs and potatoes, we got under way, on Monday, the 25th, at six, A.M., and put to sea, with the wind at south-east, attended with heavy falls of rain.

...

Having been thus far disappointed in procuring a cargo of furs, I now determined to change the original character of the voyage, and steer for Manilla, to procure a freight for Europe or America. At eight, A.M., we were clear of the bay, and steered to the north, intending to pass between the Feejee Islands and the New-Hebrides, to the east of Charlotte's archipelago, and cross the equator in about longitude 165°; then to shape our course for the Philippine Islands. We continued in this northerly course...

...

February 19th.—On the 19th we passed close in with Hope [Kosrae] Island, which is in latitude 5°17' N., long. 164°47' E. It is moderately elevated in the centre, and descends into beautiful plains and fertile valleys towards the shore, which are literally covered with cocoanut-trees, plantains, and bananas. We now changed our course to west-north-west and west-by-north, seeing driftwood and land birds every day; these were sure indications of our being near land, and brightened my anticipations of making some new discoveries.



Captain Benjamin Morrell, Jr., of New York.

CHAPTER IV.

New discoveries—Westervelt's Group—An ominous Dream—A perilous Situation—Extricated by a dexterous nautical Manœuvre—Bergh's Group discovered—Livingston's Island—Arrive at Manilla—Philippine Islands—Luconia—City and Bay of Manilla—A Hint to the Ladies.

We were now sailing in that part of the Pacific Ocean which had been the least traversed, either by merchantmen or discovery ships.¹ Of the few islands which had heretofore been seen in these seas scarcely any thing was known, except that they appeared on the latest charts as the "Caroline Islands," with the remark that their situation and positions were "not all determined." I had long since been forcibly impressed with the idea that a rich field for tropical discoveries lay along this side [of] the equator, between the meridians of 140° and 160° east longitude; and it was a firm conviction of this fact that induced me to stretch so far north, before I bore away for the Philippine Islands. The correctness of my theory was now about to be fully and satisfactorily verified.

February 23d.—The cheering cry, from the mast-head, of "Land, ho! land, ho! under our starboard bow," brought every soul upon deck. This was on Tuesday, the 23d of February, at about three, P.M. WE changed our course, and ran for the stranger; which, at four, P.M. was seen to be composed of three low islands, of nearly equal size, connected by a coral reef, and not laid down on any chart, or mentioned in any epitome of navigation extant. They are very low, the most elevated parts being not more than twenty-five feet above the level of the sea; but well wooded, being almost entirely covered with cocoanut and bread-fruit trees. On examining them closely, I found that neither of them was more than five miles in circumference, and that *biche-de-mer* and pearl oysters may be found both on and within the reef that connects them. As this was evidently a new discovery, we concluded to name it Westervelt's group, in honour of Jacob Westervelt, Esq., an excellent shipwright, and a worthy citizen of the city of New-York. They are situated in latitude 7°5' N., long. 153°10' E.²

In traversing these seas, I had deemed it necessary to multiply my "look-outs," so that during the whole passage from New-Zealand to the Philippine Islands, there was a regular mast-head kept day and night; besides one man on the extreme end of the jib-boom, one man on the bowsprit, and one man on each cat-head; all keeping a sharp look-out for low land or breakers. My reasons for this extra precaution, were to avoid the dangerous reefs which might be met with in these partially explored regions, and the expectation of falling in with islands which had never before been discovered.

After carefully examining and naming Westervelt's Group, we continued to steer to the west, a little northerly, with a fine breeze from south-east, and squally, until eight, P.M., when the weather set in so thick, that it was judged imprudent to run. The **Ant-arctic** was therefore hove-to, with the starboard tacks on board. At eleven, P.M., the weather cleared off, and we filled away, steering to the westward, with a ten-knot breeze,

1 Ed. note: Morrell was not aware of previous discoveries by non-English navigators.

2 Ed. note: It was the Losap atoll, previously discovered by Duperrey. Morrell's longitude was about 20 minutes too far east.

a word above his breath abaft the foremast. This had the desired effect; for the next instant there was nothing to be heard but the whistling of the winds and the howling of the lofty combers, about one hundred and fifty fathoms under our lee.

The vessel was coming-to very fast, but not being able to get the main-sheet aft as soon as necessary, on account of a small line getting into the main-boom tackle-block, which prevented the fall being overhauled, and meeting a very short and cross-head sea in the bows, which deadened the vessel's headway before she came to the wind, she got stern-way upon her, and began to fall off.

"Keep the helm hard a-port!" I exclaimed, as, for the first time, my eye caught a view of the breakers, under our lee. "Brace the head-yards aback! Down mainsail! Up headsails, with sheets to windward!" These orders were obeyed as rapidly as they were given; and the **Antarctic** began to fall off very fast, with rapid stern-way upon her, so that the sea was coming in on both quarters. The head-yards were braced aback as long as possible, without springing them, and the headsails were run down the moment they refused to lie aback any longer. The instant the squaresails began to fill, the yards were braced sharp round in a moment; and before the **Antarctic** gathered any headway, the wind was about one point off the larboard quarter. The mainsail was now instantly set, and the vessel began to gather a little headway. As she came-to, the head-yards were kept pointed to the wind, and all hands, except five or six, were placed at the halliards of the headsails, and bny the time the vessel han come- to, within eight points of the wind, the headsails were on her, and she was jumping from one sea to another, at the rate of eight miles an hour, with the fore-sheet aft.

Thus, in wearing or veering, a sharp pilot-boat schooner, of seventy-eight feet keel, in a ten-knot breeze, gained more than twice her length off-shore, and the man at mast-head said that when the helm was first put down, the vessel was nearer the breakers than when she had the wind on the other quarter, and began to crawl off-shore. The breakers were running about twenty feet high, and there was no land in sight from the mast-head. No other step which could possibly be taken would have saved the beautiful **Antarctic** from shipwreck. She was saved.

As the very crisis of our fate, my wife came on deck and asked me if I would have my hat! Happily for her, she knew not, at that moment, that we were all tottering on the extreme verge of destruction's precipice. It was the tender officiousness of an affectionate, devoted wife, but as such a crisis inconceivably mal-apropos. My reply was "short, and **not** sweet:" "Go below instantly, my dear, or i shall be compelled to have you taken from my presence by force."¹ From that moment I saw her no more, nor was there a word spoken or heard, among thirty-four men, excepting by myself and the first officer, until the **Antarctic** was safe, retreating abliquely from the frothy and noisy rage of the boisterous enemy. Then we had time to breathe.

1 Ed. note: His wife had a hand in editing his text before publication.

[Visit to the Chuuk Islands]

We stood off-shore until half-past three o'clock, when we hove-to, with the star-board tacks on board. At half-past four, A.M., we filled away, and stood in for the reef, and at half-past five we were close in with the east end of it, when we discovered land to the westward, about eighteen miles from the outer breakers. There were also some small low islands to be seen near the inner edge of the reef, along which we continued to steer, finding it to extend in a circular direction, until we finally sailed nearly round it, and began to understand its figure, nature, and character. This, however, had exhausted our daylight; we therefore stood off at a prudent distance, and hove-to for the night.

On the following morning we resumed our examination of this interesting discovery, for such it proved to be.¹ It was a group of beautiful islands, surrounded, enclosed, fenced in, completely locked up, and defended by a wall of coral, from one-third of a mile to three miles in width, and one hundred and fifty miles in circumference; the depth of water on it varying from two to eight feet. In circumnavigating this singular submarine parapet, we counted more than seventy islands, of different sizes, situated within its circle, the appearance of which was truly paradisiacal and delightful. It was realizing, as far as the eye could judge, all that poets have dreamed of "happy isles," fairy-land, &c. The whole were clothed with the richest verdure, and crowned with forests of cocoanut-trees, bread-fruit, oranges, plantain, banana, &c. The mountains appeared to be wooded to their very summits, and every appearance, examined by good telescopes from the mast-head, indicated fertility and plenty. Every island was teeming with inhabitants, whose curiosity was evidently very strongly excited by the sudden apparition of our vessel, in the morning subsequent to the midnight incident which came so near leaving them nothing to gaze upon but the **Antarctic's** broken timbers, and our own lifeless bodies. Canoes of natives were seen darting from one island to another, and the utmost alarm and confusion seemed to reign among those tawny children of the reef. The water within the reef appeared like a polished mirror, reflecting every object from its glassy surface. The natives also appeared in considerable numbers on several little islands at the inner edge of the reef, and in their canoes outside the surf, which in some places broke twenty feet high.

But I could not rest contented with merely viewing these happy isles at a distance, shut out, as it were, by an envious wall impossible as adamant. We therefore commenced a search to find some place of entrance, and for this purpose continued our examination of the reef; in doing which we discovered four passages leading in the placid, tranquil, lake-like waters which slept within. These passages were about two hundred fathoms wide, with a depth of water from fifteen to three fathoms. One of them in the north-west side, one on the south-west, one on the south, and one on the east. The **Antarctic** boldly entered at the south-west opening, and courteously paid her respects to the astonished natives, who in assembled groups were gazing at her graceful figure and snow-white wings, as she glided along the mazy passages that separate these lovely is-

1 Ed. note: Of course, he had many predecessors.

lands. The whole scene was interesting beyond my powers of description: I lament that I have not talent to do it justice. The reader must be content with the plain matter-of-fact observations of a seaman.

On the inner edge of the reef there is a range of small low islands, from one to five miles apart, covered with coconut-trees. There are about forty of this description, which are from half a mile to three or four miles in circumference. Within this circular range of small islands there are four others of about thirty miles in circumference, and moderately elevated. Between the latter and those on the inner edge of the reef, there are about twenty that are quite small, covered with cocoanut-trees. A reef runs from one island to another, nearly through the whole group, which renders the navigation very difficult in penetrating to the centre of the group.

Between all these reefs there is from ten to twenty fathoms of water, the bottom of which is partly covered with mother-of-pearl oyster-shells, as many parts of the reef are with *biche-de-mer*. From the lofty appearance of the large islands, I have no doubt but their mountains contain sandal-wood, as we saw some of the paddles of the natives made of that material. From the lava and pumice-stone which we saw at the wash of the shores, I am led to infer that these islands were once the summits of volcanic mountains. But it must have been at a very ancient date, as they are now all covered with the most fertile and luxuriant growth of fruit trees and timber that I have ever seen on any one group in the North Pacific Ocean; and whenever I landed I found the soil exceedingly rich. Besides the fruits I could recognize with my glass before I entered the reef, I now discovered lemons, jack fruit, and a kind of melon, something like our water-melons, but much richer in its flavour.

During our short stay here on this our first visit, the observations we made were necessarily imperfect, and in some respects erroneous, but as we had two subsequent and favourable opportunities of examining these islands, and becoming familiar with their inhabitants, I trust the reader will find nothing recorded but what I know to be facts. When I come to treat of the personal appearance, dress, character, manners, habits, and customs of these natives, as I intend to do in a subsequent chapter, the reader will be surprised to find himself introduced to a peculiar race of people, differing, in many respects, from any other I have ever seen or read of.

On the present occasion our stay was so short, and the natives so very shy, though two or three hundred canoes were round the vessel at one time, that I could not obtain an interview, except with two or three, whom I took on board the **Antarctic**, and showed them such wonders, and made them such presents, as almost rendered them wild with pleasure and amazement. I feel confident that they never saw a white man, or any vessel much larger than a canoe, before the 23d of February, 1830, when the **Antarctic** rose on their astonished view, like some white-winged monster emerging from the ocean.¹ On showing them a piece of *biche-de-mer*, they gave me to understand that they could collect any quantities of it, and wondered what use I could make of it. They

¹ Ed. note: Many white men had already passed by the Chuuk Islands in the recent past, e.g. Hall (1824), Duperrey (1824), Lütke (1827), and Dumont d'Urville (1828).

intimated the same also when I inquired for mother-of-pearl shells, of which I exhibited some specimens. The impression was favourable.

By several sets of observations and altitudes, I determined the situation of the centre of this group to be in latitude 7°5' N., long. 153°15' E. As it is not laid down on any chart, nor mentioned in any epitome, I named it Bargh's Group, in honour of my excellent friend Edwin Bergh, Esq., of New-York.¹

February 26th.—On Friday, the 26th, at eight o'clock in the evening, we were safely out of this little labyrinth of coral, and shaping our course for Manilla, with a fine breeze from north-east, and light squalls of rain. We continued steering to the north and west until the following morning at eight, A.M., when the man at mast-head suddenly exclaimed, "Breakers! three points on the starboard bow!"

[Namonuito atoll]

Knowing that there was no reef or land laid down on the charts in this vicinity, I immediately hauled up for the westernmost part of the reef. When we had come within about one mile of the breakers, land was discovered bearing north-north-west, which proved to be an uninhabited [sic] island at about fifteen miles' distance. The reef, we found, extended, with one uninterrupted chain of breakers, to the south part of the island, and was composed entirely of coral, with not more than ten feet of water on it at any time.

At twelve o'clock, A.M., we were close in with the west side of the island, which proved to be about eight miles in length, from north to south, and half that distance from east to west; its greatest elevation being not more than fifty feet above the level of the sea. It was covered with shrubbery and palm-trees, beneath which grew a long coarse grass. This island affords water of a good quality, and is thickly tenanted by land and sea-birds of different species. It is frequented by turtles also; both the hawk's-bill and the green turtle resort to its shores; while the waters are teeming with an exhaustless variety of fish. Shellfish of the most beautiful species abound here; and rare specimens may be collected in great abundance by having divers on board, to go down outside of the surf. *Biche-de-mer* is tolerably abundant on the reefs, and mother-of-pearl shells and pearl-oysters are found in the lagoon between the reefs, with many other kinds of shell of the pearl species.

It may here be proper to state, that there is a reef of about the same length as the one already mentioned, running off from the north end of the island, bending to the east-south-east and south, until it meets the other at the south end of the island; forming, to the eastward of the island, one large lagoon. The west side of the island is bold, and clear of dangers, with good anchorage near the southern point, in twelve fathoms of water, over a coral bottom, about one-fourth of a mile off-shore.

I determined the situation of this island to be in latitude 8°25' N., long. 150°22' E. The latitude is correct, but the longitude may be liable to an error of a few miles, on account of the weather being squally, which prevented our getting sights for the chro-

1 Ed. note: The center of the Chuuk lagoon is more like 7°25' N. and 151°45' E.

nometers, or taking astronomical observations. As this was obviously an entire new discovery, we gave it the name of Livingston's Island, in honour of Charles L. Livingston, Esq., of New-York, a gentleman whose worth and talents are well known and highly appreciated in his native state.¹

February 27th.—On Saturday, the 27th, at eight, P.M., we bore up, and left Livingston's Island, steering to the west-north-west, with a fine breeze from the north-east, attended with light squalls of rain. We continued standing to the westward, passing to the south of the island of Guham, frequently seeing sperm whales, turtles, fish of various kinds, and many species of oceanic birds.

March 7th.—On the evening of Sunday, the 7th, at nine, P.M., we arrived at the east entrance of the Strait of Manilla, or St. Bernardino, in latitude 12°45' N., long. 124°31' E.

...

March 10th.—We pursued our course through the strait, with light variable winds, and fair weather, until Wednesday, the 10th of March, when, at eleven, A.M., we came to anchor in Manilla Roads, in four fathoms of water, clay bottom...

...

1 Ed. note: This was Ulul Island in the SW corner of Namonuito, whose exact position is 8°35' N. and 149°40' E.

CHAPTER V.

Sail from Manilla for the Feejee Islands—Discover Skiddy's Shoal—Islands of Los Martires—Visit Bergh's Group—Discover Skiddy's Group—Visit Young William's Group—Interview with the Natives—Intended Treachery defeated—Visit Monteverdeson's [sic] Islands—Description of the Natives—Indication of Hostilities—An attempt to board the Antarctic—Continuation of the Voyage—Discovery of the Massacre Islands—Friendly Disposition of the Natives.

Finding that a freight for Europe or America could not be immediately obtained, I made arrangements to fit out the **Antarctic** on a voyage to the Feejee Islands, there to procure a cargo of *biche-de-mer*, tortoise-shell, pearls, pearl-shell, or any other valuables which might be to the profit of the owners. The necessary arrangements for this enterprise occupied several weeks, during which period my wife and myself formed several valuable and highly respectable acquaintances in the city. Among others were Mr. Cannell, an English merchant, and his amiable family, consisting of wife, children, and niece, the latter about twenty years of age. This gentleman sustained an irreproachable character as a merchant and a man, being senior partner in the house of Cannell & Gellis.

Mrs. Morrell was much caressed by Mrs. Cannell, the niece, and all the children, and it was finally arranged that she would remain with them at Manilla, during my absence at the Feejee Islands, and not encounter the privations and dangers of the voyage. It was not without reluctance that my wife consented to this arrangement, but being very much attached to Mrs. Cannell and her pleasant little family, she at length became reconciled to a temporary separation from me, and took up her residence in this abode of virtue, peace, and hospitality, where I knew that she would receive such protection and delicate attentions as her sex and state of health required. The **Antarctic** was not ready for sea until the 11th of April.

April 12th.—On Monday, the 12th, at 7, A.M., we got under way, and left the port of Manilla, with the wind from south-west, and bad weather, having thirty-three able-bodied men on board. On the following day, at 1, P.M., we passed the Corregidor, and at 6, the next morning, we were in the west entrance of the Strait of Manilla, or St. Bernardino.

April 18th.—We continued on our passage through this strait, with fair weather and light winds, until Sunday, the 18th of April, when, at 11, P.M., we passed the island of St. Barnardino, lying at the east entrance of the strait. We now stretched to the eastward, between the eighth and twelfth degrees of north latitude, for more than a fortnight, with variable winds and weather.

May 6th.—On Thursday, the 6th of May, at 6, A.M., we saw the island of Faralis [Faraulep], situated in lat. 8°57' north, long. 145°27' east. This is a small uninhabited [sic] island, about three miles in circumference, and destitute of wood of any considerable growth. It is not much elevated, being not more than two hundred feet above the level of the sea. A coral reef runs off its south side, about two miles, on which the sea breaks. On the following day, at 11, P.M., we saw the island of Ifecue [Ifaluk], in lat.

8°10' north, long. 146°57' east. This island is about the same size as Faralis, just mentioned, and similar to it in every respect.¹

May 8th.—We continued standing to the eastward, with light winds from north-north-east, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, until Saturday, the 8th of May, when, at 6, A.M., we found ourselves on a very extensive reef of coral, stretching about twenty miles east and west, and fifteen miles north and south, eith from two to fifteen fathoms of water upon it. There was no land in sight from any part of the reef, which is in lat. 7°35' north, long. 148°14' east. As this shoal has never been marked on any chart, nor discovered before, we shall give it the name of Skidde's Shoal, in honour of Captain William Skiddy, of New-York.²

May 10th.—On Monday, the 10th of May, we were close in with the islands of Los Martires [Pulap], which we found to be in lat. 7°44' north, long. 149°54' east. These islands are three in number, all small and low, with dangerous reefs putting off from them in all directions. They are thinly populated, and appear to be very poorly wooded. The largest and most abundant are the cocoanut-trees, but the inhabitants are badly supplied with fruits. They have some small plantations of tarrer [sic = taro], and some other roots, which they use as a substitute for bread. The natives are much like those of Bergh's Group, both in personal appearance and manners; their canoes are also similar. As there are no refreshments nor any articles of trade to be had here, I would advise all merchant-ships to keep clear of this group, on account of the reef and dangers, and the strong current which sets between them, and also because the natives are very hostile and treacherous.

May 18th.—On Thursday, the 13th, we passed close in with the west side of Bergh's Group, and had a visit from our former acquaintances, who instantly knew the **Antarctic**, and appeared very glad to see us. They brought with them a plenty of bread-fruit and cocoanuts, and a number of their countrymen who had not ventured on board at our former visit. They all expressed much anxiety for the vessel to enter within the reef again, and come to anchor, so that all their contrymen might have an opportunity of witnessing the wonders reported to them by the more venturous few who had been on board. But the wind and weather being favourable, I could not now comply with their wishes, but made them all some presents in return for their hospitality, and then they reluctantly took their leave, while we continued on our course to the south and east. The more I saw of these apparently good-humoured, simple natives, the more strongly I became interested in their history, character, &c.

May 14th.—On the following day we discovered three small low islands, being each from three to five miles in circumference, and almost entirely covered with cocoanut and bread-fruit trees. They are both with much the same kind of people as the western part of Bergh's Group, having also the same description of canoes, war implements, fishing utensils, and wearing apparel. The islands are all surrounded and connected by

1 Ed. note: The position given corresponds to West Fayu, not Ifaluk.

2 Ed. note: This man was in fact the real captain of the Antarctic. The shoal in question is Condor Reef.

a coral reef. They furnish *biche-de-mer*, pearls, pear and tortoise-shell, and many curious and beautiful shells, valuable for their rarity. These islands extend about ten miles east and west, and about five miles north and south, being situated in lat. 6°4' north, long. 153°21' east;¹ and as we could not find them on any chart, or see them mentioned in any epitome of navigation, we concluded that they were new discoveries, and gave them the name of Skiddy's Group, in honour of that worthy and enterprising navigator.

May 15th.—We continued steering to the south and east, with the wind from east-north-east, attended with squalls of rain, and on Saturday morning, the 15th, at four, A.M., we were close in with Young William's [Satawan] Group, the centre of which lies in latitude 5°12' N., long. 153°27' E. This group is nearly circular, extending twenty miles east and west, and eighteen miles north and south; the whole surrounded by a coral reef, from one-fourth of a mile to a mile and a half wide. On the inner edge of this reef there is a chain of low islands, eleven in number, the principal of which are well inhabited. There are many small islands, or lumps, that stand on this reef, which are covered with cocoanut-trees, but are not inhabited.

All of the islands are well supplied with bread-fruit and cocoanut-trees, plantains, and bananas; they are also well supplied with wood and water. Two of the islands are about fifteen miles in circuit and about one hundred feet above the level of the sea, in their most elevated parts. These islands are all of volcanic [sic] origin. The lagoon within the reef contains pearls, pearl-shell, and many other valuable shells of the pearl kind; while the reef contains *biche-de-mer*, and the hawk's-bill tortoise.

While I was examining the reef on the west side of the group, I was met by many of the natives in their canoes, who requested me to land on a small island about two miles further south.² It being in the early part of the day, the weather fine, and the vessel under the lee of the reef, in perfect smooth water, I signified a compliance with their wishes, and steered the boat to the point proposed, followed by the islanders in their canoes. On approaching the beach, I saw some of the inhabitants, who had been gazing at us from behind a clump of trees near the cabins, make a precipitate retreat into the woods. The natives in the canoes soon landed, at some distance from our boat and, while a part of their number remained on the beach, the rest proceeded to join the fugitives in the woods. Their movements looked suspicious, but I was too well armed and prepared to fear the result of treachery, having a brace of pistols and a cutlass.

I left my men in the boat, with orders to keep her afloat, and as nearly abreast of me as possible. I then walked confidently up to the five natives remaining on the beach, who timidly advanced to meet me, and I soon perceived that they were unarmed. When we had approached to within about twelve yards of each other, they all made a full stop for several minutes. At length one of them, who appeared to be the oldest of the group, stepped on one side to a small tree which grew near the beach, and broke off a small branch, which he held up to view. I immediately imitated his example, and reciprocated

1 Ed. note: This corresponds to Namoluk atoll.

2 Ed. note: Probably Kutu Island.

his proffer of amity, if for such it was intended. As I advanced to make the exchange, he at first drew timidly back, but after being joined by a female who had been watching our movements from a short distance, and who was probably his wife, the treaty of amity was duly ratified, and sealed by his making me a present of his tapper [tapa], or waist-cloth. His wife then gave me a little garland of wild flowers she had been braiding, and as if this had been a preconcerted signal, two lovely females, naked as they were born, darted from a neighbouring thicket, each with a similar token of affection, which they offered with the most bewitching grace conceivable. Heaven forgive me, if my wicked heart did violence to any one precept of the decalogue!

These girls were about sixteen or seventeen, with eyes like the gazelle's, teeth like ivory, and the most delicately formed features I have ever met with. In stature they were about five feet, with small hands, feet, and head, long black hair, and then those eyes, sparkling like jet beads swimming in liquid enamel! They had small plump cheeks, with a chin to match, and lips of just the proper thickness for affection's kiss. Their necks were small, and I believe that I could have spanned either of their naked waists with both my hands. Their limbs were beautifully proportioned, and so were their busts. Imagination must complete the bewitching portraits: I will only add the shade—their skin was a light copper colour.

I placed the wreaths they gave me on my own head, which appeared to please them very much, and to increase their confidence. I accompanied them and their friends to the vilage, where we were met by about one hundred natives, men, women, and children. Here I received several similar tokens from other females, and in return made them presents of a few beads and some small pieces of an iron-hoop, with which they seemed to be highly delighted. There were several elderly men and women among them, some of whom I should take to be ninety or a hundred years of age.

The men were all unarmed, and appeared to be very friendly. They are straight, active, muscular, and well-made, with an average height of about five feet nine inches. Most of them wear a tapper round their loins, which reaches about half-way to the knees, and is made from the bark of a tree. The married women wear the same modest covering, highly ornamented in front with feathers and shells, but the unmarried women expose all their charms, being, "when unadorned, adorned the most." They sport in the surf, as if the water was their natural element.

The cabins or cottages of these islanders consist of a roof made of bamboos, and thatched with cocoanut-leaves, placed upon four posts. Under this roof they have a platform, elevated about two feet from the ground, being a frame of bamboo, which is covered with mats. This constitutes a very clean and cool place for sleeping.

After remaining with these people about three-quarters of an hour, giving them the seeds of useful vegetables, and showing their use, the young women invited me to accompany them to the other side of the island, where they said they would get me some turtle-shell and pearl-shell. Before I had advanced far in the forest, however, I saw about forty Indians at the distance of a quarter of a mile, armed with bows and arrows, and evincing a strong disposition to conceal themselves, by skulking behind trees and brush-

wood. I was now fully satisfied that all their pretended friendship was treachery, and immediately turned for the beach, telling the chief that I wished to go to my boat and get some beads and iron for him, and take the boat's crew with me on the other side of the island.

This proposition seemed to please them very much, and they all turned to accompany me. I kept the chief alongside of me, with my right hand on a pistol. As soon as we came within hail of the boat, I found that she was lying close in at the edge of the surf, where my men were waiting for me with straining eyes and anxious hearts. I ordered them to back as near the surf as possible, and the moment they saw me with a few feet of the water, to fire a musket over my head. My orders were promptly obeyed, and the terrified natives all fell to the earth. In the midst of their confusion, I dived through the surf, and was soon in the boat, while the oarsmen gave way with all their strength.

We had scarcely left the beach fifty yards behind us, before it was covered with about three hundred well-armed warriors. I fired a musket over their heads, which frightened the most of them down upon their haunches, and before they could recover a warrior's proper position, we were out of bow-shot. What object they could have had in view in this evidently preconcerted act of perfidy I am at a loss to know, unless they thought that my death or captivity would lead to the taking of the **Antarctic**. I am sure that my motives were correct, and Heaven ever protects those who jeopard their safety for the benefit of their fellow-creatures. I had always evinced the most friendly disposition to this people, having supplied them with seeds of various kinds, and instructed them how to plant and cultivate them.

Having made a sufficient distance from the island, I changed the course of the boat, and steered towards the south, making a signal for the schooner to keep close in-shore, or from the north-east. We had not proceeded far, however, before we saw about one hundred canoes coming towards us from all the islands. We were now reduced to this alternative—either to enter into “the unprofitable contest of seeing which could do the other the most harm,” or show them the **Antarctic's** stern, and leave the islands thus partially examined. We adopted the most humane course.

May 16th.—On Sunday, the 10th, at six, P.M., (nautical time) we left Young William's Group, and steered to the east, a little southerly, with a light breeze from north-north-east, and fair weather; and on the following morning, at four, A.M., we were close in with the islands of Monteverdeson's.¹ This group, which is situated in latitude 3°32' N., long. 155°58' E., was discovered in the Spanish frigate **La Pala** belonging to the Philippine Company, commanded by Don Juan Baptista Monteverde, in her passage from Manilla to Lima, on the 18th of February, 1806.

This group is nearly circular, and contains about thirty islands, of different sizes, the largest being not more than ten miles in circumference. They are all surrounded by a coral reef, which has from three to seven feet of water on it, where the sea breaks very heavily all the year round. The islands all stand on the inner edge of the coral reef, with

1 Ed. note: Misprint on many maps for Monteverde's, i.e. Nukuoro atoll.

boat-passages between them, from one-fourth of a mile to two miles in width; this following the circle of the reef all round, leaving in the centre a large lagoon about seven leagues in length, from north-east to south-west, and about five leagues from north-west to south-east.¹

The bottom of this lagoon is literally covered with the pearl oyster, in a depth of water from three to twenty fathoms; and the surrounding reef abounds with *biche-dermer* of a very superior quality. The hawk's-bill turtle also visits the shores of the islands at certain seasons of the year, for the purpose of laying their eggs and raising their young.² Upon all these articles the natives set little or no value.

These islands are all very low, the most elevated points of them not rising more than one hundred feet above the level of the sea. The surface of each is literally covered with cocoanut-trees, bread-fruit trees, and palm-trees; besides many other kinds of wood that is highly useful to the islanders in the construction of their canoes, houses, and war implements.

The natives are tall, well made, robust, and active. Their average stature, I mean that of the men, is six feet two inches, and few of them weigh less than two hundred and fifty pounds. They are of an olive colour, with rather fattish noses, black curled hair, of six or eight inches in length, high cheek-bones, small black eyes, very quick and penetrating, high prominent foreheads, a beautiful white and regular set of teeth. Their hands and feet are small, in proportion to the size of the body and limbs. Their bodies are very round and straight, with full chests, and square broad shoulders. In short, they are as fine models for the sculptor or painter as I have ever met with.

The females are about five feet three inches in height, with slender bodies, round and plump as an apple. Their countenance is pleasing and interesting, and their sparkling black eyes irresistibly fascinating. They are, in short, in every respect equal, and in some superior, to the females of Young William's Group.

The dress of both sexes, after marriage, is alike; consisting of a simple tapper [tapa] around the loins, descending half-way to the knees; that of the female being ornamented like those of Young William's Group. The unmarried go entirely naked, showing their finely-modelled limbs to the best advantage. Both sexes take to the water at a very early age, and soon become almost as much habituated to it as the amphibia of the Gallipagos Islands. Their canoes and war implements are similar to those of the other group, only much larger.

When these people first came alongside the **Antarctic**, they gave the crew cocoanuts and bread-fruit, without asking any thing in return; but it was soe time before any of them could be persuaded upon to come on board. The crew in return distributed among them old knives, beads, iron hoops, and many other little articles. This liberality excited such sensations in the natives as induced them to strip their canoes of their fishing-lines, hooks, nets, cocoanuts, &c., which they offered as objects of barter; they also gave their large hats, made of palm-leaves, as well as the tappers from their loins. Both

1 Ed. note: The size of the lagoon is exaggerated; it is more like 4 miles by 3 miles respectively.

2 Ed. note: Turtles do not raise their young, of course.

sexes stripped off the only article which covered their nakedness, and freely gave it for a few glass beads.

Even yet they appeared not to be contented with the sacrifices they had made, but gave me to understand that they would return to the island, and collect pearl-shell, tortoise-shell, and *biche-de-mer*, if we would run the schooner close in with the lee-side of the island. To this proposition I readily signified my assent, and they with child-like alacrity paddled swiftly to the shore.

By the time that they had landed, the **Antarctic** was within about a mile of the beach, on which were lying fifty canoes of the largest size, being about thirty-five feet in length, and very buoyant. We continued to watch their movements with our glasses, and soon had cause for some startling suspicions. Instead of loading their canoes with the valuable articles they promised, we saw about five hundred men bearing to them back-loads of spears and war-clubs. In addition to this, they had all daubed their faces with red paint, a certain indication of hostile intentions among the islanders of these seas.

In a few moments these warlike preparations were completed, and the canoes afloat and manned with fifteen to twenty men each, coming rapidly towards the vessel, propelled by paddles at the rate of eight miles an hour. This formidable flotilla advanced in two divisions, apparently with the intention of boarding us on both sides. Having a fine breeze from north-north-east, we lay-to, until they had approached within one-third of a mile of the vessel; we then filled away, with the wind abaft of the beam; and in a few minutes more the **Antarctic** took up her feet, and slid over the briny ocean, with her stern to these treacherous savages, at the rate of ten miles an hour.

This was the only step we could have taken to avoid slaughtering these ignorant, misguided people; who were not yet willing to relinquish their rash adventure, but continued to follow the vessel for more than four miles, when they gave up the chase, and turned towards the islands. No doubt this system of treachery, which prevails, or did once prevail, on every inhabited island in the Pacific Ocean, is a part of their education. They sin without the law, and should be judged without the law. Knowing, as I do, that there are many calling themselves Christians, who could not "cast the first stone" at these untutored children of nature, I could not find it in my heart to throw cold iron and lead among them. If they enjoyed the blessing of missionary teachers, but few years would elapse before the natives of all these groups of islands would become as exemplary for honesty, fidelity, and hospitality as those of the Sandwich, Friendly, and Society Islands. Let our missionary societies look to this: here is a wide field open for their pious and philanthropic labours; a field which is ripe for the harvest, and which would make returns of a thousand-fold, both in a moral and commercial point of view.

From Monteverdeson's Group we steered to the south-east, with a fine breeze and cloudy weather. During the night we had the wind from all points of the compass, accompanied with thunder and lightning, squalls of wind, and heavy falls of rain. At the same time we noticed, in the wake of the vessel, besides the usual phosphorescent appearance of the sea, some very brilliant coruscations, evidently proceeding from myriads of mollusca, many of which we caught and examined, and found them to be

different from any that we had ever see. The only indication of life which they manifested was a slight degree of swelling when molested; they were generally about an inch in thickness, and from three to five inches in length, enclosed in a kind of covering or outer skin, of a yellowish colour, and almost transparent.

May 21st.—On the morning of Friday, the 21st of May, at four, A.M., we crossed the equator, in long. 160° 11' E.

...
In concluding this chapter, it may not be improper to give the reader a clearer idea of an article of commerce which is destined to make a considerable figure in this narrative, and which has already been frequently mentioned—I mean *biche-de-mer*. The learned and scientific Doctor Pascalis, after I returned from this my fourth voyage, wrote an article for the public papers, in which he describes it in the following words:—

“It is that *mollusca* from the Indian Seas which is known in commerce by the French name *bouche-de-mer* (a nice morsel from the sea).¹ If I am not much mistaken, the celebrated Cuvier calls it *gasteropeda pulmonifera*. It is abundantly gathered in the coasts of the Pacific Islands, and gathered especially for the Chinese market, where it commands a great price, perhaps as much as their much-talked-of “edible birds’ nests,” which are probably made up of the gelatinous matter picked up by a species of swallow from the body of these molluscæ?. They have no shell, no legs, nor any prominent part, except an *absorbing* and an *excretory*, opposite organs: but by their elastic rings, like caterpillars or worms, they creep in shallow waters; in which, when low, they can be seen by a kind of swallow, the sharp bill of which, inserted in the soft animal, draws a gummy and filamentous substance, which, by drying, can be wrought into the solid walls of their nest. Hence the name of *gasteropeda pulmonifera*.”

This mollusca is oblong, and of different sizes, from three to eighteen inches in length; and I have seen a few that were not less than two feet long. They are nearly round, a little flattish on one side, which lies next the ground, or bottom of the sea; and they are from one inch to eight inches thick. They crawl up into shallow water at particular seasons of the year, probably for the purpose of gendering, as we often find them in pairs. It is when the sun has the most power upon the water, rendering it tepid, that they approach the shore; and often into places so shallow, that on the tide’s receding they are left dry on the coral reef, exposed to the heat of the sun. But they do not bring forth their young in shallow water, as we never see any of their progeny; and the full-grown ones are always seen coming in from deep water. They feed principally on that class of zoophytes which produce the coral.

The *biche-de-mer* is generally taken in three or four feet water; after which they are taken to the shore, where they are split at one end with a knife, the incision being one inch or more, according to the size of the mollusca. Through this opening the entrails

1 Ed. note: He confused the words *bouche* and *bouchée*. Actually, the French name for *trepang* is *bêche-de-mer* (sea hoe), not *biche-de-mer* (sea doe), or any other expression, such as *beche-la-mar* etc.

are forced out by pressure, and they are much like those of any other small tenant of the deep. The article is then washed, and afterward boiled to a certain degree, which must not be too much nor too little. They are then buried in the ground for four hours; then boiled again for a short time, after which they are dried, either by the fire or the sun. Those cured by the sun are worth the most; but where one *picul* (133-1/3 lbs.) can be cured that way, I can cure thirty *picul* by the fire. When once properly cured, they can be kept, in a dry place, for two or three years, without any riskp but they should be examined once in every few months, say four times a year, to see if any dampness is likely to affect them. A *picul*, according to the Chinese weight, is 133-1/3 lbs. *avoirdupois*.

The Chinese, as before stated, consider *biche-de-mer* a very great luxury; believing that it wonderfully strengthens and nourishes the system, and renews the exhausted vigour of the immoderate voluptuary. The first quality commands a high price in Canton, being worth ninety dollars a *picul*; the second quality, seventy-five dollars; the third, fifty dollars; the fourth, thirty dollars; the fifth, twenty dollars; the sixth, twelve dollars; the seventh, eight dollars; and the eighth quality only for dollars per *picul*. Small cargoes, however, will often bring more in Manilla, Singapore, and Batavia.

...

CHAPTER VI.

Massacre Islands—Commerce building a House—A Garden planted—Friendship of Henneen, the Island Chief—Friendly Disposition of the Natives—Precautions against Surprise—Symptoms of Perfidy, Duplicity, and Dissimulation—Drawn into an Ambuscade—Disarm a Host—Amity and Confidence restored—Spacious but hollow Professions of Good-will—The Alarm—The Massacre—The Battle—The Rescue—Cannibalism—Deplorable Situation of the Survivors—Sail from the Islands—Arrive at Manilla.

1
...

[After arriving at Manila, Morrell]

immediately commenced making arrangements for returning to the Massacre Islands.

Before I had proceeded for in these preparations, however, I wrote to General Re-
quorfort [i.e. Ricafort], who was then commander-in-chief of Luconia, and all its de-
pendencies, for permission to ship fifty natives of Manilla, to complete my crew. His
Excellency answered my letter very promptly and politely, stating that he had taken my
misfortunes into consideration; and that although it was contrary to the laws of the
port to take more than one-third of the crew natives of Manilla, yet he would allow me
to ship one or two hundred Manilla-men, if I wished for that number.

1 Ed. note: Massacre Island is located north of the Solomon Islands at about 4°47' S. and 156° E.
Morrell's original destination had been the Fiji Islands.

CHAPTER VII.

Sail from Manilla for the Massacre Islands—The Bay and Town of Taal—Port and Town of St. Joseph's—Ladrone Islands—Arrive at Bergh's Group—Friendship of the Natives—Their Canoes, Fishing Implements, &c.—Beauty of the Women—Strength and Agility of the Men—Theological Notions—Marriages, Deaths, Wars, &c.—Description of their Weapons, Houses, and Villages—Domestic Arrangements—Fertility and Capabilities of the Soil—Importance of this Discovery—Equipments necessary for a Voyage to these Islands—Depart for the Massacre Islands.

...
July 18th.—On the evening of Sunday, the 18th of July, several merchants and ship-masters, of different nations, called on me, and endeavoured to dissuade me from my hazardous enterprise. The chief with of their arguments, however, was based on the fact of my having so great a proportion of Manilla-men in my crew; there being sixty-six of the former, and only nineteen Americans. They predicted that I would not live to return again to Manilla, but be cut off by my new recruits, who would forcibly take possession of the **Antarctic**, and murder all the Americans who refused to take part in the conspiracy. To enforce their arguments, they repeated a great number of legendary tales of fine ships that had been cut off by these men, in some instances even there were only two or three of them on board.

In reply, I gratefully thanked them for their friendly counsel; and assured them, that while in the conscientious discharge of my duty, death had no terrors for me, come in what shape he would; that the same gracious Being who had preserved me from the cannibals would protect me from assassins of every description; and that, at all events, I could never again enjoy life, until my mind was relieved from its present horrid suspense. Should one of my crew be still living, a captive to those ruthless, remorseless cannibals, what must have been his agonizing distraction of mind to see the **Antarctic** depart for ever from his view; what would be his ecstasy of delight to see her return...

My wife was prepared to accompany me, as neither of us was willing to endure the anxieties and apprehensions of another separation, in a distant region of the globe, not less than fifteen thousand miles from her native home. We therefore took an affectionate leave of all our friends at Manilla, and soon found ourselves on board the fast-sailing **Antarctic**, whose white canvass was unfurled and her anchor speak.

July 19th.—On Monday the 19th, at eleven, P.M., (nautical time), we got under way, with a light breeze from the east-north-east, attended with fair weather; at three, A.M., we passed the Corregidor, and steered for the Strait of Manilla, or St. Barnardino, which we entered at one, P.M...

...
 On Sunday, the 31st, we once more found ourselves clear of the Philippines; and at 7, A.M., we took our departure from Cape Espiritu Santo, bearing west-south-west, distant ten leagues, with a fine breeze from north-by-east, and fair weather. We continued making the best of our way to the eastward, taking advantage of the winds, which frequently hauled from north-north-east to east, and back again. This gave us a very good chance for making easting, which we did not fail to improve.

August 12th.—On Thursday, the 12th of August, at 6, A.M., we were close in with the west side of the island of Guam, which is the principal of a group called the Ladrone [sic] Islands, situated in the North Pacific Ocean, between the eleventh and twenty-eight [sic] degrees of north latitude, and about 140° east longitude. Their number has been variously stated, from eleven to sixteen; and the names of the principal ones are Guam, Seypan, Tinian, and Rota.

...

[The author then launches on a false history of the Mariana islands, the supposed massacre of the natives by Spanish conquistadors and Catholic missionaries, etc. He quotes the Bible, Pizaro, Las Casas, the Hebrews in Egypt, etc. The author apparently did not make a stop at Guam, not this time either.]

...

But I am steering out of my track, and will return to the Ladrone Islands.

[Third visit to Chuuk]

August 28th.—From the Ladrone Islands we steered to the south and east, until Saturday, the 28th of August, when we came to anchor, at six, P.M., within the coral reef that surrounds Bergh [Chuuk] Group; before our anchor had fairly taken the ground, we were visited by many of our old friends, all of whom appeared to be very much pleased to see us again; and as a token of their friendship, they presented us with cocoanuts, bread-fruit, and bananas; in return for which we made them presents of beads, knives, scissors, looking-glasses, and a few China trinkets.

On the following morning, before eight, A.M., we might have walked half a mile from the vessel on the tops of canoes, at all points of the compass. Every canoe contained a quantity of cocoanuts, bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, and jack-fruit; part of which we purchased, and paid for in the China beads. By four o'clock in the afternoon, we had more of these fruits than we had room for on deck, the whole not costing more than two dollars' worth of beads.

The natives were so well satisfied with the liberal manner in which we had paid them, that they persisted in throwing fruit upon deck for some time after we requested them to stop. They seemed to be determined not to be outdone in liberality, or fearful that they should not sufficiently compensate us for the articles we had given them, which they considered of inestimable value.

[Chuukese canoes]

These people are certainly the most interesting in their manners, the most active in their movements, and the most pleasing in their countenances, of any race of aborigines on any island I have ever visited; and the nautical skill with which they manage their canoes is truly astonishing; but not more so than the ingenuity with which they are planned and constructed, of which I will attempt a brief description.

The canoes of these natives are mostly of great length, carrying from fifteen to thirty men. The bottom is of one stick, or log, generally from thirty to fifty feet in length, and

got out in the form of a canoe, with no other tools but such as are made of shells, &c. On this foundation they proceed to build the vessel. Each side is formed of a single plank or slab, from fourteen to eighteen inches in width, making the depth of the boat; but the two sides are not alike, one being nearly flat and straight next the water, and the other somewhat bulging. These sides are sewed fast to the bottom, with a strong cord made from the bark of a tree, and also to a beautifully carved head and stern, resembling those of the ancient galleys which we often meet with in classical paintings.

As these canoes are frequently propelled by sails, and as the bulging side is always to windward, the reader will naturally suppose that it could not long retain an upright position, but would be liable to upset. This is prevented, however, by a very ingenious contrivance. A frame, called an outrigger, projects out eight or ten feet horizontally from the rounding, bulging, or windward side, at the extreme end of which is attached a piece of buoyant wood, shaped something like a canoe. The weight of this apparatus prevents the boat's capsizing to leeward, while that side being flat prevents her making lee-way. At the same time the buoyancy of the outrigger and bamboo frame renders it impossible for her to overset to windward. This is the form and construction of their single canoes, which go through the water with great velocity, whether propelled by paddles or sails, or both.

Their double canoes are formed in the same manner as the one just described, with the exception of the out-rigger, which of course is not necessary. Two canoes are fastened together abreast of each other, with bamboos extended across them, on the same principle of construction as our twin ferry-steamboats. These canoes are generally about forty feet in length, and the distance between them is from eight to ten feet. The bamboos which unite them are placed about two feet apart, and strongly secured to the gunnels by a lashing of their bark cord. Small sticks of bamboo are then extended fore and aft, secured to the cross pieces, thus forming a light platform, from twenty to twenty-five feet in length, and eight or ten feet wide. They paddle on the two outsides and insides of the canoes, propelling them forward with astonishing speed, much swifter than our whale-boats with six oars, pulled by our most vigorous tars. These are called their war canoes, and many of them have very curiously carved heads and sterns, which rise from one to three feet above the hull, not unlike the fashion of the New-Zealanders. Their paddles are generally four feet in length, with blades about six inches wide, the whole very neatly finished off with carved work, admirably executed.

Their sails for the single canoes are made like their own garments, of a beautiful long grass, which they have the art of weaving into a strong substantial cloth, suitable for all their ordinary purposes. These sails are shaped like what is called a "shoulder-of-mutton sail," and used in the following manner. The mast stands exactly perpendicular [sic], in the centre of the canoe, being from twelve to eighteen feet in height. At the head of this mast is hoisted a yard, proportioned to the size of the canoe, from twenty-five to thirty-five feet in length. The sail spreads this yard, and when hoisted at the mast-head, its foot sweeps the gunnel of the canoe. These sails are cut in such a manner, that the canoes never need go in stays when beating to windward, being so constructed as

to go either end foremost. When they wish to go on the other tack, she suddenly falls off until the other end of the boat becomes the head, and luffs off to the wind; by which time the men have raised the tack on the depressed end of the yard, and brought its opposite extremity down to the other end of the boat. Thus she hugs the wind on either side by turns, without ever looking directly in its teeth.

I have seen these boats going at the rate of eight miles an hour, within four points of the wind. But let them run large, or before the wind, with a strong breeze, and I have no doubt but they will go at the rate of twelve or thirteen miles an hour, in smooth water. By only shifting the sail, with a side wind, these canoes will pass, back and forth, between two islands, each end alternately foremost, with great rapidity, without the necessity of putting about. The sails, as I observed, are made of the same kind of stuff as their wearing apparel; but it is made much stouter, and in small pieces of about three feet square, sewed together. In cutting the sail to be proper shape, the pieces which come off one side answer to go on the other; this gives it the proper form, and causes the halliards to be bent on in the middle of the yard.

As these canoes are used principally in fishing, it will be proper, in this place, to mention their implements and apparatus for that business. Their nets and seines are made of twine, which they manufacture from the bark of a tree. The meshes are about an inch square, and the length of the seine from fifteen to twenty fathoms, with a depth of fifteen to eighteen feet. Instead of cork floaters, they use small joints of the bamboo, and for lead sinkers they substitute small smooth heavy stones. Their hooks and lines are also very ingeniously constructed; the former being made of mother-of-pearl shell and tortoise-shell. The pearl-shell is well adapted to this purpose, as hooks of this kind require no bait; for the shining property of the shell deceives the fish, which darts at the fatal illusion, and swallows it without hesitation. Their lines are made of the same materials as their nets; they are very neatly twisted, and of great strength. As this people spend a great portion of their time in fishing, they think it but a trifle to go forty or fifty miles a day in search of their prey, and return the same evening.

[Description of Chuukese]

On our first visit to these islands, I stated that a circle of about forty small islands surrounded several larger ones, four of which were about thirty miles in circumference. Only the interior islands are inhabited, and they contain a population of about thirty-five thousand, divided into two distinct races. The two principal westernmost islands, with a few small ones, are peopled by a copper-coloured Indian race; while the two easternmost, with their dependencies, contain a race more nearly allied to the negro; and they frequently make war upon each other, as I understood from both parties, although they were now at peace, and on friendly terms. The blacks are the most numerous, being about twenty thousand in number, while the Indians do not exceed fifteen thousand. I will here attempt a brief description of both, commencing with the negro tribe, on the two easternmost islands.

In stature the men are about five feet ten inches, well proportioned, muscular, and active; with prominent swelling chests, well-moulded limbs, and small feet and hands. Their hair is fine and much curled, but not like the African's. Their foreheads are high and upright, their cheek-bones elevated, their noses well formed, and their lips moderately thin. They have beautiful white teeth, broad chins, short thick necks, broad shoulders, and small ears, standing a little more off from the head than ours. Their eyes are black, bright, quick, and penetrating, with high and long eyelashes. The general expression of the countenance indicates a fierce and daring temperament.

Around the waist or loins they wear a mat, made of the bark of a tree, handsomely woven, and tastefully ornamented with a variety of figures of different colours. They also wear head ornaments, made of the same materials, beautifully adorned with different kinds of feathers; and this, when placed upon the head, resembles a low turban, surmounted with a rich and gaudy fringe. The chiefs have their ears split, or the rim so cut as to present a large opening, in which they wear blocks of very light wood, often as big as a man's wrist. This is generally tastefully decorated with a variety of beautiful feathers, sharks' teeth, &c. They also wear about their necks necklaces of tortoise-shell, pearl-shell, and tufts of feathers. Their bodies are very much tattooed, and the operation is generally executed in quite a tasteful manner, having the appearance of armour. They paint their hair red, and their faces yellow and white; except when going to war, when the latter are painted red, to heighten their ferocious appearance.

The women are small in size, with very handsome delicate features, and a dark sparkling eye, expressive of tenderness and affection. They have round luxuriant chests, slender waists, small hands and feet, straight legs, and small ankles. In short, they seem to be, in every respect, admirably "fitted for the tender offices of love;" and, setting aside our innate prejudice to certain complexions, their personal charms are of very superior order. They do not, however, neglect the "foreign aid of ornament;" but deck themselves with the richest feathers and shells they can obtain, through parental and fraternal affection, or the gallantry of lovers or husbands. Around their head and neck they wear many kinds of ornaments, made of the spoils of birds and fishes; their arms and legs are also decorated in a similar manner, while their breasts are tastefully but very lightly tattooed. They likewise wear a small apron, eight inches wide, and twelve inches long, which they ingeniously ornament around the edges in a very pretty manner, with a diamond worked in the centre, of little choice shells. Over all they wear a cloak or mantle, made of a fine silky grass, woven with great skill and neatness, some of which are tastefully bordered and fringed. This garment is about eight feet in length, and six feet wide, with a hole in the middle just large enough to admit the head; and when worn, it much resembles the South American poncho.

The duties and avocations of the females consist in making all the clothing, fishing-lines, and nets; cooking the food, and taking care of the children; which latter task they perform with exemplary care, attention, and tenderness. They are very kind and affectionate to their husbands; and the latter in return treat their wives with a delicacy and respect that might put some Christians to the blush. In short, they are promising sub-

jects for the operations of judicious missionaries, who attach more importance to practical than to theoretical religion.

The two westernmost islands, as I have said, are peopled by about fifteen thousand copper-coloured Indians, who are somewhat less in stature than the negro tribe I have just attempted to describe. The men are generally only about five feet eight inches in height; but they are stouter, stronger, more athletic, and better calculated for war, and enduring hardships, than the darker skinned tribe just alluded to. They are very active, and remarkably strong. I have seen several of them, who would not weigh more than one hundred and fifty pounds each, lift our small bower anchor, weighing upwards of six hundred, with apparently as much ease as I could lift a hundred weight; and yet they live entirely on fruit and fish, without stimulants of any description. They have straight round bodies, with full chests, muscular limbs, and well-formed hands and feet.

Their complexion is a very light copper-colour; their hair black and long, and generally neatly "done up" on the top of the head. They have high prominent foreheads, indicative of intellectual capabilities, at the lower edge of which, especially with the females, are a pair of long jet-black silken eyelashes, with more than what we would consider a usual curve. These are merely the drapery or window-curtains under which the soul peeps out from her palace, through the crystal medium of a pair of bright penetrating black eyes. Their faces are round, plump, and full; the cheek-bones not being so high as is usual with other savage tribes. They have a handsome nose, moderately elevated, with a mouth well proportioned to the other features of the face, and a beautiful set of teeth, whiter than the purest ivory. Dimpled cheeks and double chins are common in the young of both sexes. The men have short thick necks, the front part of which is generally covered with a long black beard, which is permitted to grow only from the chin. Some of their principal chiefs, however, wear very large mustachios. They have large ears, in the lower part of which is a slit sufficiently large for the reception of an ornament of the size of a goose-egg. This is often decorated with the teeth of various kinds of fish, shells, birds' bills, feathers, and flowers of the valleys. They also wear a neck ornament of nearly the same materials. They are seldom tattooed, excepting from the lower part of the neck to the pit of the stomach; which is often, on the breast of a chief, one uninterrupted tattoo, representing various imaginary figures, executed with much taste and neatness. The dress of both sexes is like that of their eastern neighbours, from which it does not vary in any important particular. They wear rings, or bracelets, of tortoise-shell on their arms, and of pearl-shell on their legs and ankles. For personal cleanliness they may defy competition with any people on earth. They are naturally good-humoured, friendly, lively, cheerful, and active; uncommonly kind and affectionate to their wives and children, and pay great deference and respect to age.

The women generally are of about the same size as ours, delicately formed, with very slender waists, and exquisitely moulded busts. Their hands and feet are not larger than those of our children at twelve years of age; and I have frequently, with both hands, spanned the waists of girls of eighteen and twenty years old. They are marriageable at

ly considered by the natives of Bergh's Group as an unnatural and unmanly act, whatever may be the provocation. But if a woman prove refractory, disobedient, or abusive to her husband, and gentle means will not reclaim her, she is transported to a small island of the group, where none but women reside, and the man who is known to take one of them off, without permission of the government, must suffer death. Punishments still more severe are inflicted on the man who ill-treats his wife.

For feats of strength, agility, and address some of these natives would put our best circus performers to the blush. They will throw a rapid succession of somersets, back and forward, without any thing elastic beneath their feet; and, they are equally expert in running, jumping, climbing, pitching heavy substances, &c. They will ascend a cocoanut-tree, which is tall, straight, and smooth as the mast of a ship, with as much apparent ease and agility as a sailor will ascend the ratlines of shrouds that have just been well set up. They excel also in swimming, and appear to be as much at home in the water as the seal or the tortoise. They will dive to the bottom in fifteen fathoms of water, and bring up half a dozen pearl oysters, with as much ease as some of our best swimmers will go down in three fathoms, and bring any thing from the bottom.

With respect to the religious ideas of these islanders, the little information I obtained may be communicated in a few words. They believe that all things are created by some wise and powerful Being, who rules over and governs the whole, and whose residence is above the stars; that he watches over all his children, and all animated things, with paternal care and affection; that he provides food for man, for the birds, fish, and insects; the most minute being intended to feed the larger, and the whole to sustain the human race; that the Creator waters these islands with his own hand, by pouring down seasonable rains from above; that he planted the cocoanut-tree, the bread-fruit, and all the other trees, together with every shrub, plant, and spire of grass; that good actions are pleasing to him, but that bad actions make him angry; that they shall be happy or miserable hereafter, according to their conduct in this life; that the good will then live on a group of lovely islands, still more pleasant and beautiful than their own, while the bad shall be separated from them, and transported to some rocky desolate island where there are no cocoanuts, nor bread-fruit, nor fresh water, nor fish, nor a single vestige of vegetation. They have no temples, churches, or forms of worship; but say they love the Supreme Being for his goodness to them.

They hold the marriage contract to be a sacred and binding obligation; and that it must be solemnized either in presence of the king, or one of his majesty's principal chiefs duly authorized and delegated for that purpose. Previous to this contract being made, no restraint is imposed upon either party, and the unmarried woman may bestow her favours on whom she pleases, without incurring censure, or feeling conscious of doing wrong. But once married, and a false step is infamy. A pregnant female, married or unmarried, is looked upon with respect and honour; while she herself, with conscious pride of her own fruitfulness, is very far from taking any pains to conceal her situation. A young native in search of a wife generally gives the preference to one who

has already given such incontrovertible evidence of her ability to build him up a family.

Their funeral rites are also somewhat singular and peculiar. On the decease of a near relative, they abstain from all kinds of food for forty-eight hours; and for one month afterward, they take nothing but fruit, depriving themselves entirely of fish, which is their greatest luxury. For the loss of a parent, or a conjugal partner, they also retire in solitude to the mountains, for three months. But duty now compels me to add another circumstance, which for the honour of human nature, I wish could be omitted consistently with truth.—The death of a king, or a principal chief, is always celebrated by human sacrifices! Several men, women, and children are selected as his honorary attendants to the world of spirits; and they are proud of the distinction, for they are buried in the same grave with him! On these occasions, and for two months after the funeral obsequies of a chief, not a canoe is allowed to float upon the water. A few humane missionaries would soon dispel this dark cloud of superstition.

I have already said that the Indian race, who inhabit the two western islands, and the negro race, who inhabit the two eastern islands, are often at war with each other; but I have not yet mentioned their peculiar mode of commencing and carrying on hostilities. From all I can learn, the following is their general plan of operations.

If the western islanders have received, or think they have received, an injury from their eastern neighbours, they send the aggressors notice, by an agent duly authorized for the mission, that in five days from that date (for they always give five days' notice), at such an hour, and in such a place, a certain number of warriors will land on their territory from a specified number of canoes, armed and equipped in such and such a manner; at which time and place negotiations may be opened, for explanations and the redress of grievances.

The landing, the meeting, and the negotiation, all take place accordingly; and if the subject of dispute be amicably adjusted, the affair terminates with a banquet, and both parties are satisfied. But if, on the other hand, they fail to agree, "then comes the tug of war." An equal number of warriors meet the complainants, face to face, and "let the hardest fend off." For half an hour they fight like ferocious tigers, dealing out wounds and death without pity or compunction. They then separate, as if by mutual consent, and rest for the remainder of the day; both parties remaining near the field of battle, burying their dead, and attending to the wants of the wounded.

On the following day, when both parties have declared themselves in readiness, the contest is renewed, with twofold earnestness, and continues twice the time of the yesterday's battle, unless one of the contending parties should give in, and yield the victory to the other. On the contrary, at the termination of an hour's hard fighting, they again separate, lay aside their weapons, and assist each other in burying the dead, and giving relief to the wounded, in the most amicable manner. On the third day the fate of the campaign is decided. On the third day the fate of the campaign is decided. They commence the battle in the morning, and continue it until one of the parties is beaten. If it be the invaders, they forfeit their canoes and weapons to the conquerors, who are

bound to give the vanquished a feast, and convey them to their own islands i safety, where a treaty of pece is ratified by another feast, which lasts two days. The two islands will then be in mourning for fifteen days, in honour of their friends who have fallen in batle. After this a friendly intercourse is renewed, and both parties pass and repass from their respective islands as usual.

On the other hand, should the invading party prove victorious, the others will accede to their demands, and make the best treaty that circumstances will allow, always ratified by a feast of two days' duration. The prisoners taken during the action belong to the individuals who take them, if their party be victorious; otherwise they are given up to the conquerors; but the yielding party are never considered or treated as prisoners, but are honourably used, and sent to their respective homes, as before stated.

The weapons with which these battles are decided consist of spears made of very light wood, and pointed qirh dlinr-aronw oe diah-vonwa; and another kind made of very heavy wood, about sixteen feet in length, sharply pointed, and hardened in the fire. These they will throw to the distance of thirty or forty yards, at a mark the size of a man, and never miss it, generally hitting it near the centre. The points of their weapons are never poisoned; but whether from a principle of honour, or the want of means, I was not informed. Their war clubs are made of a species of wood which much resembles our fustic; being from six to eight feet in length, and about the size of a man's wrist at each end, but smaller in the middle; very smoothly wrought, hansomely proportioned; and, in some parts, elegantly carved. They grasp them by the centre, and exercise with them much in the same manner as an Irishman plys with his *fsprig* of shilaleh." With this weapon I have seen one man keep half a dozen at bay at the same time. Their slings, with which they generally commence the battle, are made of the fibres of the bark of a tree; and are about three feet in length when doubled. In the centre is formed a very neat saddle for the stone, which is generally the size of a goose-egg; this they will throw from one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards with tolerable precision.

The habitations of these islanders are happily cotrived and ingeniously constructed. In size they vary from twenty to sixty feet in length, and from ten to thirty feet in breadth; being only one story high, with angular roofs, neatly thatched with cocoanut and palm leaves, which render them completely water-tight. The sides of the house are covered, during the rainy season, with large mats, made of the same materials, which are put up about the last of November, and removed again about the first of February, and stowed away under the pitch of the roof, in a place constructed for that purpose. Thus, for nearly ten months of the year, the air has a free circulation through all parts of the house, both night and day. When the tight waterproof mats are removed in February, their place is supplied for the pleasant season by a set of open-work mats, resembling, in appearance, the topo or staysail netting of a ship, and forming a beautiful substitute for lattice-work. The floors are carpeted with coarse mats, which are regularly washed once a week, at the sea-shore.

Their beds are soft mats, very finely wrought, of which the more delicate and luxurious have several thicknesses or layers, piled on each other. Some of the females who

are mothers have baskets, or cradles of wickerwork, suspended to the roof of the house, for the young children to sleep in. They have also a kind of bed or crib very ingeniously contrived for the sick, consisting of a large strong mat, stretched on a frame of bamboo, elevated about eighteen inches from the floor, and furnished with sides of network. These are as contrived, with a hole or opening in the centre, that the patient who is very low need not be disturbed by the necessary calls of nature. Over these cribs, or sickbeds, are suspended large fans, made of palm leaves, which the patient can easily put in motion by a small cord. They also have finely-wrought mats, made expressly to eat from, which after every meal are immediately taken to the water and washed. In short, on the score of personal and domestic cleanliness, these islanders of Bergh's Group excel every race of people I ever saw or heard of; and my wife frequently tells me, in her playful manner, that for her improvement in the science of housekeeping she is indebted to the lessons she received from the ladies of Bergh's Group.

Their houses are arranged in clusters, or small villages; standing in regular rows, with streets between them, about fifty fathoms wide. Each house has a spacious yard attached to it, surrounded by a bamboo fence, so constructed as to admit a free circulation of the air. In the centre of each village is the residence of a chief, who directs all its affairs in the capacity of magistrate, and to whose judgment all local disputes are submitted; with the right of appealing from his decision to that of the king, or head chief of the tribe.

These islands are moderately elevated, each of them being high in the centre, and gradually descending into beautiful valleys and fertile plains towards the shores, at all points of the compass, with crystal streams running into the sea in every direction. It will easily be conceived that a group of islands thus situated, near the equator, covered with a deep mellow soil, and presenting such features to a tropical sun, must teem with vegetable life in rapid and perpetual succession. Indeed, I doubt if the last word be appropriate where blossoms and ripe fruit adorn the same trees, and even the same branches, interspersed with the same kind of fruit in all its different stages and gradations of existence. Every falling leaf is merely pushed from the stem by a newly formed successor, while the full-seeded plants, grass, and vegetables are compelled to give place to a premature offspring. Spring, summer, and autumn are here in perpetual contention for the supremacy. Winter merely takes a hasty peep at the contest, and retires with an animating smile even sweeter than their own.

Were the inhabitants of these islands only possessed of a little agricultural knowledge, and would exercise it with a tithe of the skill and ingenuity which they display on self-taught arts of less importance, these islands might soon become the richest gardens of the world. I hope and trust that I have been instrumental in laying the foundation of such a desirable revolution. I communicated all the information on the subject which our brief intercourse would permit, through interpreters whose native dialect was so similar to their own that they could converse together without the least difficulty.¹ I

1 Ed. note: They were Yapese (see below), perhaps men who had served aboard the brig *Concepción* (shipwrecked at Fiji), but previously brought to Manila with some other survivors.

also furnished them with a variety of seeds, which they promised to plant and cultivate according to my directions. Among these were, apples, pears, peaches, plums, melons, pumpkins, yams, potatoes, onions, cabbages, beets, carrots, parsnips, beans, peas, &c. I have no doubt but coffee, pepper, sugar-cane, and spices of various kinds would thrive on these islands with little or no trouble.

The thick and heavy growth of the forests is evidence of sufficient weight to prove the richness of the soil which clothes the surface of these beautiful islands. I know that the uplands produce sandal-wood, but in what quantities I was not able to ascertain. A great number and variety of beautiful plants are found in every direction; not only in the valleys and plains, but also on the hills, to their very summits. Many of these were strangers to me, and such, I presume, as are not generally known in this country. Some of them, I am sure, would be highly esteemed by scientific collectors. The cocoanut and bread-fruit-trees, here grow to an enormous size, and their fruits are much larger and of more delicious flavour than those I have been accustomed to see in other islands of these seas.

The natives of Bergh's Group are blessed with the purest of water, descending in limpid streams from their mountain sources. But they seldom drink it until it has ascended through the invisible veins of the lofty cocoanut-tree, and concealed itself in the centre of its delectable fruit. Thus purified in one of nature's sweetest alembics, they consider it the purest and most wholesome beverage in the world.

The climate here is also delightful, never too hot, nor too cold. Lying in the strength of that aerial current called the north-east trade-winds, these islands are always refreshed with a fine cool sea-breeze, which keeps the atmosphere in a pure state, imparting health, activity, and vigour in every department of animated nature.

Of the animals found on these islands my information is very limited, as I had no opportunity of inspecting the interior. I know that the groves abound with a great variety of birds, all of them beautiful to the eye, and most of them charmingly musical. I saw several reptiles of the lizard family, but none of the serpent tribe. Insects are numerous, gaudy and sparkling, but none of them troublesome. Of minerals we saw none worthy of notice. The waters within the outer reef that surrounds the whole group are swarming with a great variety of excellent fish, which may be taken in great abundance, either with a seine or by hook and line. Shellfish of various kinds, abound among the reefs and shoals, and along the shores, some of which afford rare specimens, surpassing any thing I have ever met with in any other part of the world. I know of no place where the naturalist and virtuoso could procure a richer collection of rare, curious, and valuable shells than at these islands. Pearl oysters are plenty, and those which we obtained of the natives were of the same kind as the Sooloo sea-shell. The green turtle is abundant, but I think that the hawk's-bill tortoise is very scarce, as we saw few in the water, and not much of the shell among the natives.

Biche-de-mer may be obtained here in great abundance, and of a very superior quality, provided the amicable professions of the natives can be depended on, without which it would be impossible to cure them, in which case the time and labour of taking

them would be entirely lost. Under favourable circumstances, several cargoes might be taken here, a great part of which would command the highest price, if the specimens we saw are a criterion for judging of its general quality. Some that we found were two fet in length, and eighteen inches in circumference; the meat of which, when the entrails were taken out, would weigh from seven to nine pounds! This is a larger size than any that I have ever seen at the Feejee Islands, the New-Hebrides, Bougainville's, New-Ireland, New-Britain, New-Guinea, New-Hanover, or even at the Massacre Islands.

I have not the least doubt, that a ship built and equipped expressly for a voyage to these islands, for the purpose of procuring pearls, pearl and tortoise-shell, *biche-de-mer*, and other valuables, under the conduct of a careful and able commander, would obtain two or three cargoes for the Canton market without having any trouble with the antives, provided they are treated with kindness, and dealt with honourably. For such an enterprise, the necessary articles of traffic are, beads, looking-glasses, tinder-works, axes, hatchets, adzes, saws, planes, chisels, gouges, gimlets, files, rasps, spoke-shaves, hammers, knives, scissors, razors, needles, thread, different kinds of crockery-ware, cheap chintz, and calicoes of bright gaudy colours, and all sorts of trinkets. These articles should all be selected by a man who has a thorough knowledge of the trade.

A ship intended for this trade should be from three hundred to three hundred and fifty tons burthen; built of good materials, of a light draught of water, and a fast sailer. She should also be built on a different construction from any other vessel, and rigged into a barque. She should be well armed, with at least ten double fortified twelve-pound carronades; and two long twelves, and manned with an effective crew of forty or fifty able-bodied men, with a select first-rate set of officers, besides several medical and scientific men. She should also be provided with four brass blunderbusses for each top, with water-tight arm-chests, for the same purpose. Her anchors and cables should be of more than double the usual weight and strength of those intended for any other trade. She should be amply supplied with all kinds of nautical instruments, for ascertaining the exact situation of all the islands and places she might visit, in order that the same may be accurately laid down, for the benefit of others. Above all, she should be placed under the command of a man who is qualified for the business; one who is familiarly acquainted with the peculiar navigations of those seas, and who will study the health and comfort of his men, and the permanent welfare of the natives.

Such a ship, thus prepared for a two years' voyage, and navigated by such a commander, would return an immense profit to the owners. I do not entertain the shadow of a doubt, that an investment of thirty-five or forty thousand dollars. The discovery of these islands has laid open a field for the exercise of commercial enterprise of vast importance, not only to individuals, but to our country at large. The soil is rich, and capable of producing, under proper cultivation, all the vegetable wealth of a tropical climate.

In giving these islands the name of Bergh's Group, I was actuated solely by the desire of adding to the well-earned celebrity of a name which is universally respected by all who have the happiness of knowing the family which it designates. My friend Edwin

Bergh is the son of Christian Bergh, Esq., a ship-builder of no inconsiderable eminence, in the city of New-York; and is justly entitled to the honour of having his name engraved in characters that time can never obliterate, on the coral parapet that surrounds the loveliest group of islands in the Pacific Ocean. I claim to be the first discoverer of these islands, and I know their worth. Independent of my own observations, the natives were very communicative to me on the subject of their natural productions and capabilities, through the interpreters before alluded to, who were natives of Yap, an island which is situated about sixty leagues north-east of the Pelew Islands, the natives of which speak a language almost exactly like that spoken by the inhabitants of Bergh's Group. These men had acquired the Spanish language at Manilla, through which medium my information was obtained.

August 31st.—I am fully convinced that the natives of these islands are more mild, gentle, peaceable, and honourably disposed, than any other savage tribes I have ever met with; but they are still savages, and from some suspicious circumstances which occurred on Tuesday the 31st of August, I adopted the conclusion that it would not be prudent to trust them too far, well knowing, from long experience, that caution is the parent of security. On the day just mentioned, the **Antarctic** was surrounded by more than four hundred canoes, in many of which we saw, for the first time, a large supply of war implements. As we had never taken notice of any thing of this kind before, we began to entertain some unpleasant suspicions of intended treachery and impending hostilities; although, when questioned on the subject, by our natives of Yap, they solemnly denied having any inimical intentions, alleging that they had merely armed in consequence of some apprehended dispute with the negroes.

This explanation was not satisfactory, and as I felt a great reluctance to come to an open rupture with a people to whom I had become so strongly attached, I determined to shorten my visit, and leave them in the course of the day. In the meantime I adopted every necessary precaution for the defence of the vessel. A double sentry was placed in the gangways, on both quarters, and on both bows, with four loaded muskets by each man. Men with lighted matches in their hands were stationed by the brass swivels which were mounted on the rail, and loaded with canisters of musket-balls. They stood with the monkey-tails in their hands, the aprons off, with instructions not to touch a single match to the priming without distinct orders from me, which would not be given unless the natives commenced an attack. Whatever might have been their original secret intentions, they were evidently forcibly struck with the unusual stir and bustle on board the **Antarctic**; where the drums were beating, the colours flying, the fifes playing, and the bugles sounding, "with fearful note of dreadful preparation." While our deck was thus enlivened, our gallant tars were all life and activity, paying the most prompt attention to the various duties assigned them. In a few minutes the anchor was at the bow; and in the next moment, to the astonishment of the gazing natives, the **Antarctic's** white wings were all expanded at once, even to steering-sails and stay-sails, courteously wooing the breeze, which was wafting her along at the rate of eight miles an hour.

At the moment that orders were given to let fall the sails (the yards and gaffs being at the mast-heads), to sheet home the topsails, and gather aft the sheets of the fore-and-aft sails, the music struck up *Yankee Doodle*; and in less than two minutes from the time the anchor came to the bows (all the canvass being still furled), all sail was set, trimmed to the wind, and the **Antarctic** was once more gliding over the bosom of the placid lagoon, with all her native grace and beauty.

September 3d.—On Friday, the 3d of September, we passed within about ten miles of the east end of Young William's Group, on our way to Monteverdeson's Islands, at which it was our intentnion to touch.

CHAPTER VIII.

Monteverdeson's Group—Treachery of the Natives—Attack on the Antarctic repulsed—Wholesome Chastisement—Arrive at the Massacre Islands—Assailed by the cannibals, who are repulsed with Loss—Fire upon the Town—Beneficial Result—Leonard Shaw, supposed to have fallen in the general Massacre, alive, and liberated from a horrid Slavery—Excitement of the Crew—Purchase of an Island—A Castle in the Air—Suspicious Movements—A brief Sketch of the Sufferings of Leonard Shaw, during a Captivity of more than Fifteen Weeks among the Cannibals.

The reader will perhaps recollect, that when we left Monteverdeson's [Nukuoro] Islands, on the 18th of May, as recorded in Chapter VI., the **Antarctic** was chased several miles by an armed flotilla of canoes, manned by more than five hundred hostile savages. Unwilling to shed the blood of this treacherous misguided people, we left them to their own reflections; hoping that our forbearance on that occasion would teach them a more salutary lesson than a demonstration of our power could have done. In coming to this conclusion, however, we judged them more favourably than they deserved; as they attributed our lenity to imbecility, and our retreat to cowardice; an opinion which only tended to encourage their treachery and increase their audacity and presumption.

September 5th.—In our passage from Bergh's Group to the Massacre Islands, we found it expedient to touch once more at Monteverdeson's Group; and accordingly, on Sunday, the 5th of September, at five, A.M., we were close in with its western end; and at six, A.M., were visited by about two hundred of the natives, in their canoes, without arms. Nothing was said on either side about their unwarranted and unprovoked designs against us, three months before; they pretended to be very sincere in their amicable professions, and we pretended to believe them. They also appeared to be very eager and anxious to trade with us, in which we indulged them, as far as their little stock of trifling curiosities extended. The breeze having now died away to a perfect calm, the vessel was drifted about by a gentle current, which set to the south-west.

The natives remained alongside until five o'clock in the afternoon, when they all took leave of us in a very friendly manner, and paddled towards the nearest island, which was then about three miles to the north-east. When they had proceeded about half-way to the shore, they all suddenly came to a full stop; but for what purpose we could not imagine. As the sun was about setting, we at first conjectured that it might be some religious ceremony that detained them, such as paying their evening adoration to the departing luminary. Our conjectures and doubts, however, were not of long duration. A party of about three hundred warriors was soon observed to put off from the shore, and join those who were lying on their oars.

In the next moment we could see the new comers hastily distributing war clubs, spears, bows and arrows, and other offensive weapons, among the traders who had so recently left us with every demonstration of friendship. By the aid of our glasses, we watched these suspicious movements with painful interest. When the arms were distributed to every canoe, we could see them paint their faces red, and adorn their heads with cocoanut leaves and red feathers. They then appeared to hold a short council of war; and in a few minutes after, the whole force started for the **Antarctic**, with great

speed, and in two divisions. As they drew near, we could perceive that their ferocious countenances exhibited a desperate determination to succeed in carrying the **Antarctic**, or perish in the attempt.

I now repented of my forbearance on a former occasion. I regretted that I did not then lay-to, for a few minutes, and punish their treachery, while we had a fine breeze and daylight in our favour. I regretted it for their own sake; for at that time a slight chastisement would have been sufficient to admonish them of the impropriety of their conduct. But they were now emboldened by our lenity, and the mistaken confidence that they had to deal with cowards. WE could not leave them to the enjoyment of their error, for we were perfectly becalmed; the sun had set, and the alternative was life or death. They persisted in their fatal folly, and the result was inevitable.

It is scarcely necessary to say that we were prepared for such an emergency. Every man was at his quarters, ready to receive the impending assault. The guns were double-shotted with grape and canister; the swivels were loaded with canisters of musket-balls; one hundred loaded muskets were on deck, all in excellent order; each of the crew was armed with a brace of pistols, and a cutlass by his side, with a boarding-pike within his reach. Every man was ready to sacrifice his life in defence of the **Antarctic**; and their enthusiasm was not in the least diminished by the knowledge that the fate of a lady was connected with the result.

The savage warriors advanced in fine order, and with great rapidity; exhibiting in their manœuvres a coolness, tact, skilfulness, and deliberate calculation that I was not prepared to expect, and which would have honoured a better cause. As soon as they approached within close pistol-shot, and by the time that their first volley of arrows was fastened in the empty sails, now flapping in useless drapery against the masts, the **Antarctic** opened a brisk and well-directed fire, from her great guns, swivels, and musketry; which must have appeared to the assailants as one sheet of flame. Agreeably to previous orders, the pieces were all immediately reloaded as before, but not discharged.

We waited, somewhat anxiously, for the smoke to clear away, in order to ascertain the situation and disposition of the enemy; who, to our no small surprise, were all in the water, like so many porpoises! Several of their canoes were literally cut to pieces; and their implements of war appeared scattered over the surface of the sea, in every direction. The excited crew were blowing their matches, anxious to give them another volley during their confusion. But this I positively forbade, being well convinced that the unexpected cordiality of their reception would more than satisfy the ill-advised assailants. An imploring look, which I construed into a petition for mercy, was cast towards the **Antarctic** by almost every one of the terrified swimmers; the appeal was irresistible, and I granted them a respite which they would never have given us, had their diabolical designs succeeded. They hastily got into such of their canoes as were yet fit for service, picked up their wounded, collected most of their scattered weapons, took their shattered canoes in tow, and started for the shore with as much alacrity of exertion as ever they exercised before.

By this time it was totally dark; and having no wind, we were obliged to keep all hands at quarters during the night; lest the savages should return with reinforcements, under the expectation of taking us by surprise. At daylight, however, we took a light breeze from east-north-east, and continued on our course to the south and east.

September 9th.—On Wednesday, the 9th, we took the south-east trade-winds, from east-by-south to east-south-east, and fair weather; being in latitude 3°10' north, longitude 158°41' east. On the Friday following we crossed the equator, in longitude 159°4' east. We found the currents the same as on our former passage through this region; and on the third day after entering the southern hemisphere, we found ourselves close in with the east end of that group which I had too much reason to call the "Massacre Islands."

...
[Fourteen sailors had remained on that Melanesian island. Upon arrival there, they were immediately attacked and fired upon. The only survivor, Thomas Shaw, was rescued, and revealed that the others had been eaten by the natives. The business of curing *beche-de-mer* or *trepan* was undertaken once more, but abandoned after new attacks by the natives.]

...

Document 1830E

The Antarctic—Narrative of Mrs. Morrell

Source: Mrs. Abby Jane [Wood] Morrell. Narrative of a Voyage to the Ethiopic and South Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, Chinese Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, in the Years 1829, 1830, 1831 (New-York, Harper, 1833).

...
The next morning, January 24th [1830], we took leave of all our English friends and the natives, got under way, and put to sea with a fresh breeze and a light rain, bound to Manilla. We continued on our voyage with occasionally thick weather and brisk breezes, until we reached the latitude of 1°23' north, and longitude 170°2' east. We now, February 16th, found ourselves in the north-east trade-winds, with fair weather, and on the 19th, in the morning, we saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island, which lies in latitude 5°58' north, and longitude 162°55' east.

This island is about ten leagues in circumference, and of moderate height, as it appeared to us from the sea. The uplands are all covered with thick forest trees, and the low grounds with fruit trees. The appearance of the natives is wild; they have long hair, and their complexion is of a light copper colour. Their canoes are light, and from ten to fifty feet in length. They paddle them through the water with great skill and dexterity. They have a great partiality for trinkets, red paint, and all sorts of cutlery. An old iron hoop will purchase a plentiful supply of fruit—a strong proof that they are not often visited by Europeans, as Indians soon grow sagacious in their traffic. It is thought by navigators that this island contains sandal-wood and other valuables.

We continued our voyage with a fine wind and pleasant weather, occasionally seeing indications of land, such as grass, trees, sperm-whales, and many kinds of sea-birds.

On the 23d land was again seen from the mast-head, which proved to be seven small islands surrounded by a coral reef [i.e. Pulap]. These islands my husband said he believed had never been seen before; they certainly were not on any chart we had on board, and we were well provided with maps and charts. They are thickly inhabited, and are rich and fertile. We were in an unfrequented track, expecting to meet with shoals and new islands, and he therefore took the utmost precaution in keeping a look-out. Men were stationed at mast-head and other places, to mark the slightest appearance of danger. On the night of the 23d, breakers were discovered ahead, but by the timely precautions of my husband all difficulties were avoided, although we were in imminent danger, as I afterward understood from all the officers on board. I saw that the men

had been much frightened, but my husband never talked of danger, nor did he ever permit me to think of it. I was, however, sadly alarmed at the time from his manner of command, and the thoughts of my child, my mother, and all my friends, rushed to my mind at once, and I felt that I was to be called to leave them; but Heaven ordered it otherwise—we were all saved.

In the morning we took a view of the coral reef on which we had nigh been stranded. Within its circle were a large number of small islands, and within these we could easily distinguish four large high islands, which appeared to be very fertile, and covered with timber and fruit-trees. Several canoes were seen within the reef, filled with men, who seemed to wish us to anchor; but the number we saw made my husband think it might be hazardous to do so. One of the canoes ventured near us; the men were large, long-haired, and of a light mulatto colour. They were warlike in their appearance, but showed no signs of hostility. To these islands my husband gave the name of Bergh's [Chuuk] Group, in honour of Edwin Bergh, Esq., of New-York. These islands, also, were not found upon any chart I have ever seen.

We kept on our course towards Manilla, and on the morning of the 25th of February discovered another unknown [sic] island, surrounded by a coral reef, which was but thinly inhabited; and as we were not prepared to trade with the Indians, we passed on without further notice at this time.

We continued on our course with fine north-east trade-winds and delightful weather, until the 5th of March, when we arrived at the Straits of St. Bernardino, and in the evening we came to anchor in the entrance of the straits.

...

Documents 1830G

The ship Edward, Captain J. Gilbert (?)

Note: Also check AJCP PRO reel 3193, for the Surgeon's journal.

G1. First account

Sources: Log in the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; PMB 771.

Note: Badly written and difficult to read. This ship was on a commercial voyage along the coast of South America, before crossing the Pacific. After leaving Hawaii, it visited Tinian and Aguijan on 10 December 1830, before heading for Manila.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Remarks on Friday [16 Dec 30]

Commences with fresh breezes & Pleasant at 6 AM Double Reef the Top Sails & hauled the Ship by the Wind at 12 midnight Wore Ship.

Middle part fresh gale & squally Blowy Dirty weather with high sea at 6 AM kept ship away towards SE at 8 Dis[covered] the Island of Tinian Zaypan & Aguijan at 11 AM Past between Tinian & Aguijan.

At the Meridian Tinian South Point bore E by N & the West End NE by N. Ends squally fresh weather[.] No obs. this Day.

Lat. 14.55 Long 145.40

Journal of Passage from Islands Tinian Towards Canton.

Remarks on Saturday Dec. 11 1830

Commences with fresh breezes & squally all sail got lengthed of pho out 2-20 oz Bbl mos 145.20 E

The Island Tinian in sight East End Bearing E by N but about 15 or 18 miles.

Middle & Latter part fresh breezes & squally all sail set.

Latt by obs 16-22.

...

G2. Second account.

Sources: Logbook in the Queensborough Public Library, Jamaica, N. Y.; PMB 689.

...

Friday Dec. 10 Latt 14°49 N Long. 147°47

Enters Blowing fresh clear and Pleasant at 5-30 P.M. took in all steering sails and rig'd in the Boom's at 6 P.M. took in all light sails Double Reef'd the Top sails & hove her too Blowing Fresh with a Bad sea[.] at Midnight wore ship to the Southward & Eastward at 4'30 AM Wore ship again Courses W1/2S. NW by N. SE by E. NW by N. W1/2S. Winds N.E.

Fridays Remarks Continued

to the Northward and Westward throug[h] the night heavy squals with hard rain at 5.30 AM turned the reefs out of Fore and main Top sails set main top Gt [=gallant] sail Starboard Fore topmast and lowered steering sails[.] at 8 AM made the Ladrone groupe of Islands. Where 15 months ago We lay and recruited in the old **Dawn** made the Island of Guam [rather Aguijan] W by N1/2N [sic] Distance 6 leagues Tinian NW by N[.] at 8 30 made the Island of Aguiam [sic] Bearing W by S. Dist. 7 leagues hauled up for the East point of Guam [sic] to be well to the Windward going through Between them going through the Passage thick and Blowing fresh at Merridian right Between the Islands.

Saturday 11th Latt. 16°22 N Long. 142(?)°02 E.

Commences with strong breezes & not much sea Guam Breaking it off we being Right under its lea at 3 PM the Eastermost point Bore E by S and the Westermost point NE. by N from which I take a fresh Departure but the Mizen Staysail unbent the old fore top G[allan]t sail and bent a new one otherwise employed fitting our rigging for rough Blowing weather taking in and making sail as ocasion requires through the night fresh Breezes and Bad sea at 3 AM set fore top Gt sail in the moring appearances of rainy Blowy Weather at 6 AM furred fore and main top Gt sails and with strong breezes and bad sea

Courses NW by W1/2W, & W.N.W, & NW by W. Winds N.E.

...

Document 1830H

Logbook of the merchantman *Glide* of Salem, Captain Henry Archer, Jr.

Logbook kept by William Endicott

Voyage 1829-1831 from Salem to the Pacific Ocean (via Fiji, Manila, etc.)

Source: Ms. in the Peabody Museum, Salem; PMB 218, 225.

[After leaving Fiji, the ship did not sight or stopped at any island of Micronesia. Samar was sighted on 14 June 1830.]

...

[Eastward crossing Manila-Hawaii]

Wednesday August 11, 1830

Commences with fine breezes and cloudy. At 8 pm in steering sails. At 6:30 spoke an English sloop from the Caroline Islands bound to Guam, one of the Marianne Islands. Ends light airs, pleasant, all the drawing sails set.

Long. 144°09', Lat. obs. 13°28' North.

...

Monday August 16, 1830

Light variable winds and pleasant. Squally appearances. All sail set by the wind. At 4 pm saw the island of Rota bearing E by S. At 6:30 am the variation per azimuth was 3°00' East. Saw the island of Guham. At noon Rota bore NE by E 25 miles.

Long. 144°48' E, Lat. obs. 14°20' North.

Tuesday August 17, 1830

Fine breezes and variable with squalls of rain. Took in and set sail as the occasion required. At 10 am, Bird Island¹ N East 45 miles. Ends with all sail set by the wind.

Long. 145°21' [E], Lat. obs. 15°45' North.

¹ Ed. note: From the latitude given, this corresponds to Farallon de Medinilla.

Wednesday August 18, 1830

Commences with fine breezes and pleasant. All sail set by the wind. Middle part squally. In top g. sails, up courses, and hauled by the wind. At 4:30 bore away. Set all the drawing sails. Saw a number of the Ladrone Islands.

Long. 146°09' [E], Lat. obs. 16°49' North.

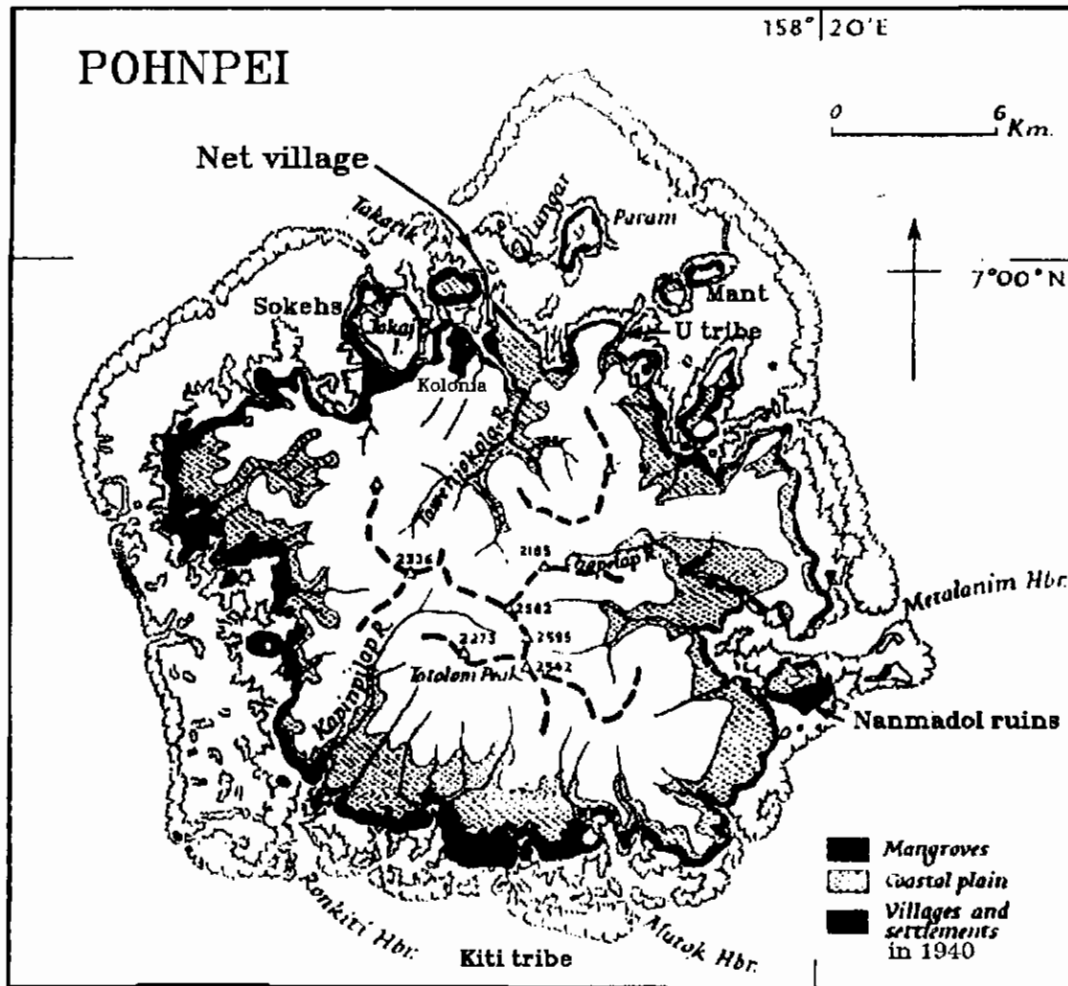
Thursday August 19, 1830

Light breezes and pleasant. All the drawing sails set. Saw breakers between the Isles of Antigua [sic] and Farelton [sic] At 5 pm the variation per azimuth 5°47' [E]. Ends all sail set before the wind. Number of the Ladrone Isles in sight.

Long 146°54' [E], Lat. obs. 16°58' North.

...
[Then the ship went to Maui, Hawaiian Is., and back to Fiji, where she was shipwrecked.]¹

1 Ed. note: See book edited by William Giles Dix, and attributed to James Oliver, entitled: *Wreck of the Glide* (New York, 1848).



Pohnpei Island 110 years after O'Connell lived there. The capital was then at Net, facing present-day Kolonia. (Adapted from a map published by the British Intelligence Bureau in 1945).

Document 1830I

The autobiography of James O'Connell, who lived in Pohnpei for three years, 1830-1833

Source: James F. O'Connell. A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands (Boston, 1836).

Notes: O'Connell deserted from the whaler John Bull, of Sydney, Captain Barkus, while she was at, or near Kosrae. In fact, the Captain was likely killed by his own crew and the ship destroyed. Naturally, O'Connell lied about this incident and invented a shipwreck, which supposedly occurred on a reef S.E. of Pohnpei. He took to a boat with 5 other survivors, and lived in the Net District of Pohnpei (today's center) for about three years. He was rescued by the brig Spy, of Salem, in November 1833.

Extract from the preface of his book.

O'Connell kept no notes, and had, to assist his relation, no aid but a retentive memory. Under such circumstances, confusion in dates, should there prove to be any, will be excused.

...

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. O'Connell ships in barque John Bull.—Embarkation of missionaries for Strong's Island.—Vessel strikes a reef.—Deserted by crew.—Mr. O'Connell, five others of the crew, and the wife and daughter of the missionary, escape in one boat.—Lose sight of their comrades.—Sufferings from cold and heat.—Death of the females.—Make land after three days.—Find landing.—Caution of the islanders.—Their attack.—Non-resistance of Mr. O'Connell and his comrades.—Their names.—Conducted to canoe-house.—Hospitable conduct of islanders.—Fear of cannibalism.—Jig by Mr. O'Connell.—Delight of his audience.—Baked dogs.—Jagow.—Arrival of chiefs.—Distribution of the strangers among them.—Jane Porter.—Cut up and sewed into blankets.—Washed away by rain.—Looking-glass a great curiosity.—Smashed to catch the spirits in its back.

In or about the year 1826, I shipped in the barque **John Bull**, whaler, Capt. Barkus.¹ The common incidents of a whaling voyage, which I have already declined recounting in another place, it is unnecessary to repeat here. After we had been from Sydney about four months, we put in at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand. Bishop Marsden, at that time on a visit to New Zealand, from his residence at Paramata, put on board of us a missionary who was appointed to Strong's [Kosrae] Island, one of the

¹ Ed. note: In fact, this barque left Sydney on 12 May 1830, and was spoken in November of that year, before she went missing (ref. Nicholson's Log of Logs, vol. 2).

Caroline Archipelago, with his wife and daughter. We were to cruise among the islands towards Japan, with the intention to reach the shores of Japan at a particular season, when whales were supposed to frequent the Sea of Japan. At eight months out we had taken about 800 barrels of oil, and were endeavoring to make Strong's Island to leave our passengers. At nightfall we had made no land, but knew from observation and the ship's log that we were within a day's sail of our destination. We were bowling along under easy sail, the wind on our quarter, when, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the vessel struck on a concealed coral reef, which is not laid down on the charts. Capt. Barkus was, as usual, drunk on the hen-coop when the vessel struck. In the presence of the master, the mates can assume with success no authority which it is his peculiar province to exercise; consequently, with a drunken, stupid sot for a master, every one followed the promptings of his own experience or inclination. The boats were lowered, but notwithstanding the necessary precipitation with which we prepared to leave the vessel, the boat in which I escaped was furnished with provisions and arms, and we were able, also, to take away some ammunition and little portable articles. In the boat with myself were five seamen, and the wife and daughter of the missionary. He was in the boat with the captain. In the four boats the whole crew escaped from the vessel. For five or six hours we kept together, but when the morning dawned there was only one of the other boats discernible, and that but faintly, a long distance astern, as we created a wave! Even in a latitude which must have been within fifteen [sic] degrees of the equator, a night passed without sleep or food, in an open boat, washed by the continual breakings of the sun over it, chilled our whole frames; we were faint, cold, weak, jaded and dispirited. But the sufferings of the ladies engrossed more of our care than our own situation. We had a sail in the boat, and kept her away before it, both because of the comparative comfort of such a course, and our indifference as to what point we stood for. As I sat steering, I folded the shivering, sobbing daughter to my body with my left arm, while two of my shipmates assisted in protecting her by placing themselves on each side. The mother was similarly cared for by the other seamen. We tendered them parts of our clothing, but could not persuade or induce them to accept any thing of the kind. Oh, such a horrid night! The women had much more to endure than ourselves, for, beside the natural weakness of their frames, and the delicacy which is woman's suffering in misfortune as her ornament in prosperity, they suffered acute pain from the excoriation they had received in descending to the boat by the davit tackles; the salt water rendering poignant the smarting pain of their wounds. But in all this affliction they bore holy testimony to the efficacy of that religion whose messengers they were; their fortitude might have put even some of their male associates in misfortune to the blush. If ever true practice as well as profession of religion existed, it was exemplified in this family. On shipboard, before our misfortune, the discreet and feeling manner in which they strove to impress upon rude sailors the truths of religion, had convinced all of their sincerity, at least. In the boat we had more affecting proof. They prayed frequently and fervently, and there were none to scoff.

Broiling heat succeeded the chills of night; the wind abated, flattened, at noon we were becalmed; dying with heat and fatigue upon a sea whose dead swell was so tranquil that its glassy, slimy smoothness was not ruffled. Toward night we had a breeze again, through the night the wet chills, and the same heat and calm upon the next day. After two days and three nights' exposure, the daughter died about ten o'clock on the third day. For some hours before she had been apparently unconscious of her situation; she had talked in her wanderings of her father, of her home, and of the island in which she was destined on an errand of mercy: the happy end of her pilgrimage was attained without the toil to which she had in her youth devoted herself to reach it. The mother was by suffering so far bereft of sensibility, that the death of her child hardly moved her. She scarcely appeared to understand us when we informed her of it; or, if she did, the announcement was received with a sort of delirious joy. With as much attention to the forms of civilized society as our situation would permit, we committed the body to the ocean. We at first intended to wrap the corpse in our sail; but the prudence of a portion of the crew, who objected to exposing the living to save a form for the dead, prevailed. The mother, in her weak state, hardly uttered a comment, and in a few hours followed her daughter. Her body was also consigned to the deep.

Upon the next morning after these melancholy duties to the two martyrs to the holy religion they professed, we made the land. We had been in the boat three days and four nights, but, rejoiced as we were to make the land, no immediate prospect of profiting by it appeared, for it was circled with a coral reef, in which it was past noon before we discovered an opening. Effecting a passage we entered a smooth basin of water, and saw hundreds of canoes launching and putting off to us. They would approach within a short distance, then suddenly retreat, and at length commenced showering stones, arrows, and other missiles upon us. We threw ourselves in the bottom of the boat; and when they had satisfied themselves that we could or would offer no resistance, they were emboldened to make a rush upon the boat, which they towed to the beach. After we were landed they stripped us of our clothing, and took every thing out of the boat, whale irons, tubs, muskets, etc. The boat was then hauled upon the beach, and our company, six in number, were led to the canoe-house. In the hope that this publication may be the means of conveying intelligence to their friends, I shall here insert the names of my comrades, and their birthplaces, so far as I remember them. George Keenan, an Irishman, belonging to Dublin; John Johnson, an Englishman; Edward Bradford, of Bristol; John Thompson, of Liverpool; and John Williams, of London. Of the native places of the two last-named persons I am not positive.

We were seated in the centre of the canoe-house, upon mats; and yams, bread fruit, plantains, bananas, fish, bits of cold game of some sort, the class of which we could not at first decide, were brought to us. The building was filled in every chink by natives, seated, the men with crossed legs, like Turks, and the women on their heels. A constant buzz of conversation ran through the assembly, each talking to his next neighbor and gesticulating vehemently. The interjection or sound indicative of pleasure or surprise among these Indians is a cluck, and of this sound there was abundance, but we were at

that time at a loss how to interpret it. Parties of two or three would come down to where we sat, walking with their bodies bent almost double. They took hold of our persons very familiarly, women and men, and gave frequent clucks of admiration at the blue veins which were marked through our skins, on parts of the body which had not been usually exposed to be bronzed by the sun. My comrades feared the Indians were cannibals, and that this examination was to discover whether we were in good roasting case: a horrible supposition, which was strengthened by the building of two or three wood fires, covered with small stones. Their fear was so excessive that they gave themselves up as lost; but as I had been somewhat acquainted with the manners of the inhabitants of other islands, I reasoned, from the apparent good humor of these people, that they intended us no harm.

In a sort of desperate feeling of recklessness, I determined to try the experiment of dancing upon our savage audience. I proposed it to my comrades, and they endeavored to reason me out of what they esteemed criminal, thoughtless conduct in the view of a horrid death. The prospect was none of the most agreeable, certainly; but I was determined on my experiment despite their remonstrances. I accordingly sprung to my feet and took an attitude; a cluck of pleasure ran through the savages, and one of them, readily understanding my intention, spread a mat for me. I struck into Garry Owen, and figured away in that famous jig to the best of my ability and agility; and my new acquaintances were amazingly delighted thereat. There was no lous acclamation, but anxious peering and peeping over each other's shoulders, the universal cluck sounding all over the house. Before my dance was finished the cause for which the fires were built became apparent, to the no small relief of my comrades. It was ascertained that the roasting preparations were made, not for us, but for some quadrupeds, which we afterwards found were dogs. Other preparations, such as the pounding of *jagow* [sakau], (cava in the Sandwich Island language,) roasting of game, etc. were making for a feast. In three or four hours all was ready. After my dance was concluded we were separated from each other, each of us making the nucleus of a group of natives, who could not sufficiently admire and examine him. Food was sent us, and *jagow*. Of the latter I could not drink; it was unpleasant in taste, and a very strong narcotic in effect.

We were now all completely reassured; the conduct of the natives to us was all that uncultivated kindness and hospitality could prompt. At night we slept in the canoe-house, having each half a dozen bed, or perhaps I should say mat fellows. Upon the first day we were each supplied with the mat which is a part of the native costume. For three or four days it was with us a continual feast, islanders crowding from all directions to see the white strangers. Some people claiming to be civilized might take a lesson from the humanity of these people to shipwrecked mariners.

Upon the fourth day after our landing there was an arrival of a fleet of canoes, the head and other chiefs. We were again inspected by the new comers, and it was my fortune to be selected, with my shipmate George Keenan, by the principal chief. The other four of my comrades were also appropriated; and our property and the articles we brought on shore in the boat were also divided. I was astonished at the perfect peace in

which, among savages, all these arrangements took place. On the morrow, my new friend, or master, or owner,—I do not know exactly how he considered himself,—left the island upon which we landed, taking with him Keenan and myself. Eight or nine hours carried us to his island, where new feasting and lionizing awaited us.¹

A grand feast celebrated the return of the chief to his house, at which I repeated the Irish jig which had taken so well upon my first landing. I have no doubt that in my heels was found the attraction which led the chief to select me from among my comrades. Upon the next day after his return he restored to George and me our “ditty bags,” the only property I had preserved from the wreck. In that bag were two odd volumes of Jane Porter’s *Scottish Chiefs*, and a little shaving-glass. These articles were great objects of curiosity, and I may as well relate their history and ultimate fate here as elsewhere.

God bless Miss Jane Porter! I have so good an opinion of the lady that I doubt not it will add to the pleasure which the composition of her *Scottish Chiefs* afforded her, to know that two odd volumes of the work were pleasant companions in our exile on the Carolines. Intimately acquainted, as we soon necessarily became, with the *Scottish Chiefs*, I must do the armor-cased warriors the justice to say, that far from tiring, they improved upon acquaintance, and being the only persons to whom we had access who asserted any claim to civilization, we spent hours in their company. I had nearly the whole by heart; every word and every period was recognised upon each reading as an old acquaintance; every leaf was as familiar as the milestones to a coachman. The natives noticed our devotion to the books and shared in it; they supposed printing was the English method of tattooing, and Miss Jane Porter was in as much demand among them as she ever could have been among the patrons of a village circulating library. I was careful not to permit the volumes to go out of my sight, but allowed the natives to examine and admire it in my presence. A little Cupid with a scroll upon which was inscribed “Finis” [The end] was one particular object of the women’s admiration; “*jeree but-a-but maco ja-le-le!*” a nice little white child.² In one of the volumes was a frontispiece—a portrait of some female body or other, which likewise came in for its share of attention. At length, upon an unlucky day, after the books had been with me nearly two years, I was careless enough to leave them exposed while I went upon some excursion. When I returned, the leaves were torn out and sewed into blankets, under which a dozen women were strutting in all the pride of peacocks. In addition to the beauty which the article thus manufactured possessed as a “*lagow*,” (blanket,) it had another charm in the tattooing. The wearers imagined themselves connected with the English chiefs while thus wearing the white man’s tattoo. Regrets were useless; so I made none, but amused myself with the complacent carriage of my yellow *chère[s] amies*³ under their new *lagows*. Their gratification was, however, soon turned to vexation, and then

1 Ed. note: The word ‘island’ here means district within the same island of Pohnpei.

2 Ed. note: In modern Pohnpeian, this might be: “seri [child] pwetepwet [white] mwur(?) [little] [or: mwo = there] sarere(?) [or sarada = look upwards]”

3 Ed. note: French expression meaning “dear [female] friends.”

my turn to be pleased came. Situated so near the equator, rains are frequent and violent upon the Carolines. The Jane Porter bedecked belles were surprised in a shower, and their new garments washed off their lacks. They were very much chagrined at this, and protested that the white man's tattoo was good for nothing, it would not stand. That the islanders' tattoo will stand, my body is witness.

The shaving-glass did not survive so long. While it lasted I kept it sacred to the eyes of the island aristocracy, never permitting plebeian gazers access to it. To have permitted all who wished to look into it would have converted me into a mere exhibitor of facial panoramas. I carried it with me on all my rounds of visits to the chiefs, and the exclamations of those who were favored with a peep at the magic glass were amusing enough. As many as could look in at once would peep over each other's shoulders, twisting their features into the most grotesque expressions, and clucking with delight. They imagined the reflection of their visages was caused by *animan* [i.e. ngehn] (spirits) behind the glass; consequently some awe was mingled with their delight. It is, however, a curious fact for the student of mental philosophy, that their respect for those genii did not prevent their destroying the frame of the glass one day in my absence, and scraping off the quicksilver, to detect the *animan* in their hiding-place, and meet them all at once!

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. O'Connell and Keenan put on board a canoe.—Reach an uninhabited hut.—Unsatisfactory guesses.—Arrival of persons indicating no equivocal purpose.—First impressions of tattooing tools.—Process.—Keenan's outcry.—Ungrammatical swearing.—Application of oil and charcoal.—Dinner.—More tattooing by way of dessert.—Borrowed comments upon mats and rose blankets.—Gratifying reflections upon their previous durability.—Return of operators on the morning following.—Entreaties, unavailing on the part of Mr. O'Connell, but more successful in George's case.—Extraction of hair.—Month in healing.—Flute and violin.—A digression upon poets and poetry.—Return to head-quarters.—Farther impressions.—Music and dancing.—Feasting.—Discovery at the end of second day.—Mr. O'Connell's father-in-law.—His wife, and her charms.—Her jointure.—Her capacity as a teacher.—Her father's practical jokes.—Excursions.—Music and dancing.

We had been about three days at our new residence, when some of the natives began showing us their tattooed arms and legs, and making signs, not entirely intelligible to us at first, though their meaning became afterward too painfully marked. On the fourth or fifth day, George Keenan and myself were put on board of a canoe with six natives. They paddled a short distance along the shore of the island, and then turned into a creek, wide at the mouth, but soon narrowing till there was not room for two canoes abreast. It was completely arched over with dependent branches of trees; and altogether the scene was romantic, and would have been pleasing, if we had not been so utterly in the dark as to the purpose of the journey. At length we reached a hut on the banks of the creek, landed, and entered it, directed by our conductors, who remained outside. No person was there to receive us, and for half an hour George and I busied ourselves in guesses and speculation as to the end to which all this was tending. There was nothing in the building to give us a clue to the purpose for which it was erected; it was evidently not a dwellinghouse, and was too defenceless and fragile for a prison. At length our suspense was relieved—ended, I should say—by the arrival of five or six women, bearing implements, the purpose of which we were soon taught. George was made to sit in one corner of the room, and I was seated in another, half the women with me, and the residue with my comrade. One of my women produced a calabash of black liquid; another took my left hand, squeezing it in hers so as to draw the flesh tight across the back. Then a little sliver of bamboo was dipped in the liquid and applied to my hand, upon which it left a straight black mark. The third beauty then produced a small flat piece of wood with thorns pierce through one end. This she dipped in the black liquid, then rested the points of the thorns upon the mark on my hand, and with a sudden blow from a stick drove the thorns into my flesh. One needs must when the devil drives; so I summoned all my fortitude, set my teeth, and bore it like a martyr. Between every blow my beauty dipped her thorns in the ink.

I was too much engaged in my own agreeable employment to watch my comrade, but George soon let me hear from him. He swore and raved without any attention to rule; the way he did it was profane, but not syntactical or rhetorical. He wished all sorts of bloody murder and plagues to light upon his tormentors, prayed that the islands might be earthquake sunken, hoped forty boats' crews from a squadron of armed ships would land and catch the blasted savages tormenting the king's subjects. All this availed

nothing but to amuse the women; and even I could not forbear a smile at his exclamations. The operators suspended their work to mimic him; mocked his spasmodic twitches of the arm and horrid gestures. He was a standing butt for it long afterwards, and when the natives wished to revile him, they would act the tattooing scene, ending with the exclamation, "*Narlic-a-Nutt mucha purk.*"—Narlic-a-Nutt (his name) is a coward; "*Jim Aroche ma coo mot.*"—Jim Chief brave!"¹

After my executioner had battered my hand awhile, she wiped it with a sponge. I hoped she had finished; but no! She held my hand up, squinted at the lines, as a carpenter would true a board. Then she commenced again, jaggng the thorns into places where she thought the mark was imperfect. The correction of the work was infinitely worse than the first infliction. In about an hour and a half the hand was finished, and the women left us, taking away their tools. Before they left us, however, they smeared the tattooed part with cocoa-nut oil, and then patted pulverized coal upon it. This was repeated often, till there was a thick crust of coal and oil, completely concealing the flesh. The healing properties of charcoal are familiar to chemists. The reader has noted, perhaps, that it will delay the putrefaction of butcher's meat; and, indeed, some over economical housewives know how to restore tainted meat by an application of it. The women gone, something was sent us to eat, and we flattered ourselves that our punishment for the day was over. However, the afternoon brought a fresh bevy of these tender ladies, who continuel operations upon the left arm. At night we were pointed to some mats and informed that we must sleep there. As Logic says in the play, ours were any thing but rose blankets; and we had the farther gratification of reflecting that they were fixtures of this tattooing hospital, and had probably encased the limbs of at least two generations of Indians. I refused at first to accept the embraces of such clothing; but, not yet quite used to going nearly naked, I was fain to seek some protection among the mats from the bamboo floor.

On the next morning the gout-puffed hand of the canon of Gil Blas² would not have been a circumstance in size to mine; though the color of my flesh, matured, and grimed with charcoal, hardly looked so aristocratic as a delicately swelled gouty limb. Another squad of these savage printers followed our breakfast. George was outrageous in his protestations, and howled and gesticulated earnestly against a repetition; and I did not spare entreaty. The prayer of his petition was granted, but my reluctance availed nothing. For a reason of which I then knew nothing, they made gestures that I must stand it—there was no escape. George was let off, but not without unequivocal expressions of disgust at his cowardice and effeminacy. He was indeed incapable of enduring it; his blood was bad; but physical disability, among all savages, is quite as much a disgrace as a misfortune.

1 Ed. note: George Keenan had been given a minor title belonging to Nett; *Nahnrik en Nett masepwehk* = Nahnrik of Net, coward. Jim O'Connell was called Iros, the word then used for Chief; *Jim Uros mwahu kम्मwad* = Jim Chief good, brave.

2 Ed. note: A work of European fiction.

After finishing the left, operations were commenced upon my right arm. George, a blockhead! not only jeered at me for enduring it, instead of begging out of it like himself, but assisted to hold my flesh for the women. It is unnecessary to go into details; eight days were occupied in the process upon different parts of my body. My legs, back, and abdomen, were marked also, and to enable them to operate I was compelled to lay extended upon a mat. The hair upon my body was twitched out with sea-shells—a process which was performed as expeditiously upon my person as the same ground can be cleared of pin-feathers on geese by a dexterous cook. I often thought I should die of these apparently petty, but really acutely painful inflictions. George was compelled to remain with me, not only during the eight days the tattooing was going on, but for the month afterward that I was obliged to remain at this hut for my flesh to heal. During this time the application of the oil and charcoal was continually repeated, till I resembled in skin, if not in shape, the rhinoceros.

A long dreary month that! We were not absolutely confined to the hut, but peregrinations, to a man in my nore situation, would have been sorry amusement; nor were we allowed to stroll far. To relieve time of some of its weariness, George made a rude fife of a piece of cane, and with his knife he manufactured a very tolerable fiddle from light wood, stringing with the fibres of the plantain tree and whale sinews from his "ditty bag." Had we been poets, we might, taking the dreams of those gentry for truth, have vastly enjoyed this rural retreat, romantic as it was, with a beautiful rill running by our door, mountainous and variegated scenery about us, and, in addition to our music, flocks of parrots squawking. But we soon tired of the scene, and of the faces of our keepers; we saw nothing of the women after the tattooing was finished. Every thing became dull and monotonous—the same dull routine of sunning and shade by day, the same notes from the same birds, and the same nightly howling of dogs at a distance. Never did men in quarantine sigh more earnestly for deliverance. At length it came.

We were heartily rejoiced when the canoe was manned to carry us back to the war canoe house. I came from the tattoo hospital a bird of much more diversified plumage than when I entered, being tattooed on my left hand, on both arms, legs, thighs, back, and abdomen. George had escaped with a few stripes on the left arm, and those unfinished. Upon our return a feast awaited us, and, to give it éclat and variety, George astonished the natives with tunes upon his rude instruments, to which I danced.

I had supposed that my tattooing was over, but I had not been ashore three hours, before, by the chief's direction, one of his daughters prepared to mark me still more. She tattooed a ring upon my right breast, another upon my left shoulder, and two about my right arm. This was but the prick of a needle to the extensive printing business which had been prosecuted upon my body at the tattoo-huse, and I made no complaint. The feasting continued during the day; many dogs barked their last; *jagow* in abundance was mauled to express its juice; and my comrade for his fife, and myself for my heels, were in excellent odor with the natives.

The singing and dancing was protracted into the night of the first day. Upon the second, after bathing, their daily morning custom, the natives recommenced the rejoicing;

feasting, *jagow* [sakau], and frolic were the order of the day. Canoes with chiefs and petty chiefs were continually arriving from the other islands [i.e. districts], and George and I were paraded and examined at each fresh arrival. As when we first landed, the blue weins, showing through our comparatively white skin, were particular objects of admiration. I enjoyed this parading much better than my comrade, fell into the spirit of it, and danced like mad upon every visit from strangers, George supplying the music, and the spectators clucking, or breaking out into an unsuppressed laugh of delight. George's music saved him much contumely, which he would otherwise have received for his cowardice in the tattoo-house.

Sop wore the second day. It was not until night that I began to suspect to what it all tended. At night I learned that the young lady who imprinted the last-mentioned marks upon my arm and breast was my wife! that last tattooing being part of the ceremony of marriage. Upon the third morning my bride led me away to the bath, and the day was spent in feasting and dancing, as upon the two days preceding; only that the third, being the climax, was more of a day of rejoicing than the two preceding. There was, however, no quarrelling or disturbance, no uproar or disorder. The liquor expressed from *jagow* (cava) is a tremendously powerful narcotic, and drinking it in large quantities produces deep and stupid sleep.

George also was provided with a wife; but his unwillingness to submit to the process of tattooing wedded him to a woman of no rank. She, however, proved a good woman to him.

My father-in-law was Ahoundel-a-Nutt, chief of the island [i.e. district] of Nutt,¹ and the most powerful chief on the group of islands inclosed by the reef, set down on the charts as one island, Ascension, but called by the natives Bonabee [Pohnpei]. He did not have the grace to give me a separate establishment however, for, during the whole time I remained upon the island, I resided under the same roof with him. He gave me his own name, Ahoundel, but I was oftener called Jem-aroche. George Keenan's island name was Narlic.

I never had more reason to complain of my wife than the majority of people in civilized countries have. I can say more than the don in "The Wonder;" had my wife died, I should not only have been far from rejoicing at it, but should have regretted it exceedingly. She was only about fourteen years of age, affectionate, neat, faithful, and, barring too frequent indulgence in the flesh of baked dogs, which would give her breath something of a canine odor, she was a very agreeable consort. During my residence upon the island she presented me with two pretty little demi-savages, a little girl, and a boy, who stands a chance, in his turn, to succeed his grand-father in the government of the island.

Although my father-in-law never permitted me a house distinct from his, but kept me as one of his own household, with a host of other connections—a knight of his majesty's bedchamber—for there was no division wall in the hut, and I slept on a mat next

1 Ed. note: Now written Oundol en Net.

him; my wife's dower [dowry] in canoes, *Nigurts*, (slaves,) and other Caroline personal property, with the improvement of real,¹ was far from inconsiderable. She assumed a task new to her, and one of course which she could have had no idea of before—that of an instructress in the language. I was a tolerably apt scholar, but my teacher had a very critical ear, and the least deviation from the island pronunciation created vast merriment both for her and others present. It was a long time before I was sufficiently acquainted with the language to know what property I held in my wife's right; and when I had learned I cared little to be exactly acquainted. Covetousness is almost unknown among the Carolines.

My wife accompanied me in my walks and in my canoe excursions; always at my side and looking up to me as affectionately as ever a novel-schooled miss could, and with twice the sincerity. Her father, who was a practical joker, contrived, in the excursions in which he accompanied us during the lengthened honeymoon, to pop upon places where he knew that, although my name and fame had preceded me, the residents had never seen me. He would direct me to enter a house suddenly, with a howl, and strike an attitude. It would invariably send all the occupants, usually women, flying out at every place of egress. The sight of Ahoundel on the outside, enjoying a hearty laugh, would remove fear, and this rude method of introduction supplied both parties, the visitors and the visited, with rare amusement. Imagine the effect which would be produced on a party of American or Europeans ladies by the sudden apparition of an Albino under such circumstances, and you will have some idea of the fright of the islanders.

To excursions without him, Ahoundel was very averse. He would, in answer to my inquiries about the other islands, tell me they were inhabited by cannibals, and assure me, that if I ventured away from him I should certainly be eaten. George and I, if we took excursions, did so in a canoe borrowed of fishermen, because we could not launch our own unperceived. Afraid of being eaten, our trips were at first confined altogether to Net, the island upon which we resided; circumnavigating it, and paddling up the creeks.² When we were near a settlement, George would take his fife and make tis shrill notes echo in the still valleys and mountains. "Narlic! Narlik! Narlic! Narlik!" we should soon hear the natives shouting, as they came running down to the creek side, "Narlic, cudjong! cudjong!" Codjong was the name which the natives had bestowed upon George's fife. The shore would soon be lined with breathless listeners, and while I kept the canoe just in motion enough to avoid the banks, George would play some of his sweeteat tunes. We were always invited to land, and usually did so. As soon as I left the boat came my turn; I was besieged to dance, and as I always refused to land except when intending to astonish the natives with a reel which might have passed for clever, even

—"at the fair of nate Clogheen,"

I usually complied with their request.

1 Ed. note: That is, with the addition of real property.

2 Ed. note: The tribal chief of Net resided on the Net Peninsula (Car. 4-A-20 in Bryan's Place Names.).

CHAPTER IX.

Castes.—Moonjobs.—Jerejohs.—Nigurts.—Respect to chiefs.—Succession to authority.—Number of islands.—Names of chiefs.—Condition of Jerejohs,—Of Migurts,—Houses—description and mode of building.—Gaudy exterior.—“House warming.”—Canoe-houses.—Estates.—Relations between landholders and their dependents.—Power of petty chiefs.—Revenue of head chiefs.—Tools.—Twine and cordage.—Mats and sashes.—Weaving.

There are on the Caroline group the same two distinct races of people that are common to almost all the islands of Oceanics,—the olive race, judged by geographers to be descendants of Malays who emigrated at a date which it is impossible to fix, and the ocean negroes, probably the original inhabitants. The whiter race upon the islands of Bonabee are divided into two classes,—the **Moonjobs**, composed of chiefs and their blood connections, and the **Jerejohs**, or free whites. The negroes form one caste, and are known under the name **Nigurts**. A similarity between this word and the Philippine Nigritos is obvious.¹

Jerejohs and Moonjobs intermarry with each other, but seldom or never with the Nigurts. When intermarriages take place between the Jerejohs and Moonjobs, the issue takes the rank of the mother. The children of chiefs by Jerejoh mothers may become petty chiefs, but can never reach the rank of supreme chiefs. The respect paid to chiefs is extreme, no person of less rank approaching them in an erect posture. In a house, where a chief is present, all persons keep in a sitting position, or, if they walk about, it is done with the body inclined forward almost at right angles with the legs. Should a person unapprized of the presence of the chief enter the house, the exclamation “*Agui! moondie! Aroche nanname!*”—Ah! sit down, chief (is in) the house!” rises from many voices at once.²

The Moonjobs are the distant and immediate connections, or family of the chief, and are in number to the whole population as one to twenty. The term *moonjob* is also applied to the skies; and the chiefs claim some affinity or connection with the sun and moon. The succession to the supreme authority is very orderly, and no confusion ever takes place. It does not descend directly from father to son, but when the head chief dies the next chief in rank—probably his brother—takes his place. The new incumbent’s vacated place is filled by the next below him in rank, and his again by the next; thus causing a promotion from grade to grade through the whole, leaving a vacant place at the foot of the scale, into which the deceased chief’s eldest son steps, if his mother is a Moonjob; if not, the eldest son by a Moonjob mother; and if the chief leaves no Moonjob sons, the vacancy is filled from the family of the new incumbent. It often happens that deaths of chiefs between the highest and lowest grades create vacancies, which are filled by the head chief’s sons before the death of their father; and sometimes the head

1 Ed. note: There is, however, no language connection between Negritos, Spanish for “small negroes,” and the Pohnpeian word. Nigurt could simply be a bad transcription for *Lidu*, and *Lida*, female and male servants, respectively.

2 Ed. note: Would now be written: *Mwohndi! Uros ihwm!*

chief's family is not sufficient to fill vacancies; in which case the next chief's family is drawn upon. Each chief has an estate, the size and fertility of which determines his rank.

The group inside the reef consists of about twenty inhabited islands, varying in size from twenty miles to half a mile in circuit. The largest island¹ is called Nutt, and the head of the primitive oligarchy always has to his name the addition Nutt, connected by a sort of particle, thus, Ahoundel-a-Nutt. Nothing else is necessary to designate his rank, though the general term Aroche lap-a-lap—very great Chief, is sometimes applied to him. The following is a list of some of the principal islands [sic], and the names of their chiefs in 1833; the word after the particle being the name of the island. The native name for the whole group is Bonabee.

	[Modern spelling] ²
Ahoundel-a-Nutt,	Oundol en Net.
Wajai-a-Matalaleme,	Wasahi en Madolehnihmw.
Namatha-a-Chaba,	Nahmadau en Soanop(?)
Roun-a-Kitti,	Rohn en Kiti.
Na-anaho-a-Palaga,	Nahniau en Palang.
Wajai-a-Chocoich,	Wasahi en Sokehs.
Ahoundel-a-Param,	Oundol en Param.
Nanamoraki-a-Hoo,	Nahnmwarki en Uh.
Lecunjoni-a-Jounaboo, ...	en Sounpwok(?)
Tuccaree-a-Hand, ...	en Ant. en Mwahnd.
Ajongajangkee-a-Corrapin.	

The head chief sometimes takes the title Bonabee, but more usually that of Nutt. On each of the islands are petty chiefs, taking their titles from the districts which they own. We find it difficult to determine where the title Chief ceases, as every landholder takes the title of his property; and all under Moonjobs and very prominent Jerejohs are known by the general title "Aroche tikatic,"—very small chiefs. Perhaps *aroché* might as well be translated freeman as chief; but then there would be no word in the language signifying chief.

The **Jerejohs**, the next class, are all landholders, but never rise above the rank of petty chiefs. They are less noble and independent in their carriage, a bearing evidently the effect of habitual submission.

The **Nigurts** are, in effect, slaves. They are of the race of Oceanic negroes, not jet black, but much darker than the higher classes. The hair is not short and curly, but long and straight. The skin is rough, and very unpleasant to the touch. They perform not only the labor of fishing, but nearly all the labor done on the islands. They own no land, and are attached to the estates of the Moonjobs and Jerejohs, who assert a vague claim

1 Ed. note: The author also used the word Island to mean District, tribe, tribal area.

2 Ed. note: Only those that can be recognized today. O'Connell's memory for names was limited, it seems, to only part of the island.

of property over them. They are the executioners—the butchers—of the only species of cattle killed,—dogs—and the cooks.

The houses upon the Bonabee group are simple in construction, but by no means rude, answering every purpose of shelter and convenience. The erection of a house is not considered a servile task; it is an honorable employment, in which the future occupant is assisted by his friends and their dependents. The first step is to build a regular and neat stone wall for a foundation, averaging four feet in height, but regulated to the inequalities of the ground, so as to present a level at its top. The inside is then filled with smaller stones, and squared timbers of about a foot in thickness are placed upon the foundation wall. Into these timbers are inserted squared uprights, about five feet apart, and upon these are placed the horizontal timbers upon which the eaves rest. In a word, a very creditable frame is erected. The sides of the dwelling-houses, between the roof and the foundation, are generally only four or five feet in height, but the roof has a very steep pitch, and is supported at its centre by tall posts, and thatched with cocoa-nut leaves, overhanging the walls about a foot at the eaves.

The upright posts of the walls are netted with twine, and the space between the posts is filled up with small cane or bamboo, fastened together with twine, which is used in such abundance as to conceal the wood. The twine is of variegated colors, red, black, blue, and is so woven as to form figures upon the outside wall; which, with the assistance of tassels and other decorations, make the house present a very gaudy appearance. The floor is laid of bamboo upon the stone platform, and is also covered with twine. In the centre of the floor a hole four or five feet square is left for the fire, the smoke from which finds its way out through crevices in the roof and in the wall. The entrances are about three feet in height, serving alike the purpose of doors and windows.

The dwelling-houses vary in size and in shape, according to the taste and rank of the proprietor. The sizes usually selected are those sheltered by trees, and near streamlets. The erection of a house is an occasion of feasting—a sort of pic-nic party, to which those who assist in building bring not only articles for the feast, but materials for building. The time occupied in building is usually about ten days. Newly married couples seldom build, but remain with the parents of one of the parties, or are quartered upon some chief; “housekeeping” forming no essential part of a bride’s privilege.

After the house is completed the priests hold a sort of ceremony of consecration in it, which occupies about three or four hours. The friends of the intended occupants, the chiefs of his district, and other chiefs if they be present, are seated in the house, according to their rank, but no women are allowed to enter. *Jagow*, dog meat, yam, bread-fruit, etc., are served to the guests, while the priests keep up a sort of song, incantation, or invocation. One sings a sort of recitative song, same and monotonous, and when he has howled himself out of breath the tune is taken up and continued by another.

Dwelling-houses seldom exceed forty feet by twenty, and Nigurts are sometimes contented with ten by six, and less. But the war canoe houses, which serve also the purpose of council rooms and halls for feasting and other ceremonies, are often a hundred feet in length, and forty to fifty wide. They are built like dwelling-houses, except that they

are always on level ground, near the beach or upon it, and the floor is not all covered with bamboo. Along the sides is a raised bamboo passage-way, as high from the ground in the centre as the top of the foundation wall, and at one end of the house is a raised platform, which is occupied by the chiefs and Moonjobs upon feast occasions. During two or three months, in the hottest season of the year, the chief with his family and suite occupy this part of the canoe-house as a residence. Upon the ground in the centre of the house the canoes are finished, and upon feast occasions the fires are built for cooking dogs. At the sides of the house the canoes, when finished, and not in use, are suspended. The canoe-house has at one end a large entrance.

Estates all descend from the parent to the eldest son. His is the paternal mansion, his the canoe-house, and his the Nigurts. A large landholder has quite a village about him. The most prominent object in the settlement is the dwelling-house of the proprietor, always standing in the best situation, and always larger and more tastefully ornamented than the rest. About him are houses, less in dimensions, but also neat, the abodes of younger brothers, connections, and dependents, whom he permits to build upon his territory, and allows the use of a portion of his land and breadfruit trees; but he never relinquishes his ownership in the soil. Real estate is never passed from hand to hand except by inheritance, and thus is perpetuated the distinction of castes. These dependents pay a sort of voluntary rent in presents of fruit, yams, and *jagow*, if they have it. At a greater distance are the huts of the Nigurts—the slaves of the proprietor of the soil, who till the land for the white tenants and their landlord; fish, cook, pound *jagow* and, in fine, do all the servile work. There are some descriptions of employment, as I have already noted, which are honorable; such as the manufacture of twine, the building of houses, and decorating of canoes, by the men; and the weaving of *wywiies*,¹ and manufacture of mats, by the women.

Canoes may belong to people who hold no land, being a description of personal property. Over every thing else the proprietor has control, and exerts over his tenants and slaves a patriarchal power. He can punish minor offences, but being in his turn subject to the head chief of the island, he reports flagrant crimes at head-quarters, where he also pays a tribute, not a stated one, but regulated in quantity by his means and will.

The principal chief upon an island has a similar clan of his immediate connections and slaves about him, and a large landed estate. Every thing is similar to the establishment of a petty chief, except that his dwelling-house is larger, his canoes more in number, larger and better decorated, and the canoe-house calculated for numerous assemblages. Beside the direct products of his own land, he is in the continual receipt of tribute from the petty chiefs upon his island, and, if he be chief of Nutt and head of the group, of presents from the chiefs of the inferior islands.

The principal mechanical tool is, of course, the hatchet. It is made of a hard white stone, found on the beach, broken to something the shape of a hatchet, and rubbed to a very good edge on rough rocks. A native will be sometimes two or three months preparing his hatchet, working at intervals upon it, before he fastens it to the handle. The

1 Ed. note: Now written *weiwei*, join-cloths.

piece of wood selected for a handle is a small branch of a tree, in which there is an elbow. One part of this elbow is cut off; the other left long forms the handle. The back of the stone rests against the angle, and round the stone and wood are passed strong bands of bark, hemp, or twine. The hatchet is so fitted upon the handle that its blows are like those of a cooper's adz, but it will at once be perceived that with such an instrument no deep blows can be struck. For smaller work sea shells are used, and coral forms their rasps. They have also dogfish skin for polishing. With these simple tools they are very dexterous, and turn out work which would reflect credit on some European and American craftsmen, who bungle, with every advantage upon their side.

Vines supply much of their cordage for common purposes, made to their hands. They manufacture very neat twine from hemp, the silk or fibres of the plantain tree, and the shells of cocoa-nuts. The hemp and cocoa-nut bark is soaked, beaten, and dried before twisting. It must be cleared with the fingers, and is twisted between the knee and the palm of the hand. The fibres of the plantain and banana tree are very fine and soft, and are used only in the manufacture of sashes [i.e. loin-cloths]. They are drawn from the pith of the tree, and after washing, are woven into a texture which much resembles silk.

Men make the twine, and use it, in the finishing of houses and canoes. Women plat the mats for sails, for clothing, and for the beds. The sails are very neatly woven of split rushes; the mat worn about the boay is made of the tuft of leaves which crowns the cocoa-nut tree; they are bleached, and then strung together by the women. The mats upon which they sleep are made of rushes. The mat worn by the women is made of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree.

For preparing sashes, or *wywies*, the women have a rude process of weaving. To a sailor it will be description enough to say it is something like weaving spunyarn mats; but for the ladies, a more particular account is necessary. The web, or threads which run longitudinally of the belt, are fastened to a post at one end, and at the other about the weaver's body, who thus keeps it straight. A stick is then passed over and under alternate threads across the web, and, turned upon its edge, opens them to permit the shuttle to be passed. With the same stick the weaver drives the thread to its place. In this way are manufactured narrow belts to wear beneath the mat, and gaudy sashes for ornament.

CHAPTER X.

Canoe-building.—Selection of a tree.—Finishing.—Construction of outrigger.—Platform for passengers.—Nigurt mariners.—Ornaments of canoe.—Sails.—Mode of navigating.—Paddles.—Paint.—Preservation of state canoes.—Periodical returns of building seasons.—Feasts on such occasions.—Trials of the new craft.—Fishing.—Walking in the water.—Nets, and dexterity of the natives in their use.—Respect to chiefs.—Fish majorhowi, or tabooed.—Native sophistry.—Eels.—A feast upon them.—Discovery of the bones by the natives.—Awful hubbub.—Sage resolution, and an allusion to the shad and alewives in Taunton River.

The first care in making a canoe is to select a stright, clear tree. Then five or six persons attack the base at once with their axes, and fell it. If intended for two small canoes the trunk is divided, or if for one long one, trimmed only. The branches are lopped off, and the trunk hollowed out, rudey at first, the principal object being to lessen the weight. Vines are fastened to the trunk, and taking hold of these, the aborers haul it to the nearest creek or shore, and it is towed to the canoe-house.

The first rough work of felling and transporting is done by the Nigurts. At the canoe-house the work falls into more skilful hands; petty chiefs, Moonjobs, and Jerejohs being the canoe builders. The outside is first made to assume womething of the form and comeliness of a canoe, then the inside is carefully hollowed out. Four or five hands generally spend about a week upon a canoe; and after the shape is given, and the rough wood taken off, it is carefully and elegantly polished. This latter is done with coral; as many as can get about the canoe working at once, and lightening labor with a song. After the polishing is completed, a coat of red paint is rubbed inside and out with a piece of cocoa-nut bark, and the boat is placed in the sun to dry. Then a coat of cocoa-nut oil is put on over the paint, giving it quite a high varnish and polish. After the oil is completely dry, the thwarts and outrigger are fitted. The thwarts (seats) are all neatly worked with twine. The outrigger is made of two pieces of wood, extending over the side of the canoe about three feet, and three feet apart; these things regulated, of course, by the size of the boat. At the outer end of these pieces is fastened a long pole, parallel with the boat, and extending its whole length. Between the ends of the outriggers and the pole are stanchions, adapted in length to the depth of the canoe, in order that the outriggers may be as near horizontal as possible. Upon the two pieces is laid a platform, covered with mats, and protected from the sun by an awning, under which the chiefs sit or lie down. The platform does not cross the canoe; consequently the passengers are as little in the way of those who propel the boat as if they were on shore. On common occasions and excursions Nigurts manage the boat, but when they go to war no people of different castes are allowed in the same boat. The platform is capable of bearing from one to half a dozen persons, according to the size of the canoe, and the mariners, if I may so designate them, are in number from two to eight. Canoes are made in length from five to thirty feet. The canoes of the Nigurt fishermen are less finished, and the platform is barely large enough to carry a basket; being confined more to its original intention—the support of the outrigger. All the joints of this frame are ingeniously secured with twine.

A canoe is the islander's pride. They are very highly finished, pearl shell being worked in about the gunwale, and the heads, as each end of the boat is the head by turns, are ornamented with a neatly carved billet of wood. The state canoes are always kept in the house, which opens toward the water; the boats of the Nigurts, and a few barks, being the only ones constantly afloat. The wood of which all canoes are made is a strong white tree, bearing no fruit, and called in the native tongue *kyup*.¹ The sails are triangular, such as are called in the sailor's vernacular, shoulder-of-mutton sails, and are platted by the women of split rushes. A yard and a boom at the foot secures two sides of the sail, and the third side has no leach rope, the strength of the material rendering it unnecessary. In putting about, it is only necessary to shift the craft end for end, and make that her bow which was before the stern, as the outrigger must, of course, always be kept on the windward side.

The paddles are made of the same wood as the canoes, stained red, and polished in the same way. Paddles made for use are plain, and kept in the canoe-house; but every man has one or more fancy paddles which he sports in processions and dances. These are carved and ornamented, and are never dipped in the water, but are kept in the owners' houses during their lives, and buried with them. The platform of a chief's canoe is generally painted white, with lime made by burning coral rock. Mixed with coconut oil this makes a very good paint, extremely white and tenacious of its hold. The same mixture is an excellent cement for cracks in the bottom of a canoe.

Uneven as is the bottom of the basin inside the reef, frequently changing from very deep water to shallows of a few inches, the canoes, notwithstanding the labor bestowed upon them, are short-lived, seldom lasting more than a couple of years, the coral bottom grinding them through. The largest, used only on state occasions, last, indeed, longer, and decay of dry rot. Even then they are preserved, as are the regalia of royalty among civilized nations; but the canoes are infinitely more safe, because the reverence of the islanders for them is universal, and there is no cupidity to tempt to their conversion to cash, were it possible. There were canoes hanging in the house at Nutt, the origins of which were almost lost in tradition, and the age of which it was impossible to fix. The smaller and more useful, when worn too much for the chief's pride, are passed to the Nigurts, who divest them of their ornamental frippery, as a gentleman's span of horses may be degraded to a barkmill.

The need for building returns periodically about once in two years. Three such jubilees—for jubilees they are—occurred while I resided upon Nutt. The permission of the chief first obtained, all the petty chiefs upon the island went to work, each at the canoe-house in his own district. when the building was finished, all the new canoes were brought to the head chief's quarters. The natives paddled them about, performing skillful evolutions to test the behavior of their new craft, Ahoundel, the head chief, alone standing erect. After an hour or so spent in this way, the canoes formed a line to the number of hundreds, and each chief, on his own platform, danced and flourished his fancy paddle, the whole assembly singing and keeping perfect time. Such are among

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the hardwood tree called *kih*.

the few occasions upon which any but women and priests sing. The day was wound up with a feast, and the usual draughts of *jagow*. The whole scene—the decorations of the canoes, the chiefs in their gala dresses, and the women on shore with their heads dressed with flowers—formed a pageant which I thought seldom, if ever, surpassed among civilized nations. Then the universal hilarity and good order, the absence of all jealousy and quarrelling for precedence, rendered impossible by the established order of castes and standing, is a feature in their rejoicings which the pomp of civilization never possesses. No individual distress or inconvenience follows them; there is nothing in the customs of the Indian to make it necessary that he should

———Defraud his daily cheer

To boast one splendid banquet once a year.

The belt of coral reef about the Bonabee group incloses a comparatively still basin of water. The canoe navigation of this is the most quiet and beautiful motion conceivable; much of the time the canoe is propelled by putting the end of the paddle against the coral floor, which is distinctly visible through the clear water. Fish are sometimes speared with great dexterity by the natives, the stillness and transparency of the water permitting the perfection of skill in thrusting the spear. This is the amusement of amateurs, the fish caught for food being taken in nets by the Nigurts. There are within the reef many places where the water suddenly deepens to many fathoms—interregna in the coral bottom, of various circumference. As well acquainted with the floors of their fishing places as with the floors of their houses, the Nigurts divide themselves into two parties, one party stealing noiselessly to the edges of this deep water, and there holding their nets. A method of walking in the water, peculiar to the natives, is worth description. The leg is lifted up straight and quick, bringing the foot almost to the surface of the water; then, the toe pointed as gracefully as that of a danseuse, the foot is planted again some two or three feet in front of its first position. This method of progression offers next to no resistance to the water; consequently very rapid progress is made, without any splashing and splatter. The net holders stationed, the others, if possible, surround them in a circle, if not, as near as may be, and with their spears and legs create as much hubbub as lies in their power. The frightened fish make for the deep water, and are intercepted by the nets. Fishing with lines is seldom attempted; as the natives are very unsuccessful with their rude tortoise-shell hooks. I made some very tolerable hooks from the ramarods of the muskets preserved from the wreck; but it was necessary when a bite was felt to keep the line taught, as, there being no barb, the fish would otherwise escape.

So servile is the respect paid to chiefs, that a party of fishermen immediately suspend their work upon the appearance of a chief's canoe, scramble into their boats, cross their arms, and incline their heads in obeisance till the chief has passed them, then follow, and offer him a selection from their fish, if they have taken any. A neglect of this observance would subject them to severe punishment, probably death.

Fish are plentiful, and a main source of subsistence; but I am neither Billingsgate woman nor naturalist enough to specify the varieties. The skin of the dogfish and shark

supply the natives with a means of polishing wood and cocoa-nut shell utensils, and the shell-fish furnish utensils for cutting. The shark is seldom captured, and when captured it is in shoal water with spears. Upon every island [i.e. tribal area] some species of fish is *majorhowi*, or tabooed;¹ and it not unfrequently the case that different families upon the same island have each a species of fish which they may not eat. The reason for this will appear in the account of their religion. As a proof that sophistry in reasoning upon religious points does not require a knowledge of the technicals of the science of logic, it is not esteemed wicked for a man to furnish another with food the consumption of which he esteems profanity. When the spoil of a fishing excursion is landed, it is divided by species; he who cannot lawfully eat a particular fish turning it over to one who has no such scruples. Thus, as the indefinite restriction of Mahomet, who, in stating that

“There is a part in every swine
No friend or follower of mine
May eat.”

neglected to specify the particular portion, has left his followers to go the “entire animal,” all the finny salt-water tribe are devoured by the Bonabeeans. Even parts of the shark are eaten upon one island.

There is a species of fish universally held sacred by the islanders, a species of eel, inhabiting the fresh water.² Keenan and myself had resided upon Nutt, and eaten at many feasts, beside the regular domestic fare, but in all this eating no eels had furnished their share. To our inquiries why this fish enjoyed such a peculiar and universal exemption, the only answer had been “Majorhowi!” This we knew was a partial defence for all fish, and not being aware that the respect for eels was more strenuously insisted upon than that shown their cousins the dwellers in salt water, we determined upon indulging ourselves in a feast upon them; taking the precaution, however, not to invite any of our copper friends to be of the party.

We selected for the occasion a fine night, and with elbowed sticks poked the fish out of the water at a sudden bend in a brook. Unlike the eels which were used to being skinned, these were not so much as used to being caught, and having enjoyed an immunity from the snares of the fisher from time immemorial, our trouble was in avoiding to take too many, rather than in catching enough for our purpose. Building a fire and broiling them in an unoccupied house, we had a sit down alone, and demolished them with an appetite which was not abated by the circumstances under which we feasted—the wise man having recorded his opinion that “stolen waters are sweet.” Our feast finished, we wiped our mouths, as beseems those who have committed a secret

1 Ed. note: Now written *ma sarawi*.”

2 Ed. note: River eels were similarly avoided by the early Chamorros of Guam. In Pohnpeian, they are called *kemisik*, a word that may be related to the Kosraean word *semih*s for the moray eel, although the river eel there is known as *ton* and used to be the totem of the nobility, and therefore not considered food either.

crime, and returned to our island friends with all the conscious rectitude of rogues undiscovered.

Murder with out. We had neglected the precaution of concealing the bones, and, with an aptitude for detecting sin like that which characterize some civilized people, who are supposed to be innocent even of the knowledge of iniquity, some of the natives recognised in the bones the fragments of the forbidden fish. Our first intimation of the discovery was taken from seeing the natives repairing to the house, and, not at first understanding the reason of it, we fell in upon the tide. When we reached the hut, we found men, women, and children kneeling or completely prostrate, beating their breasts, and rocking to and fro, or roiling on the floor. Of the noise they made, we had been, of course, apprised by our ears before we reached the house, and had concluded that some accident or sudden death was the reason of the outcry. Nothing was there however—no broken bones but the bones of the eels; the pyramid of which, as George and I had left it, might indeed have caused cries of surprise that two persons could have left such testimonials of appetite; but as the aspect of affairs looked like an expression of something more than surprise, we esteemed it prudent to keep our own counsel. For two or three days was the lamentation continued; it flew from place to place and from hut to hut; on every side was weeping and lamentation. George and I thought we saw some looks indicative of suspicion, and when the bones were farly buried by the chief's orders, and the hubbub ceased, we felt relieved from a load of fear which had been sufficient to give us a distaste for eels; which operated better for their safety, as far as we were concerned, than all the acts passed by the legislature of Massachusetts have done for the shad and alewives in Taunton River.

CHAPTER XI.

Marriage.—Approbation of a chief necessary to unequal matches.—Marriage celebrated in canoe-houses.—Arrangement of the guests.—Preparations for feast.—Pounding jagow with peculiar ceremonies.—Expressing the juice.—Order of drinking.—Women averting faces.—Mode of building fires to cook dogs.—Mode of dressing and cooking them.—Serving up.—Carving.—Day ends with dance.—Paddles and music.—Breaking up.—Ceremonies of next day.—Priest's mummery.—Polygamy.—Conjugal bonds.—Tattooing one cause of wives' fidelity.—Its meaning.—Different in different castes.—Conjugal spat between Mr. O'Connell and his wife Laowni.—Cause of it.—Manifestation of grief and rage on her part.—A disagreeable visit.—A relenting wife.—A vindictive husband.

If a man affects a woman, the rank of the parties being equal, he has only to obtain the consent of herself and her parents. Women are never compelled to accept as husbands persons whom they dislike. When a match is proposed between a Moonjob and a Jerejoh, the approbation of the chief is necessary, before the match can be ratified. I have often known instances where this consent was refused, and the match broken off. I never knew a marriage between a Nigurt and a person of either of the two upper classes; and I never knew an instance of the occurrence of incestuous intercourse between the white castes and the black.

It is one feature of the patriarchal government and habits of the islands, that marriages are celebrated in the canoe-house of the district in which the husband resides, and under the patronage and superintendence of the petty chief. The ceremony commences with drinking *jagow*, while the dogs are roasting and the other preparations making by the Nigurts. The petty chief is seated in the centre of the platform against the wall, and on his right hand are seated the bride and her female friends, their heads dressed with flowers. On the left are seated the bridegroom and his friends, dressed in the holiday decorations. No paint is used upon the body on any occasion. The Nigurts never come upon this dais, except to pound *jagow*, or present *jagow* and food to the chief, but remain upon the floor in the centre of the canoe-house, where all the preparations for the feast are made, except the *jagow* pounding. Meanwhile the guests keep up a buzz of conversation, for these islanders are far from being remarkable for taciturnity. All remain seated, the women on their heels, and the men cross-legged.

The *jagow*¹ root is pounded with peculiar ceremony. If either of the contracting parties be of the direct connections of the head chief of the island, the marriage is solemnized in the principal canoe-house. The *jagow*, whether from his own ground, or from the bridegroom's, or presented by the guests, is brought and laid at the chief's feet. Sometimes also sugar-cane is brought in by the women as they arrive, and placed at the chief's feet, all who approach him walking bent nearly double. The chief then proceeds to cut the root of the *jagow* from the plant, in which he is assisted by the friends or favorites who are seated nearest him. Nigurts are then called, who take the root and carry it to a large flat stone upon the platform, but as distant from the company as the size of the dais will permit. From six to twelve Nigurts then commence pounding it, the root and the stone having been first washed. Each has a small round stone in his hand, and

1 *Piper methysticum* is the botanical name.

all strike together. If a head chief be present the blows are given thus, in perfect time: one, two, three,—then a pause,—one,—another pause,—one, two, three. If a petty chief is the highest in rank present, the blows are: one, two,—a pause,—one,—another pause,—one, two. Thus carefully are the distinctions of rank preserved by all possible means. After the root is pounded fine, water is thrown upon the mass, and it is stirred together with the hands. A quantity of it is then wrapped in a bunch of plant fibres, about a foot in length, resembling hemp,¹ and the juice of the root, or rather the water poured upon it and thus impregnated, is wrung out into a calabash. This is carried up to the chief by a Nigurt, who passes up the aisle between the men and women, and presents it to the chief, kneeling, holding it in both hands. He drinks, and passes it to the next in rank. Every calabash is first presented to the chief, whether he drinks or not. I must do them the justice to say they are generally very temperate; and although *jagow* forms a liquor very potent as a narcotic, it is seldom drunk in quantities to stupify. When it is, a dead and stupid sleep of three or four hours is the consequence. It makes them loquacious when temperately drunk, but seldom quarrelsome. The women never drink it in public, and while the men are drinking often avert or conceal their faces. It is *majorhowi* to all except Moonjob women, and as even their entire abstinence is considered a virtue, those who do take it do it very privately.

While the root is pounding, the chief distributes joints of the plant among his favorites. It is eagerly coveted, and it is a mark of great favor to receive it, as the joints, set in the earth, take root. They are, however, ten or twelve months in coming to maturity; and as the culture is barely enough to supply the demand, it is a plant esteemed of great value.

While the *jaagow* is being prepared and drunk, the preparations for the more solid parts of the feast are going on in the area. Fires are built of wood, covered with small round stones, like a pyramid. As the wood turns to coal, the stones fall in, and are heated to a red heat, forming a glowing platform. As soon as it has ceased smoking, the dogs, previously killed, and their entrails extracted, outside the house, are brought in and the hair singed off. They are then scraped and laid upon a floor of the hot stones, and other stones are piled over them, the Nigurts handling them very adroitly with sticks. Over the whole are spread green leaves to prevent the escape of any steam, and in half or three quarters of an hour Pedro comes out of this impromptu oven, delicately cooked.

Baskets of cocoa-nut branches, made expressly for the occasion, and never used afterward, are then brought, into which the dogs are put; and the Nigurts carry one at a time to the chief, with baskets of yams and bread-fruit as condiments. The chief, with a bamboo knife, officiates as carver, distributing bits of the flesh to those present, and modestly reserving the quarter, the best part, to himself. Dogs are seldom cooked in larger quantities than to serve as a bare relish to the yams and bread-fruit; and are usually provided at the expense of the bridegroom. The rest of the material for the feast comes in presents from the guests, every convivial meeting on the islands being a sort of picnic. The chief takes his tribute out of every dog, and carries what he cannot eat

1 Ed. note: Fibers of the hibiscus plant, I think.

away with him. The Nigurts may occasionally get a dog's head thrown to them, but their usual share of such a delicacy is only permission to suck their thumbs. There is, however, always an abundance of fish cooked. All the eatables pass through the chief's hands in their distribution.

The feast finished, and washed down with *jagow* the day winds up with a dance. The males and females stand opposite each other on the raised walk which goes round the house inside, the women upon one side and the men upon the other. The chiefs present remain upon the dais, the bride is in the centre of the line of women, and the bridegroom opposite with the men. In dancing they do not skip, run about, or change places; a foot square is abundant space for each person. They stamp with each foot alternately, bringing the right or left side forward as the foot is moved, and flourishing the arms. All have fancy paddles in their hands, men and women, and as they turn either side of the body to the centre of the building they strike the paddles together in perfect time, shifting them from hand to hand to keep them inside. All sing together, and to aid in the time a person is seated in front of the chiefs, on the dais, with a stick in his hand, with which he hammers time on the bottom of an old canoe.

The dance is the breaking up for the day. What of the fragments of the feast are not carried away by the guests, fall to the Nigurts, who have been spectators from the floor in the centre of the building. The bride goes home to the house of her lord, or the house of the friend upon whom he is quartered. Presents from chiefs and friends, mats, *wywies*, *tappas*,¹ etc. follow them, sometimes immediately, and sometimes after the interval of a month.

Upon the next day the newly-married couple repair to the great canoe-house of the head chief of the island; not to the canoe-house where the feast was held the day before. There is another gathering of friends and acquaintances, and all seat themselves as for a feast, women and men apart, on the dais. A priest enters the house, and goes to a part of the dais as distant as possible from the company. He then makes a circle of a mat, about four or five feet in circumference, by setting it upon its edge, and walks inside of it. His whole person is thus concealed from those present. The head chief walks up to his side, and a sort of recitative conversation is kept up between them for about a quarter of an hour. It is done in a voice so low, that the words are not distinguishable to the company, a low monotonous sound only reaching them, while they sit in the most subdued silence, their countenances wearing an aspect of deep gravity. I never was able to understand the subject of this mummery by listening to the words, or by inquiry, as all appeared to be in the dark, except so far that they knew it was a part of the marriage ceremony. A draught of *jagow* concludes it.

The foregoing is a description of the marriage of a Jerejoh. Nigurts are yoked together among themselves with very little ceremony. At the marriage of Moonjobs, the feasting sometimes begins a couple of days before the wedding, and continues a day

1 Ed. note: This reference to "tapa," a Polynesian cloth made of the inner bark of the mulberry tree, may have been an addition of the original editor of this work. Lütke's Voyage of 1827 shows the Pohnpeian natives wearing grass skirts; so too the first photographs taken in the 1880s.

or two after. The feasting and preparations vary, of course, according to the wealth or standing of the parties.

I have said polygamy is common. A man may have as many wives as he can support, but the largest number I ever knew one man to have was eleven. Concubinage and promiscuous intercourse is common among the Nigurts and lower Jerejohs, but very rare among the Moonjobs. The Moongobs are morally superior to those beneath—superior in intellect and character, as in standing. Adultery committed by persons of standing is punished by burning, preceded by an infliction of torture upon both parties too horrid and disgusting to describe. Among the lower castes it is unnoticed. During my stay upon the island I never knew an instance of its commission, by persons of note or standing enough to call for punishment.

Polygamy, as already stated, is allowed, and yet there is no necessity for restraint upon the woen, or the exertion of harsh authority over them. A resort to blows is seldom, if ever had, and the same odium that would attend such conduct here, visits it there. Of their children the islanders are remarkably fond. The little beings run naked for the five or six first years of their lives, and are the pets and playthings not only of their parents, but of all. Tattooing is commenced on children at about four years of age, the first marks being upon the back of the left hand. These first marks are made at the residence of the parents; at six or eight years of age the child visits the tattooing hospital, and again at different periods, until at about the age of eleven the tattooing is completed. The reader will recollect that in my case it was necessary to apply all these usually periodical inflictions at once. The art of tattooing Moonjobs and Jerejohs is a profession, confided to a few women—female professors of heraldry, for tattooing is the preservation of a species of heraldic symbols. The marks upon my body have often been read to me, being expressive of the names of deceased chiefs and Moonjobs. At the end of the catalogue the reader almost invariably adds,—“*midjila! midjila! midjia!*”¹

The introduction of tattooing in this connection is not, as it may at first sight appear, a change of subject. While different methods of tattooing distinguish the two upper castes from each other, and from the Nigurts, who are only permitted to make a few awkward marks upon the front of the egs, tattooing also serves to bind husband and wife. On a Moonjob man's right arm two rings signify the names of the nearest deceased ancestors of his wife, if she be a Moonjob; and on the wife similar marks preserve the ancestry of the husband. In the case of a man who can afford a half dozen women, the ceremony is not so particularly attended to; but the women make it a point of family pride to cover their shoulders with the family tree of their husband. The reader The reader will perceive that this is a contract incapable of erasure, and could a woman be tempted to desert her husband, she would still wear the recollection of what she had been; the honors and name of his house, no longer a gratification to her vanity, but a memento of her fallen state. The generally kind treatment of her spouse—her fondness for her children—her religion, education, the traditionary lore, of which her body carries an edition, and to the glory of which as wife she is heir in her husband's right, are

1 Ed. note: To die, a slang expression, is now written “engila.”

reasons sufficient why a Bonabeean woman should remain faithful and attached, although her return is but perhaps a decimal part of her husband's affections. Accustomed to polygamy, and unaware that in any country the wife has undisputed and entire possession of her liege lord, the Carolinean woman sees nothing shocking in the system of a plurality of wives. It would be nonsense to assert that there is no jealousy and quarrelling—as it would be asserting a position contradicted by reason, and the nature of things. Even in Christian countries we often see that one wife is enough to quarrel with; and although early education had taught me better than to wish for more than one wife, it is not to be imagined that Laowni (such was her poetical name) and myself had none of the disputes which appear incidental to conjugal life. Upon one occasion, when I was sick, a journey was projected, as was the usual course with invalids. I, however, refused to be cured in such a way, preferring ease and quiet. All the preparations having been made for the journey, it was taken without me. I thought my wife might have had the grace to remain at home with her sick spouse, but she chose to accompany her father. Upon her return I had pretty well recovered, and I welcomed her by taking my wedding gift—a few blue beads—from her basket, and breaking them between two stones, before her eyes. As soon as I had done the mischief, Laowni ran from the house to a stone in the edge of the water, where she sat down and commenced crying like an infant. I followed, and endeavored to pacify her, but it was of no use. The only answer she made was to kick like a spoiled child. The tide flowed in, till she was in water to her elbows; then I was enabled to coax her away, but still she ceased not bellowing for her beads. If I had bitten off her finger, it would certainly have grieved her less.

At night I went to sleep and left her weeping. She had refused to eat, though fish and the most delicate bits of canine venison had been offered her. Happening, however, to awake at midnight, I detected her solacing her grief, not, like Mrs. Oakley, on boiled chickens, but like a delicate savage, on a dog's drumstick. I said nothing, thinking the return of her appetite was a good omen; but when I waked again in the morning clouds and darkness still sat upon the countenance of Laowni.

The day long she wore the same sulks, giving me an occasional look of any thing but affection, but not vouchsafing a word. At night I took George with me, and instead of sleeping in the canoe-house, which was then Ahoundel's quarters, went to the house proper. There we built a small fire for its light, and just as we had propounded to each other the sage conclusion that his Majesty of Nutt and family were not in the best humor, we were surprised with a visit from that dignitary himself, accompanied by a native who was particularly indebted to me for detecting him in stealing my knife, and two others, all armed with spears. Without saying a word they sat down at a little distance, biting their nether lips, as is always their custom when vexed or in a passion. I spoke to them, and inquired the reason of the visit, but received not a word in answer. George shivered beside me like a leaf, though I assured him he need fear nothing, as the visit was undoubtedly intended solely for me. At length our agreeable state of suspense was relieved by the appearance of Laowni, who beckoned them outside, and we saw nothing more of them. It was two or three days afterward before the reconciliation

between myself and wife was completed, as i took it upon me, upon the most approved civilized plan, to become sulky when she relanted. This lesson, however, taught me better than to trifle again seriously with the property or comfort of a wife, whose father might inflict summary punishment upon me without being amenable for it to any power. Such I afterward ascertained was the intention of the visit. Ahoundel left the canoe-house with a determination to put me to death, and it was the intercession of Laowni, who followed the party, that saved me. Upon the whole, the adventure had a good effect. Ahoundel respected the courage with which I faced him, though God knows it was as much in outward seeming as genuine; and respected the firmness which led me to maintain my ground, even after the threat of death.

CHAPTER XII.

Priests.—Their rank—power.—Use of tattooing.—Edyomet a synonyme with Aroche.—Jure divino.—Island worship.—Theory of mind.—Apotheosis of chiefs.—Native notions of English printing.—Animan, or spirits.—Metempsychosis.—Treatment of sick.—Incantation.—Fatal embracing.—Time and mode of interment.—Perambulations of the ghost of the defunct.—Yearly procession round the grave-yard.—Inheritance.—Strength of custom.—Proportion of the castes to each other.—Journeying for sickness.—Cure of elephantiasis.—Cleanliness.—Feeling pulse.—Mr. O'Connell's calls to visit the sick.—Influence of his opinion on the patients.

The priests upon the Bonabee group are Jerejohs, and rank as petty chiefs. Their profession is hereditary, and their support is drawn from presents, for, though generally landholders, their possessions are small. They are much respected, and are the confidants and advisers of the chiefs. Tradition and the usages of their religion have given them much power, and they also exert a powerful influence through their interest with the chiefs. Called upon on all occasions,—feasting, house-warming, canoe-launching, sickness, death,—present at all ceremonies and assemblages, and in fine directing not only the public but the domestic business and economy of the islanders, as they are main depositaries of the traditions, it is their care to enforce the observance of all the minute distinctions between castes and ranks. Tattooing, spoken of in another connection as embalming the memory of the dead, is an art essential, in its symbolical language, to the preservation of the traditionary usages of the natives. Even the ornaments worked in twine upon the walls of the houses assist in this main object—the perpetuity of their tradition and religion. Every thing combining to render the priests powerful as they make themselves necessary, their name, *Edyomet*, is almost synonymous with *Aroche*, chief; the terms are, indeed, often confounded. In inquiring for the chief, or king of England, the natives used *Edyomet* and *Aroche* indiscriminately. Their ideas of government connect the priest and the chief, as it will be found in tracing all earthly power to its primitive source that the original rulers claimed a direct mission from, or connection with, heaven. The reader will remember that in speaking of the Moonob chiefs, it was stated that they claimed affinity with the skies; the term which defines their caste being also a term for the heavens. Great as is the power of the priests by their connection with the chiefs, it is but doing them justice to state that they attempt no increase or arbitrary exercise of it, and in their adherence to traditionary form, which it is their interest to press upon the people, is their strength. They are established—their dogmas and their power were never disputed, and it is therefore only necessary to assert their belief, and to permit the silent and almost imperceptible operation of their strength through the nominal, ostensible chiefs.

The whole thology of the island, the most singular imaginable for such a people, appears to be a worship of MIND, intelligence, or life. They appear to have an idea of its action, independently of the body,—to imagine it a separate and superior existence—a guiding genius over the conduct of the body. They have no temples, no idols, no altars, no offerings, no sacrifices; but worship a world of spirits, the disembodied souls, if I may so speak, or, more properly, the exalted minds of their dead chiefs. A chief's

apotheosis takes place almost before his death; nay, invocation of his spirit commences before breath has left the body. The spirits of the deceased are supposed to hover in and about the scenes which, alive, they frequented. Aside from the general and universal worship of the ancestors of the chiefs and Moonjobs, each family has the worship of its own ancestry—its household gods or lares. When I told them of the Supreme Bing they admitted his existence, although they never address prayers to him; but recognising such a power as the *Aroche lapalap*, great chief of their world of spirits, they persisted in practically acknowledging only the power of the *animan*¹ as they style their deified progenitors. Of these, as the reader has already seen, the names are preserved by the practice of tattooing, no name of a living person being imprinted on the flesh. I have a vague impression that the surviving friends sometimes tattoo themselves upon the death of a connection, but am positive that it is not an invariable custom. The next marriage of a descendant, however, or the next regular tattooing of a youth, after a chief's decease, is sure to preserve his name. I never learned to read their marks, but imagine they must be something like the system of the Chinese, from this circumstance: before Miss Jane Porter was washed away in a rain-storm, many of the natives had learned the alphabet; that is to say, they "knew the letters by sight," but, counting large letters and small, figures, points of reference, points of punctuation, and every other printer's character, they gave us many more than twenty-four letters. When they saw these repeated, they signified that it was superfluous; they had no clear idea of the combinations, but said there was too much of the same thing, evidently imagining that each letter conveyed in each place one and the same idea.

To the *animan*, vested with absolute power for good or ill, are attributed all the good and all the evil which befall them. Every thing for which it is impossible otherwise to account is attributed to them, and all inquiry into things uncertain or perplexing is barred at the outset by the assignment of the sufficient cause, the agency of the *animan*. Good comes from them in reward for good, and evil for evil. When I told them that worship belonged only to the One God, they asked me "how I knew; if I had been in heaven." Singular as it may appear, they have such an opinion of the whites, gathered from the specimens of their superiority which they had seen, and from the distance which they supposed their white visitors traversed to see them, that they thought the possibility of the whites having visited heaven was probable enough to tempt the question. My answer, no, of course, would put us on an equality again as to what we had seen, and when I referred to "the Book" in proof of my assertion, they sneered at once at the admission of such scanty evidence—such repetition of the same letters, such abundant poverty as the doubling and trebling the same marks to infinity, for the sole purpose, as they thought, of display!

Engrafted into their worship of mind is a rude system of metempsychosis. The species of eels, celebrated in chapter ten of this work, furnish the favorite residences of the superior *animan*, and are universally venerated. It must not be supposed that they wor-

1 Upon the Ladrone islands, where a similar worship prevails, the term is stated to be *anito* by geographers.

ship the fish, although a superficial observer might so imagine; and the preservation of the distinction between the worship of the *animan* and their visible representatives is creditable proof of their sagacity, and of the industry of their priests in their vocation.

As among all savages, the priests are also doctors; and almost all their remedies are spells and incantations. They have, to be sure, as a universal specific, a mixture of coconut oil and curry [curcuma]. The dose is measured and mixed in the palm of the doctor's hand; and is administered externally as well as internally, the whole body of the patient being smeared with it. This uniform prescription for all diseases serves better for savages, whose ailments are all of a similar type, proceeding from similar causes, than the specifics of the British Hygiene College of Health can possibly serve for the thousand diseases which flesh is heir to under the abuses of civilization. The natives generally attain a good old age; and even if a patient does occasionally slip his wind under the simple quackery of the priest, we must forbear to censure his practice, till the civilized world shall cease to build up the fortunes of empirics, by buying one nostrum for all diseases.

The *Edyomet* sits beside the mat of his patient, with his legs crossed like a Turk or a tailor, rubbing his hands slowly upon each other, and upon his legs, alternately, after the manner of a "Pease-porridge-hot" solo, with variations. This motion is accompanied with a solemn chanting, the burden of which is a guttural "e-e-e-ah!" "o-o-o-ah!" commenced slow, and snapped off short, as the hands reach the knees, or are taken apart. the subject of their chant is, of course, a particular application to the tutelar genius of the sufferer, and to the whole family of genii incidentally.

The sick-room is always crowded with the friends of the patient, and air is carefully excluded. He is pronounced dead as soon as he ceases to notice those about him, but before respiration ceases. As soon as it is supposed that the seal of death is set, a pyramid of bodies is formed upon the dying person, by those present, who throw themselves upon the body, each anxious to embrace, or, at the least, touch some part of it. There is usually a furious struggle, those in the rear catching the first who throw themselves upon the mat by the heels and pulling them back. The poor sufferer, beneath this living hecatomb to his memory, must die of suffocation. During all the time a deafening howl is raised by the whole company, something after the manner of the Irish, only that Hibernians¹ have the grace to wait till a man's breath is out of his body before they commence to "wake him."

After this first rude embracing has ceased, the patient is usually entirely dead; but cases have occurred, I am compelled to believe, when sufferers, still living, have been buried. Before burial, the defunct is made to leave "p. p. c. cards" at the houses of all his connections and friends in the village, being carried from hut to hut on the shoulders. At each house the procession tarries about ten minutes, and the same outcry is made as in the dying room. It is the invariable custom to bury the body before the next

1 Ed. note: Hibernians are the Irish; this word comes from Hibernia, the name the Roman conquerors gave to the island, which means Winter.

sunset; unless death occurs within a very short time of night, in which case the internment is postponed to the next day.

With no other protection for the body than a roll of mats, it is buried about three feet below the surface of the earth. All the persons present, except those who place the body in the earth, remain in a sitting posture, and weep and howl till the body is covered, when they leave the spot. The season of active mourning lasts about twelve days. On some of the islands in the group there are stated places for burial; on others, the dead body is buried near the hut which it occupied while living. If a male, a paddle from his canoe is buried with him; if a female, her spindle or distaff. Over the grave a small hut is built, in which the nearest surviving relative sleeps for five or six nights; after which it is taken down: a beautiful proof of affection in its holiest simplicity! The mourners, male and female, except chiefs and their families, cut off their hair, but do not maim or disfigure their bodies.

Another part of the ceremony is a piece of mummery got up by the priests—no less than a personation of the character of the ghost of the deceased, by one of their number. Be the dead male or female, old or young, his ghost was invariably of the masculine gender, and of years enough not to be frightened should he meet a brother ghost in the night. This personage parades the village for five or six nights after the burial, with a spear in his hand. There is no pretence that the walking gentleman is indeed the spirit of the departed; it is a sort of testimony of respect to the memory of the deceased.

There is upon the island of Nutt a grave-yard. It stands upon the shore, so near the water that at high tides it is flowed; it is inclosed by a strong stone-wall, and filled with cocoa-nut trees, the fruit of which is seldom if ever disturbed. It is a custom to plant over each grave a cocoa-nut tree, and, beside the paddles buried with the deceased, to lay one or more near his grave. Once a year, at low tide, these were taken out, each by a descendant of the former owner, and all the inhabitants of the island walked in procession round the inclosure. The procession bore no funeral aspect; the persons forming it were decorated with flowers, and in their gala dresses, and flowers were placed upon the graves. This ceremony, like all others, is under the superintendence of the *Edyomets*, and in the procession they walked next the Moonjobs. Thus does every part of the conduct and observances of the islanders tend to a reverence for ancestry; and the strength of the government is so based on hereditary rank, and perfect order and observance of precedent, that nothing less than an entire change in their religious belief and in their customs can produce a revolution. The custom of burial in yards is only practised upon Nutt and two other islands [i.e. districts] in the group; upon all others, and even upon Nutt in isolated instances, the patriarchal custom of laying a man down in his own "field" being preferred. The usual time of mourning is about a month, and during that period there is every day a stated hour for weeping—that upon which the friend died.

The order of succession to the property and rank of the defunct has already been spoken of. With his estate the heir inherits the incumbrance of the maintenance of the former proprietor's wives, children and dependents. No court of probate, no legal quar-

rels ensue. Where each man is, in a sense, a lawyer, and perfectly acquainted with the condition of the deceased, and the simple rules by which his effects are to be arranged, there is no possible manner in which a person can disguise fraud in attempting to take possession of what is not his by inheritance. It is seldom if ever attempted; being a crime not only against the individual wronged, but against the whole island population; having a tendency to subvert and undermine the institutions over which Moonjobs, Edyomets and Jerejohs watch with jealousy. The proportion. The proportion of the white or upper classes is as eight in twenty of the population; the other twelve being Nigurts, or slaves. Of the aristocracy one in eight are Moonjobs, and of the Jerejohs one sixth are priests. With the advantage of power, traditon, and superstition on their side, the priests and Moonjobs easily control the Jerejohs, who derive whatever power they possess from the same order of things that places another class still above them. The knowledge that union is necessary to control the slaves, and of the fact that the priests represent their order in the government, makes the Jerejohs assist in maintaining a system, the least infraction of which would set an example to the Nigurts, ruinous to their masters.

To return to the treatment of the sick. It is a common and very judicious mode of commencing the course of island practice, to remove the sufferer from place to place by the canoe, in easy stages, and try upon him the effect of change of air and scenery, while he can yet bear the journeying. This course is, in very many cases, a preventive of fixed disease, and is infinitely better than to wait until a complaint becomes seated, and then travel, when the only object possible to be gained is its amelioration. I am unable to describe the different characters of all the island diseases, or even to enumerate them by their native names. The variety is, however, small. The fevers generally are similar, and of the diseases peculiar to civilized countries they ahve none, of course. Elephantiasis, or something very like it, is sometimes seen upon the islands, and the remedy the natives universally apply is worse than the disease. It is their practice to pass a stick burned to a coal, and all alive with fire, over the affected limb, keeping it near enough to scorch, but not actually touching the flesh. Eruptions of the skin of the face, and coreness of the mouth, frequent during some seasons, I attributed to their practice of eating bread-fruit, which, deposited in the earth for keeping, had become impregnated with some mineral or other poisonous quality. Their food is simple, and their scrupulously cleanly habits and frequent ablutions are sufficient almost to insure an immunity from disease. Twice or thrice a day, men, women and children of the upper castes bathe themselves. For cleanliness they bathe in fresh water, each caste having its own bathing place, into which it is a crime for one of the lower order to step. When swimming they do not move in the water like us, but take the dog's short paddling for a model.

After I had some time resided with them, I happened accidentally to feel a sick man's pulse. This was noted by the observant natives, and I was called upon to explain what it meant, and why I did it. I gave them the best illustration in my power, beating time to show them how fast the pulse should beat, and telling them that any thing faster or any thing slower was "no good." The beating of the pulse at the wrists was a remark-

able discovery to them; all the old women, and indeed all the young, made a dive at the wrists of every one when first suspected of ill health. Once on the scent, they followed it, and detected the throbbing of the emples; so if there was not room enough at the wrists for all examiners, a portion would settle on his head. It was really amusing to see how like civilized people they could ride a hobby to death. Inquiries ceased. As phrenologists are said to read a man's whole character without other data to proceed upon than the external developments upon his head, so the native professors of the new act of pulse-feeling wished only to find rest for the finger on the patient's body. He or she would find rest only when the tormentors were asleep; the sleep of the patient being of too little consequence to interrupt the medical examinations of the thousand friends.

An islander sick is an object ghastly enough. With the smearing I have described, his original sallow face is resplendent in ghastliness. The accompanying objects, the gloomy visages of the attendants, and their howling and moaning, give such scenes a character gloomy as the most inveterate old-lady lover of sorrow, rendered doubly sorrowful by exaggeration and anticipation, could desire. If possible, I was always called to pronounce whether a patient would live or die; and by caution in pronouncing judgment, and care in forming it, my word, as I gained experience, was considered with the islanders life or death to the patient. By a favorable opinion, confidently pronounced, I question not I saved many lives, as the natives would redouble their efforts when hope was encouraged, and the patient's imagination, thus relieved, would assist the recovery.

CHAPTER XIII.

Music.—Lightening labor.—No war songs.—Singing in canoe-house.—Subjects of songs.—Connection of music with their institutions.—Instruments.—Time in dancing.—Star-gazing.—War of seldom occurrence.—Punishment of crimes.—Character.—Extenuation of their propensity to pilfer iron, etc.—Persons and features—Dress.—Ornaments.—Nigurts.—Visit to Hand [Ant].—To Pokeen [sic], or Wellington [Moki] Island.—Character and customs of that island.—Visit from comrades.—Attempted excursion.—A spy.—Pursuit.—Canoe smashed.—Unpleasant exception against Mr. O'Connell.—Disagreeable uncertainty.—Inglorious return.—Laowni's joy.—Island kissing.—Ahoundel's half-apology.—Laowni's revenge upon Namadow.

We have already remarked that the natives have a very accurate ear for music. The priests have their religious howlings, but other men seldom sing, except to relieve labor, or while dancing. In hollowing out a canoe, the workmen strike together, singing the shile; and in polishing there is the same attention to concert in motion. The oarsmen, or rather paddlemen, in canoes move together to songs. There are, however, no war songs, other than such as a civilized nation may have, commemorative of the feats of countrymen in arms.

The women are very fond of singing, and do not, like the men, confine their vocal exercises to labor and dances. A favorite arrangement is to seat a hundred or more in the canoe-house, with strips of dry, strong bark from knee to knee, on which, at certain points in the song, they strike their hands together, the men remaining silent auditors. The subject of these songs were, their ancestors or the *animan*; the stars and constellations, of which the natives are attentive watchers, and for which they have names; their bread-fruit, dogs, fish; and sometimes they would chant for hours a bare catalogue of the names of their chiefs and their possessions. One song I recollect celebrated the barking of a dog on board of some vessel which had visited them. So simple a circumstance was an event, as the reader is already aware of their affection [sic] for the canine race.¹

The figurehead of a vessel which had drifted ashore, and was preserved by the natives in the canoe-house at Nutt, was the subject of another song. It was a bust of a female figure, and along with it they had stored the arm of a figure broken, probably, from the stern ornaments of some vessel. Another was the commemoration of a man riding a dog, which, upon my inquiry, proved to be Neptune, or some other ancient worthy, figuring with his establishment on a vessel's stern.²

Singing is, like tattooing, an important method of perpetuating the history and fame of the island, ancient aristocracy, religion, and traditions. In general character tending to the perpetuity of their institutions, there are still songs in which the lighter matter of

1 Ed. note: This may be a reference to Lütke in 1827, that took away one Pohnpeian dog. Or else, the Alliance, in 1787.

2 Ed. note: Interesting mystery! From what wrecked ships could these objects have come from? They were probably brought from the east by the prevailing currents. More likely they came from some early whaling ship whose loss has not been properly recorded. It is hardly possible that the source of those artifacts would have been very old, e.g. from the English Content of 1588, or even one of the two returning Dutch ships of 1746.

love is introduced; but these are for convivial meetings of a few—private *sakau* bouts. The musical instruments in use are only two, and rude in make—a drum, and a description of pipe, or fife. The drum is made by stretching a fish-skin over a hollowed log, and the fife has three finger holes, and is blown by the nostrils, instead of the mouth of the player. For war trumpets they use shells, or conches. My comrade Keenan's instruments were, beside these, as a German flute to a penny whistle, and the admiration of the natives at his "execution" was unbounded.

Night dances in the canoe-house were without other light than that of the moon or the stars, entering at the large door. Standing up in rows, as has already been described, their dancing was mere stamping in time to the singing, and the precision with which they struck together their paddles was truly astonishing. Moonlight nights were always improved, if not for dancing, for singing. The natives are passionate admirers of the study of the heavens, and will even sit alone and watch some particular star.

These are indeed a happy people. War, as in all primitive nations, is with them an occasional occupation and a glory, but it is by no means a propensity; occurring less often than among nations who have the technicalities of written treaties to quarrel about. The government, while it is exact and unchangeable in its requirements, being secure and based on the habits of the people, offers them no unwelcome innovations, and finds few bad subjects. Prompt in the visiting of punishments upon all offenders, however powerful, the idea of resistance to it seldom is conceived; but when conceived, the whole strength of the people goes with the chiefs to suppress it. The government is an oligarchy, where the power is so divided and subdivided that some chief can take cognizance of every man's conduct; and minor faults are punished by the petty chiefs as soon as committed. A dig in the flesh with a shell, a blow with a stone from a sling, or a knock-down with a club, the offender daring not to resist, tells the whole story of trial, conviction, and punishment. No petty chief can inflict death; and all the worse crimes, except adultery, are punished by crushing the head with stones, burning the body of the executed malefactor and strewing his ashes to the winds, or by throwing his carcass to the dogs.

In character, after about five years' residence with them, I pronounce them hospitable, sagacious, and benevolent. Vindictiveness of character is no more a universal trait of their character than of any other nation living between or about the same degrees of latitude. They are tidy in appearance and in thought, affable and pleasant in manners, delicate in conversation before women and children, and critical in their knowledge, so far as it goes, particularly in their pronunciation of the language. They are accused, in common with other South Sea Islanders, of being thievish. As far as these people are concerned, I can answer for them, that they have not even an idea of barter. The land is parcelled out in "entails," and is nominally the property of its holders, but no person would go hungry by another's food, and, except trinkets and little valuable articles of "personal property," no-one would think of withholding his possessions from the needy. They, like all other people, value articles by the estimation in which the owner holds them; and deeming that such things as they most covet are held, on account of

their abundance, in least esteem among the English or Americans, they take them, as a miser would appropriate a pin, a button, or a nail, in the street. I have asked them the question why they stole from vessels, and have found it difficult to convince them that such conduct was more than a trifling error—a mere taking of a “liberty.” They reasoned that their visitors have every thing in useless abundance, and every thing better than themselves, and could not miss what was taken; judging it no more difficult for ships to replace articles lost, than for themselves to obtain any island commodity. The restitution to myself and comrades of our little property, even to our knives—Jewels in their sight—is proof of their honesty where they are sensible of the need and justice of such a virtue. I do not say that there are not exceptions, that they are without exception this excellent, conscientious people, as I had myself a difficulty with one Namadow, a Jerejoh fellow, who stole my knife. Ranking as a chief, I took restitution into my own hands, striking him when I saw the knife in his possession. Though he dare not resent the blow, he held the stolen property, till Ahoundel compelled him to restore it.

In person the Moonjobs and Jerejohs are about what we call the “middle size,” and erect in their persons and carriage, except when ceremony requires abasement. In features they resemble the Mongolian race, having high cheek bones and broad faces. The hair of males and females is black, long, and flowing, and softer than is usual to Indians. Upon the head both sexes wear a conical hat, with no rim. The men wear a mat made of bleached cocoa-nut leaves, strung together.¹ Beneath it is a sash of soft fibres wound about the waist and loins, and over it a sash of gaudy red, the quality and arrangement of it denoting rank. The women’s dress is a much closer mat, manufactured with care and skill from the cocoa-nut bark. Sometimes a *lagow* or mat is worn, like the “poncho” of the Chilians, on the shoulders, with a hole in the centre through which the head is thrust.² Passionately fond of flowers, the women wear them in their hair and in their ears, perforating the latter for that purpose. The only pigment ever applied to the flesh is the oil of the cocoa-nut, with a little of some powder resembling cur-ray; and their very frequent ablutions prevent any thing offensive in this. Like all Indians they are fond of beads, and manufacture them from white stones, found on the beach, spending a day upon one. They chew nothing like the “betel” of the Malays, but keep the teeth white and clean. None of these remarks apply to the Nigurts, who are as filthy as degraded; their dress is coarser, and their skin rough and unpleasant to the touch.

With these people, after George and I had become habituated to their customs, and learned to appreciate their character, we resigned ourselves to circumstances, and were content, in the absence of almost all hope of escape, to be happy. In about a year from our arrival, Ahoundel grew a little less cautious about our wandering; a forced remission of care, as we had become too well acquainted with the people to believe them all cannibals. Still he insisted upon our being frequently in his company. The difficulty with Laowni, detailed in a preceding chapter, my father-in-law’s conduct in which he was, I

1 Ed. note: It looked like a grass skirt, not like the mats worn by the Marshallese.

2 Ed. note: The modern way of writing this archaic word is apparently *Jakiot* (ref. Regh & Sohl’s Dictionary).

suspect, instigated by Namadow, left my situation not quite as pleasant as before. Ahoundel seemed inclined to harshness with over affection, and it was with much difficulty George and I obtained permission to leave Nutt even for twenty-four hours.

[Visits to Ant and Mokil atolls]

Outside the reef which bounds Bonabee are two islands, one called by the natives Hand, about twenty miles distant, the other Pokeen, about sixty miles distant. The latter, called on the charts Wellington Island,¹ is inhabited; Hand is not. The inhabitants of Wellington Island resemble those of Bonabee, except that they are addicted to cannibalism, a practice which is unknown on Bonabee, except, perhaps, so far as tasting an enemy's heart goes. Hand is visited for its cocoa-nuts, which are very abundant. Keenan and myself visited it once, and found it bounded by a reef, through which there is but one passage. Beche le mer was deposited in large quantities upon the sand at low tide. We were detained by a storm longer than we bargained for, being weather-bound ten days.

Upon Wellington Island we remained nearly six months. The language was essentially the same as at Bonabee, the customs similar; the three castes of people also existed there. It is oftener visited by vessels than Bonabee, as the bits of iron hoop, an officer's coat, and other articles in the possession of the natives proved. Beche de mer and tortoise shell were plentiful; the latter in possession of the islanders, and the former neglected from an ignorance of the method and means to cure it.

The natives of Wellington Island are in the habit of frequently visiting Bonabee, bringing presents of mats, fruit and other articles; and it was upon the return of a party from Wellington that we visited their island. The inhabitants of Bonabee hardly reciprocate these visits, as their canoes are less adapted for the open sea than those of Wellington Island, and they are also less skilful mariners. I did not believe, till my visit, that the natives of Wellington Island were cannibals; then I had ocular demonstration. It seemed with them an ungovernable passion, the victims being not only captives, but presents to the chiefs from parents, who appeared to esteem the acceptance of their children, for a purpose so horrid, an honor. Wellington Island, laid down on the chart as one, is, in fact, three islands, bounded by a reef.² One of them is inhabited, and the other two are uninhabited spots, claimed by different chiefs, as if to afford pretext for war, and the gratification of their horrible passion for human flesh.

Shortly after our return from Pokeen, or Wellington Island, our four comrades, Johnson, Bradford, Thompson and Williams, paid us a visit, as had been their occasional custom. At these meetings we sparred, danced, sung, and conversed in English, relating to each other our various experience and discoveries in the language of the people, and their character. The reader may well imagine we enjoyed these opportunities to revive old associations, and speculate upon the chances of our escape from Bonabee.

1 Ed. note: Error made by the author; Wellington corresponded to Mokil, not to Pakin.

2 Ed. note: This remark confirms the fact that the author was talking about Mokil, not Pakin.

Upon this occasion my comrades proposed to George and me that we should leave Nutt, and spend a twelve-month with them, dividing the time with the different chiefs with whom they were quartered, and devoting the first month to an excursion from island to island. This proposal was eagerly embraced by us. I had frequently expressed to Ahoundel a wish to the same effect, giving as a reason my weariness of the monotony of an abode upon one island, but he uniformly refused his consent. My visit to Wellington Island was protracted, by the strength of the north-east trades, much beyond his pleasure, and although I was an involuntary absentee, and of course not liable to blame, that long absence had so proved the need of my presence to him, that it made him averse to my going from his sight: a fatherly solicitude that was horribly annoying. Knowing therefore the certain answer to an application for leave of absence, I determined to take liberty without. What I fancied a good opportunity soon offered. Ahoundel and his whole household, and connections, launched the canoes for an excursion or visit. I was excused from the party on account of the presence of my friends, who declined accompanying Ahoundel. When they were fairly off, we stepped into the canoe, but had hardly got under weigh, when a rascally Nigurt, who had evidently been watching us, shoved his canoe off, and paddled before us like lightning, shoving, or rather poling his canoe over the shallows, and working like a windmill in a gale with his single paddle in the deep water. When he reached a creek or inlet, into which we knew Ahoundel had turned, he shot up the opening, and we began to see his intention, and the meaning of the hoo-hooing he had kept up as he preceded us. In a few moments we saw the canoes of Ahoundel in pursuit. We used paddles and sail, and cracked on, esteeming it more a frolic than any thing else. As we had the start, and the canoes of the islands differ but little in speed, it was nearly two hours before they had neared us enough to be within hailing distance. They then commenced fair promises if we would stop, offering us fish, and bread-fruit, and yams, and using all the logic of persuasion of which they were capable. Still we cracked on; but Ahoundel's canoe at length shoved alongside of us, upon the weather or outrigger side, and we gave up the race as useless.

My "friend" Namadow was the first to lay hold of the outrigger, and gave us the first intimation of their rough intentions, by endeavoring to capsize us. We hung to windward to trim the boat, and finding his strength ineffectual to upset it, he had the brazen impudence to climb on the platform with the intention to board us. In the heat of the moment I administered a settler with my fist, which knocked him into the water. Then half a dozen of the Indians laid hold of our outrigger at once, and esteeming it useless to struggle against such odds, we all jumped out of the canoe. Others of Ahoundel's fleet had by this time gathered around us, and the Indians commenced beating us with the flat sides of the paddles whenever we showed our heads. Our canoe was smashed to smithereens, and my comrades were allowed to climb into others in the fleet, without much beating; indeed, they were assisted in; but I did not fare so well. Ahoundel made frequent feints with his spear, and so did others, but not one was thrown, nor had any person any such murderous intention; as I afterwards learned their orders were to frighten and beat, but not to hurt: a consoling circumstance, of which I had not then



O'Connell trying to escape.

the benefit, but considered myself a case. During all this time my father-in-law was upbraiding me with my ingratitude, reminding me of my rank, connections, wife, and the benefits he had heaped upon me. I protested my purpose was only to make an excursion with the intention to return. The paddle pounding had ceased after the first rude attack, and this conversation was carried on, or rather his scolding, while I was eyeing the spears, and dodging in anticipation of the expected blows. I made several attempts to climb into Ahoundel's canoe, but my particular friend, who had by this time been fished out of the water, rapped my fingers with his paddle as soon as they clasped the gunwale. The fleet, which had received additions from Nutt, of people who came out from curiosity, seeing the fray, now turned toward Nutt again, and Jem Aroche, Moonob as he was, was fain to crawl into the canoe of a Nigurt, and return to the house of his father. My shipmates accompanied me, and Ahoundel, satisfied that I should not repeat my attempt to escape, proceeded on his excursion. I should have mentioned, that no women accompanied our pursuers, as the precaution was taken to set them ashore before the boats started in pursuit.

Three or four days passed before Ahoundel and his party returned. During that time I had ample opportunity for reflection, and came to the conclusion, that, considering the stealthy circumstances under which I left Nutt, the chief had reason for his jealousy

of me. Nay, I could not help acknowledging to myself that my punishment was not altogether undeserved, as my treatment of my father had, to say the least, been unhand-some.

When the party returned, Laowni immediately sought me upon landing, as she had heard vague rumors of my adventure, and was not sure that I was not killed. She was overjoyed to see me, rubbed her nose against mine, (think of that for a method of kissing, ladies!) threw herself on my neck, and fairly wept tears of joy at my safety. Ahoundel himself by recapitulating the suspicious circumstances against me. Laowni was clamorous in her complaints of my treatment, and even appealed to her father by asking him how he would like such usage if he was a stranger in London.

Laowni questioned all the particulars of the attack out of me, and worked herself into such a rage with Namadow, the friend who struck my hand, that she ran up to him, and struck him with her *codjie*, a small wooden knife. It was a severe blow, too, she dealt him, doing her savage notions of friendship more credit than ther sex. He had no refuge but flight, being a Jerejoh; and the others, who had been busiest in abusing me at the time of the encounter, noticing the reconciliation with Ahoundel, did not afterward venture into the canoe-house when I was present, till they imagined they had propitiated me with presents. Ahoundel was much better pleased with Laowni's attack upon Namadow than I was. He called her "brave" for it; not exactly to her face, but as any father among us would rather commend than regret the pranks of a spoiled child; for such was Laowni his only daughter.

CHAPTER XIV.

Kissing—various methods.—Bonabee custom.—Effect of Laowni's blow on Namadow.—Apology for Laowni by analogy from historical instances and civilized customs.—Visit of our friends.—Conversation with the natives.—Illustrations of geography.—Mode of thinning island population.—White woman.—Names bestowed on chiefs by Mr. O'Connell.—Boxing.—Tobacco.—Imitation.—Raillery.—Mats for beds.—Rats.—their troublesome intentions.—Interior arrangement of houses.—Employment. Recreations.—Messages—how despatched.—Face of the islands.—Fruit.—Flowers.—Animals.—Fowls.—Cock-fighting.—Commercial products.

Kissing is the universal token of affection, every nation under the sun having some variety of the interesting ceremony; and even the brute creation shows some indications that the practice is not the exclusive attribute of reason. The dog kisses his master's hand or face, in his own way; and there are lovers of horse flesh who would challenge one who should assert that there is not a horse-kiss as well as a horse-laugh. The modern Greek belles kiss with their eyelids; the Spanish coquette kisses her fan from the balcony; our own damsels, British or Yankee, have an honest meeting of lips with the person saluted. The ancients were in the habit of throwing their kisses to the moon or stars; the Laplanders press their noses firmly together; while many of the South Sea Islanders, and among them the Bonabeans, are content with a gentle, titillating, thrilling meeting of the nasal protuberances. Thus it was, as stated in the last chapter, that Laowni saluted me after my escape from the tender mercies of Namadow; but the reader is, perhaps, arguining from her rude treatment of that person that her temper could not have been uniformly gentle. Namadow was so severely wounded by her, that his death, occurring within a couple of months, was attributed to the combined effects of his bodily injury and his shame at being punished by a woman.

“What a savage!” the lady reader will exclaim. Gently, gently, madam; have the charity to suspend judgment till you have heard my plea in extenuation. Let us look for parallel examples among civilized nations; in royal families first, if you please, for was not Laowni a princess? Elizabeth of England boxed the ears of the Countess of Nottingham on her death-bed, for causing the death of a favorite. Shall we say that Christian England, in the days of good Queen Bess, was less civilized than pagan Bonabee? The death of Mary Queen of Scots; the death warrants signed by Mary of England; the female influence in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; the ladies who formed applauding portions of the spectators of chivalric combats of *foutrance*;² the ladies who, even now, grace the ring of admirers of the Spanish buul-fights; the women who looked on unmoved at the procession preparatory to an *auto-da-fenay*, who even witnessed the horrible immolation of the victims of superstition;—shall we, in view of these historical reminiscences,—not a tithe of what might be quoted,—denounce Laowni for an act which spoke the affectionate wife as clearly as the impetuous Indian girl, unrestrained by the influence of civilization? The same promptings of the heart in its warmth would, among us, only have induced a wife to urge her husband to legal protection and redress. Laowni had the law in her own hands, and only performed summarily what a Christian woman near the throne would have done by “influence.”

Our shipmates lengthened their visit some days after their capture under the apparently suspicious circumstances of running away with George and me. Ahoundel had the justice to present them with a new canoe, the civility to invite them to prolong their visit, and the delicacy to restore their property so soon after the explanation, that their visit could not seem a detention forced by the lack of means to escape.

Not the least interesting among our occupations and amusements on the islands was conversation with the natives, and watching the avidity with which they swallowed whatever we told them, and the dexterity with which they applied the information thus gained to the improvement of their arts; always excepting when it interfered with such part of their customs as were based on their religion. It was a practice with us to impress their minds with an idea of the power of the chiefs of England and America. We told them of musketry and of cannons, but never, with the guns in our hands, could convince them that those guns were the death-dealing engines, of which, from tradition, they had some idea. Our powder was all spoiled in the boat, before we landed.

In illustrating geography to my adult scholars, I drew, upon bark, a rough skeleton outline of America, large, a small spot for England, and to show them the comparative size of their own islands, a small dot. This, however, would not suffice to make them understand, till they inquired how many days's journey it required to go round America and England. To the first I assigned an indefinite time, very, very long—too many days to be counted. My inquirers would cluck, cluck, in astonishment. England (not to let her appear too insignificant) I bounded by a year's travelling, the name England comprising the three kingdoms. They would then revert to their own speck in the ocean, almost incredulous to the statement that other inhabited spots so much exceeded it in size.

Small as is their territory, it is very thickly peopled, however. As it never entered into my head that, uncertain as was my escape from the island, my observations would ever appear in print, on this subject, as on many others, I am unable to give accurate information respecting numbers. Emigration is resorted to when the population becomes too dense for comfortable subsistence; a practice which is not peculiar to Bonabee over other South Sea Islands. When it becomes certain that such a step is necessary, a number of the natives, with their wives and children, take to their canoes, victualled as liberally as the boats will bear, and trust to chance for a harbor or a landing. No such dismissal took place during my residence, but my information was gathered from the statements of the natives, and is corroborated by the fact that canoes have been picked up at sea with natives in them. Upon one of the Bonabee group I saw and conversed with an old man, the last survivor of a party who came to the island, years before, exiles from their original homes. It will be readily supposed that **emigrants are always from the lower or poorer classes.**¹

Among other objects of curiosity on the group, we found one no less a miracle with the natives than with ourselves. It was a woman, from some freak of nature's, perfectly white. She was frequently visited by the natives of other islands than that upon which

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

she resided, her fame being spread all over the group. In features she resembled the Mongolian, but her complexion would have been clear beside many European women. Pretty, she was upon that account visited, and, aware of her personal advantages, as proud of them as any regularly trained coquette.

Each of us having an island name, we returned the compliment by dubbing our hosts with titles, which they always remembered, and wore with much pride. My father Ahoundel I called King George, apprizing him of the rank of the potentate for whom I had named him. Wajai, chief of Matalaleme, upon hearing of the new title of his friend, made an implied demand upon my civility for a title also, intimating that, as the name of the great English chief was appropriated, the nest in my disposal was that of the chief of America. As the American "chiefs" changed periodically, and it was impossible for me, so far from my post-twon, to see the newspapers, I christened Wajai, Washington.

Some of the islanders, seeing us at our famed old English sport, boxing, insisted upon an initiation into "the art of manual defence." In this some of them became quite expert, but few were philosophers enough to take a blow with entire good humor. They could never quite learn to love tobacco, a few heads of which article, brought ashore in our gags, served us, with economy, for nearly a year. Fond of imitation, the women and children could imitate some of the most simple sounds of verses of songs which sometimes escaped us; and a few of the most common phrases of a sailor's vernacular they learned by their frequent repetition, and would repeat without always knowing their meaning. In sarcasm and the bandying of opprobrious epithers—in a plain word, "blackguarding"—they were very expert; generally, however, in good humor, as a quick perception of the ridiculous is a characteristic of their minds, untutored though they are. Seldom resulting in quarrels, these little altercations sometimes ended in the exchange of a blow or two with the small wooden knife or fish-shell. Chiefs, as before stated, deal summary punishment for all disturbances or infractions of order in their presence. I have more than once seen Ahoundel throw a spear or club at a native for merely standing or walking erect in his presence.

During my whole residence on the island I formed a part of the family of Ahoundel. At night we slept in the same apartment; the houses seldom having any division, except, perhaps, a small apartment for the storing of valuables. Mats were our only bed furniture, and these, removed in the morning, left the floor clean. During the night a small fire was kept alive for its light, in the place left for that purpose in the centre of the floor. By this a young girl slept, who occasionally replenished it. I have many times been awakened by the calls of Ahoundel to the girl when she had permitted it to go entirely down. In the large house the heat was not felt, of course, although it subjected us to some inconvenience from mosquitoes. The islands swarm with rats, which sometimes, but very seldom, are appropriated as an article of food; and the natives appear to have no means of systematically ridding themselves of so great a pest, though, as an amusement, they are sometimes dexterously caught with a noose. The little mischievous quadrupeds, emboldened by such a tacit immunity in mischief, run across the house in the daytime, as familiarly as flies; but at night their gambols were to me an-

noying, and almost frightful. They would nibble at the tough skin on the soles of the feet, and even essay the fingers. No kicking would purchase deliverance longer than while the foot was in motion; but I must do the little torments the justice to say that they dexterously avoided touching the quick.

Having spoken of the sleeping arrangements, the other furniture of the houses may be despatched in a few words. Beside the mats, there are only calabashes and cocoa-nut shells polished for holding liquids, and impromptu baskets made of leaves and rushes, and used only once or twice, for holding food. Then there are the baskets which are the exclusive property of individuals, made neatly and permanently, to contain the little etceteras belonging to their owners—the shell knives, coral and fish-skin rasps of the men, and the beads, knives, bone-tags or needles, etc. of the women. The walls were hung with the paddles, spears, and clubs of the men, and the women's weaving apparatus. These walls are elaborately finished with twine, as is also the floor, the bamboo sticks in the latter being of equal size. No particle of litter is permitted to remain about the house, the cleanliness of the natives in every particular being wonderful. Through the centre of the building runs a row of upright posts to support the peak of the roof, all also grafted or netted with twine. The heavy cooking being done out of doors, or in the canoe-house, there is too little smoke to stain the walls with more than a mellow brownness; not enough to conceal the variegated colors of the twine.

Day opens with bathing; a neglect of so necessary and healthy a custom being sufficient, if not to deprive the offender of caste, to degrade and subject him to opprobrium. Food is taken lightly and in small quantities, principally at the close of the day. The occupations of the males, beside those already stated, are the manufacture of lime from coral rock, red paint, beads, and other little matters. The weight of the labor, the reader is aware, is done by the Nigurts. Their children in their gambols furnished the natives abundant and interesting amusement, and their instruction, occupation and amusement blended. Night was the season for recreation—the singing of the women; conversation, particularly with us; dancing, or watching those women who are dancers *par excellence*, almost by profession, being famed for their grace or agility; less however of the latter than the former.

Messages are sent from one chief to another by means of leaves of a particular tree, the points folded in differently to express different messages. I was led to notice this by some of the natives, who, noticing my attention to the Scottish Chiefs, produced a leaf, and folded it, to show me their method of “talking at a distance;” remarking of my book that it was “*lakya toto, mijwid*,”—“too much talk, not good;” their single leaf being “*lakya tic-a-tic macojalale*,”—“little talk, very good.”¹

The leaves, thus folded, I never could learn to read, and in this obtuseness was behind the natives. Their messages would seem at first thought to be very limited in signification, but a reference to the volumes which may be spoken by telegraphic signals will correct such an opinion. Inclosed in a plantain leaf and secured by twine, one of

1 Ed. note: With modern spellings: “lokaia tohto, mi sewed” [talk much, is bad] and “lokaia tikitik, mwo kosa(?) lel [talk little, that's(?) perfect!].

these primitive letters accompanies donations of presents and demands for them, declarations of war and promises of submission; in short, all the state despatches. No earth, or arrows, or other palpable symbols accompany the message, the language of the leaf being systematically arranged and understood.

The face of these islands [i.e. Pohnpei] is mountainous and the land rather rocky, the most common description being a bluish rock of a slatose formation. Brimstone is found in abundance; but of the mineralogical wealth or paucity of the islands I have obtained no date upon which to speak. The islands are well watered and fertile, producing spontaneously the bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, plantain, banana, and mangrove. There are beside a variety of nuts, and an inferior species of lime, or lemon. Agriculture is confined to the cultivation of the yam and *jagow*, the demand for and value of the latter rendering pains in its production necessary. Naturalists all know how important a fruit is the bread-fruit, and its singular adaptation to the wants of the natives of the countries in which it is found. Fruit may be seen upon the same tree in all stages from the bud to dead maturity. It is gathered with a long stick with a forked end, with which it is twisted from the stem. When it ripens faster than it is consumed, it is gathered, parcelled in leaves, and buried in the earth, being first prepared by the removal of the rind and seeds. It will thus keep for many months, and the natives prefer it to fruit just gathered, kneading it with cocoa-nut oil before baking. Wild flowers are abundant and gaudy in color, but generally possess little fragrance. There is one, however, a little yellow bell, which is an exception, being very odoriferous. The women string them upon vine tendrils, passing the tendril through the bell, and thus make a wreath for the head or pendants for the ears, alike beautiful and fragrant.

Fruit is common stock, though an occasional wisp of twine or bark about a tree marks it *majorhowi*, not to be touched under the penalty of trespassing; but yams, *jagow*, and dogs are private property, sacred to the use of their proprietors. The dogs furnish the only article of flesh eaten, save an occasional rat, and are much coveted and cared for. Women nurse the pups at their breasts in case of the death of the natural parents of the little canine infants; nay, I believe, in some cases, to prevent the impoverishment of the mother dog before a feast, when her carcass may be in requisition. Dogs are not valued for their docility or attachment to their masters; familiarity is discouraged, so that they may be pronounced generally most unsocial quadrupeds, and their "howl o' nights" is the most decidedly unmusical I ever happened to hear. These, with rats and mice, form their only quadrupeds, and one common name, with the qualifying adjectives *lapalap*, large, and *ticatic*, small, serves for both.¹ There are millions of lizards, a sprinkling of centipedes, of which latter the natives live in some dread, but I do not recollect to have seen a snake. The reader is not hence to judge that there are none, but that they are not sufficiently numerous, or venomous enough to inspire terror, and thence observation.

1 Ed. note: The generic word for any four-legged animal is now *menkerep*, but the traditional words, then and now, are *kiti* for dog, and *kitik* for rat.

Among the birds, parrots and paroquets in untold varieties are the most common. There are few singing birds, and none very musical, the feathered race here, as in other tropical climes, being more gorgeous in plumage than musical in song. A species of pigeons, larger than our wild pigeons, but otherwise resembling them; and common hens are plentiful. The first are, of course, indigenous; the latter the natives state to have sprung from a pair of fowls presented to one of the chiefs by some people with moustaches, who came to the island in a big canoe with one stick. They would seem to mean a sloop. It is possible that such a craft might have visited them from some of the eastern Portuguese or Spanish settlements, but I have concluded from their answers to my questions, unnecessary to repeat here, that it must have been a Portuguese or Spanish schooner. One stick would give a sloop no bowsprit; so that it is quite as likely to have been a schooner as a sloop from the description, and more likely from other reasons. This visit was stated to have been made about forty years before my arrival.¹

The natives will eat no birds of any description, nor will they kill them. They are *majorhowi* to all classes. The cocks and hens are pets, preserved and fed as things of amusement. What is a little singular, we found the natives up to cock-fighting, though they were not civilized enough to make bets upon the fowls, or to supply them with weapons in addition to those nature has given.² George and myself often killed and cooked a fowl, but though we sometimes persuaded to put a bit of the flesh in their mouths, they would spit it out again with the greatest expression of disgust in their countenances.

Beche le mer, a sort of fish which is found upon rocks and the beach at low tide, and is cured upon other South Sea Islands for the Chinese market; and tortoise shell, form the principal articles for which these islands could be wrothy of visit in a commercial view, although I cannot undertake to say that they are the only available products.

The only good harbor for vessels is at Matalaleme, and without a pilot that would be difficult and dangerous to reach.³ How safe it would be now for an unarmed vessel to visit them, the reader will see from a subsequent part of my story. That they had been visited before is evident, both from the fowls and their traditions. That those traditions preserved some ungracious memory of the whites is clear from our first reception; that they are capable of kindness after they are sure their visitors are weak or harmless, our treatment from them can testify. During our residence we had succeeded in giving them a favorable opinion of Europeans and Americans; how that opinion was corroborated by the first vessel which had ever anchored in their waters within their memory, I shall not here anticipate my relation to state.

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- 1 Ed. note: About this unrecorded visit of a small European ship to Pohnpei, at about 1787, it could be the same French ship that discovered Kosrae in 1804. The years must be very approximate. Lütke had not been the first modern visitor to Pohnpei.
 - 2 Ed. note: On the other hand, if the natives saw a cockfighting demonstration aboard the sloop in question, it could have been from Manila: either the *Modesto*, Captain Fernandedez, in 1808 or 1809, or the *San Antonio*, Captain Dublon, who also re-discovered Chuuk, in 1814.
 - 3 Ed. note: The Metalanim harbor was soon employed by whalers, but they could not get out easily o account of the tradewinds.

CHAPTER XV.

Excursion commenced.—Visit to Wajai-a-Chocoich.—Flute, looking-glass, tattooing, serving as letters of introduction.—Wonderful discovery.—Island of Ruins.—Description.—Fear of Nigurt.—The ruins attributed to animan,—Return to Kittu.—Dissuasives of chief against a repetition of the visit.—Farther description.—Speculations and conjecture.—Discovery of dead body in a vault.—Native solution of a heavy problem.—Farther speculation and supposition.—Dissimilarity of the architecture of the Island of Ruins and modern island building.—Final resolutions, in committee of two.—Matalaleme.—Pit full of bones.—Return to Nutt.—Agreeable prospect of life in a row.

After remaining restricted principally to Nutt for about two years, George and I determined upon an excursion, cost what it might. After an abortive attempt to get away in a borrowed Nigurt's canoe, we obtained a larger one, and started. To avoid suspicion it was borrowed, as launching one of my own would have been attended with a parade that would have led my honored father-in-law to suspect even more than was my intention. I had taken the precaution to note on a plantain leaf the names of the other islands and their chiefs. Five or six hours brought us to Choeoich [Sokehs], and upon nearing the chief's canoe-house George struck upon his fife, flute, or *cudjong* a lively tune, while I kept the canoe in motion. When we reached the landing, a boat of the natives, many of whom had never before seen us, were ready to receive us. With Wajai [Wasahi], the head chief, we remained one night, and were feasted and entertained. A like reception we met at other islands, which we visited in succession, occupying nearly a month in the trip. Possessed of the names of the chiefs, it was my custom, upon ascertaining the name of an island [i.e. district], to inquire for its chief, to whom I first paid my respects. George's flute and my looking-glass were assurances of good reception, as their fame and ours had preceded us.

Notwithstanding the representations of Ahoundel that we were in danger of being eaten if we ventured out of his sight, nothing but the most courteous treatment was received by us. My tattooing, speaking my relationship to Ahoundel-a-Nutt, was better than letters of introduction. We were frequently accompanied from island to island, and Nigurts were put in our canoe, to save us the labor of propelling it. During a month thus most agreeably spent we met all of our shipmates. These meetings were indeed the most pleasant part of the excursion, as the reader will well imagine. My friends were much diverted at the respect paid me on account of my tattooing; so far was it carried that the natives often insisted upon my shipmates sitting down, as a token of respect to Jem Aroche, alias Ahoundel-a-Nutt, alias James O'Connell.

But the most wonderful adventure made during the excursion, the relation of which will put my credit to a severer test than any other fact detailed, was the discovery of a large uninhabited island, upon which were stupendous ruins, of a character of architecture differing altogether from the present style of the islanders, and of an extent truly astonishing. At the extreme eastern extremity of the cluster is a large flat island, which at high tide seems divided into thirty or forty small ones, by the water, which rises and runs over it. It differs from the other islands in its surface, which is nearly level. There are no rocks upon it which appear placed there by nature. Upon some parts of it fruit

grows, ripens, and decays unmolested, as the natives can by no persuasion be induced to gather or touch it.

My companions at the time of discovering this island were George and our Nigurt, who directed our attention to it, promising us a surprise. And a surprise indeed it proved. At a little distance the ruins appeared like some of the fantastic heapings of nature, but upon a nearer approach George and myself were astonished at the evident traces of the hand of man in their erection. The tide happening to be high, our canoe was paddled into a narrow creek; so narrow that in places a canoe could hardly have passed us, while in others, owing to the inequality of the ground, it swelled to a basin. At the entrance we passed for many yards many two walls, so near each other that, without changing the boat from side to side, we could have touched either of them with a paddle. They were about ten feet high; in some places dilapidated, and in others in very good preservation. Over the tops of the wall, cocoa-nut trees, and occasionally a bread-fruit spread their branches, making a deep and refreshing shade. It was a deep solitude, not a living thing, except a few birds, being discernible. At the first convenient landing, where the walls left the edge of the creek, we landed, but the poor Nigurt, who had seemed struck dumb with fear, could not be induced to leave the boat. The walls inclosed circular areas, into one of which we entered, but found nothing upon the inside but trees and shrubs. Except the wall, there was no perceptible trace of the footsteps of man, no token that he had ever visited the spot. We examined the masonry, and found the walls composed of stones, varying in size from two to ten feet in length, and from one to eight in breadth, carefully propped in the interstices and cracks with smaller fragments. They were built of the blue stone which abounds upon the inhabited islands, and is, as before stated, of a slatose formation;¹ and were evidently split, and shaped for the purpose to which they were applied. In many places the walls had so fallen that we climbed over them with ease. Returning to the canoe, we plied our Nigurt with questions; but the only answer we obtained was *Animan!* He could give no account of the origin of these piles, of their use, or of their age. Himself satisfied that they were the work of *animan*, he desired no farther information, and dared make no inspection, as he believed them the residence of spirits.

Before the tide left our canoe aground we returned to Kitti, from which island we had taken the Nigurt. Upon stating to Roan-a-Kitti, the chief, my intention of inspecting the island upon the day following, he told me I ought not, that it was *majorhowi*. My rank, however, superior to his, prevented his assuming authority to forbid it. He then endeavored to frighten me out of it, assuring me that the *animan* would not permit me to leave the place alive, if I intruded upon their sanctuary. Upon the next morning George and I absolutely struggled away from the natives to our canoe. They set up

1 Ed. note: Basaltic prisms, of volcanic origin, such as those forming part of Sokehs Rock in the NW corner of Pohnpei.

a howl in concert, "*Acoa ban midjila! Acoa iningah landjob toto! [acoa ban] midjila!*"—"You will die! You wish to look too much! You will die!"¹

Arriving a second time at this deserted Venice of the Pacific, we prepared for a deliberate survey. Having with us no native to annoy us with his superstitious fear and haste to return, we fastened the canoe, and staid upon the island till the next tide. For many successive days we repeated our visits, returning to Kitti at night. No native ever ventured with us after the first day, though one would think familiarity might have lessened their awe, as, at low tide, one might walk from Kitti to the haunted spot; indeed, it is considered a part of that island.²

These explanations were sufficiently interesting to engross all our thoughts. Nothing during my residence on the Carolines was productive of so much deep yet vague speculation. The immense size of a portion of the stones in the walls, rendered it impossible that they could have been placed there without some mechanical contrivance superior to any thing I met among the natives; and no contemptible degree of architectural skill was manifested in their construction, though their dilapidated state afforded no clue to the purpose for which they were piled. Always nearly circular, they inclosed areas from a quarter of a mile to a mile in circumference, sometimes elliptical, and sometimes a perfect circle, or rather a parallelogram, with swelled sides, conforming in shape to the ground. We seldom found any water inside the walls, as they circumscribed the highest portions of the island, making it present at high tide the appearance of a cluster of small walled islands. At its eastern end the spray, which broke over the reef which bounds the islands, washes one of these walls. It must be visible to vessels passing outside the reef, but, to a person unprepared to expect any such thing, would present nothing remarkable in its exterior.

The largest cluster of these ruins merits a particular description. The outside wall incloses a space about a mile in circumference. This area is not, as in the other cases, empty, but at about twenty feet distance from the outside wall is another, exactly parallel to the first; then at the same distance another, and still another, to the number of five or six. The centre wall incloses a space only about forty feet across, and is perfectly square. The outside wall was, upon one end of the edifice, about twenty-five to thirty feet in height. Upon the other three sides, which had been more exposed to the tide, the walls had become undermined, and had fallen in many places, but the inner walls were all perfect. The standing side of the outer wall had evidently been the front, for square pillars, which had formed a part of some portico, or similar structure, lay across the creek. The entrance, or aperture in the wall, was about four feet in height. Upon entering, no aperture in the next wall presented itself, but after working our way among the brush we discovered an entrance at the corner of the wall, to the right of the first. Passing this, we found an aperture in the next, at the left; and thus, finding doors alternately at the right and left, we penetrated to the inner wall. In walking inside of this, by the

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- 1 Ed. note: Now written "Kowe pan(?) mi-gila! Kowe ineng kilang sop(?) tohto!" We pushed from them, and my rank, and their fear of the *majorhowi* spot, prevented pursuit.
 - 2 Ed. note: Presently it is part of the District of Madolenihmw

accidental falling of a piece of wood, we discovered a vault, into which I descended. My first supposition was that it was a burial place, but all that appeared to sustain such an opinion was one skeleton, which lay at the bottom, its parts scattered to and fro about the ground. This distribution was probably done by the rats. I found no paddle or war-club in the vault. This body was accounted for after my return to Nutt, where I was informed that a chief of Kitti had been buried there. Upon the island of Kitti the natives were unable or unwilling to give me any information. The logs, and the sods which covered them, concealing the top of the vault, must have been placed when the body which I found was deposited there. The fact that the vault was used for a burial place, even in this isolated instance within the memory of the living natives, would seem to speak some vague tradition of the purpose for which the place was built; but I never could get hold of any more satisfactory tradition than that the ruins were built by *animan*. In one of the creeks on this island of ruins lay a large square stone, which the Nigurt who accompanied us on the first day assured us an *animan* had dropped from his shoulders as he was trying to transport it! The person who was buried there was an Edyomet of high repute. There must have been some extraordinary motive to overcome the repugnance of the natives to visiting the place; probably the request of the man himself.

Brown beche le mer, which may be found on all the islands, having never been disturbed as an article of traffic, is particularly abundant on the Island of Ruins. At low tide the water leaves it in immense quantities upon the bottoms of the inlets. This circumstance will lead, undoubtedly, to future visits and exploration for commercial purposes, and then, as science and mercantile enterprise go hand in hand, a more particular account of this interesting spot will be given to the world. Persons familiar with eastern antiquities will visit it, and may be enabled, by the resemblance of the ruins to those of some ancient nation, to fix the probable origin of this people. Unassisted by any such knowledge, and unaided by the natives, who pettishly avoided inquiries as reflecting discredit upon what they considered a sufficient explanation, I was unable to find even data for a theory. The story that "animan built them, and that they are the abode of animan," and *majorhowi* to every body else, appears to have descended from generation to generation. It is evident they are the remains of a people superior to the present inhabitants; nay, I may almost say dissimilar. Conjecture was vague and entirely unassisted. The vault, favoring the idea that the labyrinth was intended for a burial place, was the only feature about them that appeared to betray any purpose in piling these huge stones together; and it is not certain that even that vault was not made expressly for the burial of the Edyomet. His bones alone being found there, makes such a supposition probable. Again, the method of building the stone walls on the inhabited islands differs so entirely from the masonry on the Island of Ruins, that the latter are proved the work of another people. Upon the islands, in the walls now made for foundations, etc., though very neatly built, for untutored Indians, stones of all shapes are used; in the Island of Ruins the stones seem broken, if not hewn, for the very places which they occupy. They stand firm, and bid fair to remain everywhere except in places

where their foundations have been sapped by the water. The foundation is laid below the surface, while walls now built are commenced upon the face of the earth. I looked in vain, particularly about the entrances, for marks or hieroglyphics; finding nothing of that description.

George and myself, in committee of two, but without authority to send for persons and papers, at the end of about a fortnight rose and reported that the remains were evidently those of some ancient city or settlement, the date of the existence of which, or the cause of its desertion, we could not even guess; and that the creeks or inlets were formerly land passages, which the water had encroached upon, from the contiguity of the island to the reef. We decided, also, that the reason of the comparative height of the inclosed land is owing to the protection afforded it by the foundation of the walls. Where the walls are broken down the water enters the inclosures. Finally and lastly, we paid their ethereal worships, the *animan*, the compliment to pronounce them better architects than any of the race now extant upon the islands. Before leaving the ruins, I christened the little group "the O'Connell Cluster," after the agitator.

At length I began to tire of exploring and to long for home; for, strange as it may appear, my consort Laowni, savage though she were, by classification, made my island house quite an attractive spot for me. George, too, began to tire of rambling; so we set the head of our canoe toward Nutt. On our way home we touched at Matalaleme, where Wajai-a-Meatalaleme hospitably received us. As a curiosity, upon this island we were shown a pit full of human bones, the product, we were told, of a destructive war, years before. The chiefs of other islands sometimes refer their disputes to the chief of FNutt for decision, and submit to the edicts issued from that island without resistance; but as reference is not always effectual in settling disputes, many old men upon the islands bear what are esteemed honorable scars, the effects of the overboiling of their young blood, and of the quarrels of the chiefs under whom they live.

Upon my return to Nutt I found my wife and father had learned my wanderings, by report from the islands I had visited. Laowni was rejoiced to see me, and Ahoundel pronounced George and me *macoomot*, brave,¹ for venturing as we had among strangers. We soon had a chance to put this recommendation to the test, for we were informed that Wajai-a-Hoo² had declared war against Ahoundel-a-Nutt, on account of my marriage. It appeared that Laowni was promised to him previous to my arrival. The daughter never much affected the match, as Wajai was old, and the husband already of something like a dozen. It may be to her disgust for that union, quite as much as to my own good looks, that I owed my marriage to her. Be that as it may, Ahoundel, after stating the case, asked me if I was willing to fight, and as I saw no honorable mode of escape, and am a native of a country whose boys have no very decided aversion to a bit of a row, I consented; but George showed the white feather, and positively refused.

1 Ed. note: Now written: Ma kkommwad.

2 Nanamoraki-a-Hoo, mentioned in the catalogue, was Wajai's successor. Ed. comment: Hoo is a district, and is now spelled U, or Uh.

CHAPTER XVI.

Preparation for war.—Muster of force.—Description of weapons.—Order of sailing.—Formal character of challenge.—Order of reception by Wajai.—Preliminary shout.—Battle opens with slings.—Arrows, spears, hand to hair! clubbing, knifing, death of Wajai.—Temporary respite.—Renewal of engagement.—A landing forced.—Ground disputes.—Women fled.—Males follow example.—Plunder and burning of the Hoo houses.—Return to Nutt.—Wailing for dead.—Chivalric distinction of castes in fight.—Reflections thereon.—Feast.—Cannibalism, almost.—Nanamoraki's policy.—Fortifications.—Sail ho!—Pleasure of Messrs. O'Connell and Keenan, and pain of Ahoundel and family thereat.—Promises of return by Mr. O'Connell.—Reluctant consent of Ahoundel.—A disappointment!—Canoe launched.—Swamped.—Escape from drowning, by aquatic skill.—Mr. O'Connell reaches the reef.—Taken off by native canoes.

Preparations were immediately set on foot to visit Hoo, and "carry the war into Africa," by answerint Wajai's challenge at his door. Natives to the number of about fifteen hundred were mustered, from Nutt and two contiguous small islands, called Hand and Parum.¹ The order of sailing was thus: Moonjobs to the right, or in the van, Jerejohs next, the Nigurts bringing up the rear. Each canoe was furnished with smooth stones, which were stowed in the bottom, and each native was furnished with a sling, a spear, a bow and arrows, and war-clubs. The spears are from five feet to eight in length, and barbed with the back bone of a fish, preserving five or six joints, with the protruding bones, like arrow barbs. The clubs are made of heavy wood and notched, similar to the thousand specimens of the war-clubs of the Pacific preserved in musuems; except that they are only about eighteen inches or two feet in length.

The natives were dressed in their best savage articles of adornment, their heads dressed with flowers, but no paint was put upon their flesh, except the everlasting smearing with cocoa-nut oil and curry [curcuma]. The castes were kept entirely distinct in the canoes. The Nigurts, who on ordinary occasions navigate the canoes of their chiefs and masters, were by themselves in their own canoes, and the Jerejohs and the Moonjobs each in their own. As war is an honorable enterprise, the labor of paddling the canoes, if the lack of wind or a wrong direction make it necessary, is done by Moojobs and landholders, and even chiefs, who on no other occasion touch a paddle, except for momentary exercise.

The day and place had been appointed with all the circumstance of a duel, or rather of an ancient joust at arms, with the exception that there was no stipulation or limitation as to force on either side; each party bringing all the strength he could muster. Treachery sometimes occurs in island warfare, and attacks by surprise are made; seldom, it is true, but often enough to induce those who are aware that they have enemies to be on their guard. This engagement with Wajai was, however, a fair fight, preceded by a challenge and its acceptance, and of course Wajai was prepared to receive us, though with an inferior force.

1 Ed. note: This Hand is a misprint for Mand, now spelled Mwahnd, and the Island of Param, or Parem, north of the Net Peninsula.

His canoes were ranged in the water, in front of his settlement, and as soon as we were near enough to distinguish features, our chief, Ahounded, and Wajai sprung simultaneously to their feet, upon the platforms of their canoes, and flourishing their spears, act up a shout of defiance, the conches blowing an accompaniment. The inferior chiefs upon both sides then rose and joined in the cry, and the engagement commenced with hurling the stones with slings. These stones are seldom less than a pound in weight, and are thrown with tremendous precision, the parties being from thirty to forty yards apart. Several canoes were broken and sunk on both sides, and many men killed. The stones exhausted, arrows and spears followed, the parties nearing each other, till the battle was canoe to canoe, and hand to hand. The natives would seize each other by the hair, and thrust with a small wooden spear or lance, without barbs, and cut the flesh with sharp shells. In the onset Wajai was killed by one of the party in our canoe. A shout of joy on one side, and a murmur of grief on the other, suspended the battle a moment; but it was soon renewed with unabated fierceness. At length we forced a landing, and the vanquished or broken foe, failing to prevent it, also sprung on shore, and disputed every inch of ground, to the very doors of their houses. The land engagement was fought with the jagged spears and the short war-clubs. It may be necessary here to state that direct thrusts are seldom made with these spears; they are generally used for striking, and inflict mangling wounds in the flesh. The clubs which are worn in the belt, like a North American Indian's tomahawk, are the last resort, but are never hurled.

An hour and a half of hard fighting brought us to the estate of Wajai. The women had long before deserted the houses, taking with them such of their effects as they could conveniently transport, and the men, fairly overpowered, fled to the interior. No attempt had been made to take prisoners on either side, and the fugitives were not pursued. The natives of Bonabee never slaughter in cold blood after a foe ceases to resist. Our party plundered the houses of whatever moveables were left, set fire to them, and, returning to the beach, broke up the canoes of the foe, and taking with us the spears, mats, and other plunder, we returned to Nutt. We brought back such of our own dead as we could find, and the body of Wajai and other chiefs, who fell upon the other side.

The first duty upon our return was the interment of the fallen. From the lamentation an uningormed spectator would have supposed that the inhabitants of Nutt had suffered a defeat instead of a victory. The number of killed upon both sides was between three and four hundred; of whom one hundred and fifty were of the victorious party. In the engagement no man of one caste attacked another—Moojobs against Moojobs, Jerejohs against Jerejohs, and Nigurts against Nigurts. This chivalrous distinction was kept up in the very hottest of the fray, no man daring to aim a blow at a superior, and none descending to strike an inferior. It was like the encounter of three distinct parties.

Here, again, it is worth while to note the admirable system and policy which controls island usages. Even in time of an engagement is the respect for rank chivalrously kept up. If it were permitted to a Nigurt to strike even a free foe in battle, the bonds of their feudal relation to their masters would be weakened, and, in smaller island feuds,

the same principle of war would be distorted to apply even to their proper masters, who by circumstances might be placed as foes in relative position to them. The jealousy with which all the grades of society are watched and kept in place would do credit to the policy of high civilized Tories.

For the credit of a people whose character is generally humane, for uncultivated savages, I should rejoice to stop here; but the truth compels me to speak of a custom differing so entirely from their usual character, that I am at a loss to account for it. Upon the next day after our return there was a feast held. The usual preparations of *jagow* dna dog venison were made, and the bodies of Wajai and his chiefs were burned; but previously to the entire consumption of the bodies by fire, the heart of Wajai was taken out, and presented to the chiefs on a large plantain leaf. Whether it was eaten or even tasted I cannot say, as I was not present at the disgusting ceremony. The presumption, however, is, that eating the hearts of the chiefs killed in war is a custom with them. Of this I can speak only so far as I have spoken, having had but one opportunity for ascertaining. No other part of the body than the heart was eaten, and that rather as a ceremony than a gratification.

No territory is gained by war, as the victors never pretend to hold a vanquished district, but relinquish it to the conquered party, only plundering it, and burning the houses. They never destroy the trees or natural products. Wajai was succeeded by Nnamoraki, the next chief in rank upon his island, according to the rule of succession already noticed; and the first act of the new chief was to invite Ahoundel and his suite to the island of Hoo, to cement a reconciliation over *jagow*. A feast was had, of course, and a perfect understanding formed between the successor of Wajai and the chief, to whose good offices in removing his predecessor the new incumbent owed his possession of the authority.

Fortified in the traditions and immemorial usages, the island chiefs pay little attention to breastworks and walls of defence. There are, however, on Nutt and some other of the larger islands, works breast high for the shelter of parties when defending the canoe-house. Invading parties are always met at their landing. It would be an impossibility to surprise a settlement on the land side; as some *animan*, walking ghost, or stargazer would detect the enemy, even in the night.

So far I have described prominent events in the order of their occurrence, and without pretending to fix very definitely their dates or the intervals between their occurrence. The arrival of the vessel in which I left the Bonabee group is, however, an event of the date of which I can speak with more certainty, as one of my early inquiries on board was, how time had progressed. On the island I must acknowledge such disrespect toward the scythe-bearing baldpate, that I did not count the turns of his glass. It was in the early part of the month of November, 1833, that I discovered a vessel from Nutt; the first vessel that I am positive of having seen while on the island of Bonabee. My comrades often said they saw vessels, and I frequently imagined that I did, but none approached near enough for us to distinguish their class. It was about sunrise in the morning when I first discovered her, and I called up George immediately. We ran to

the top of the nearest hill, and anxiously watched her, as well as the mist and occasional rain would permit, for it was a dull morning. After we had satisfied ourselves that it was a European or American vessel, we ran down to the chief and informed him that there was a vessel in the offing, and that we wished to board her. He was not half so much elated at receiving the information as we were in imparting it. He eyed me some moments. "What!" said he, "a ship! Cho! cho!" (No, no.)¹ I repeated my assurance, and led him to the hill. My wife and the whole household followed. George and I bounded about for joy, skipping up the hill, as if our feet could not serve us fast enough. The pace of our companions offered something of a contrast; they were still incredulous, and my wife and father were evidently hoping against the truth of my discovery, as they saw in my joy any thing but a pleasant indication of my feelings respecting remaining upon the island. I pointed out the vessel, and satisfied them that it was not, as they supposed and hoped it might be, a native war-canoe. I repeated my request for a canoe, assuring Ahoundel that I would make the vessel "*moondie*," literally "sit down," or come to an anchor. At the canoe-house, whither Ahoundel, Laowni, my children, and others, followed me, Ahoundel granted his unwilling consent that I should go off to the vessel, following it up with questions, while Laowni anxiously watched the expression of my face for an answer. "Do you love your wife? your children? Do you love them much, very much? Will you certainly return?" To all this I answered yes, yes; and my heart smites me now, as I recollect the gratified expression of my wife's countenance upon receiving the assurance. No civilized person, however, theorized and philosophized though he were into contempt for the shackles of civilization, could content himself with innocent, unsophisticated, natural men forever. Blunt, plain man that I am, I could hardly disguise my joy at the hope of an escape, although at times, as I looked at Laowni and her children, and the thought of Ahoundel's kindness intruded itself, I could hardly conceal my grief at parting. To have betrayed either joy or grief would have revealed my purpose of escape; so I was compelled to hide both; and it was only the bustle of getting ready, and the diversion of the attention of the natives to the vessel, that enabled me to do it.

A large canoe was prepared to launch, but the tide was out. We were obliged to wait for it two full hours! On the impatience we felt, the snail-like progress of time! Knowing perfectly well, had we been cool, the time of the tide, still we could not avoid running down every ten minutes to look. Meanwhile I prepared a quantity of tortoise shell, yams, bread-fruit, and cocoa-ut to take off to the captain. We watched the vessel—she tacked and stood off—our hopes fell—she stood back again—we were reassured—she hove to—, and we were happy, till—she recollected we were tide-bound.

At length the tide served us to launch the canoe. Ahoundel and Laowni accompanied me to the boat, the former reminding me of my promise to bring him trinkets, the latter melancholy, and half doubting that she should see me again. There was a fleet of some dozen canoes beside mine. I was accompanied by Keenan, a young chief, and two Nigurts. We went outside the reef, and had neared the vessel so that we could distin-

1 Ed. note: No is now written "Soh."

guish the men on her decks, when the Nigurt who had the steering oar let the canoe get into the trough of the sea. There was a tremendous sea on, and it was carelessness on my part to let the paddle go from my hand; the consequence of getting the canoe broadside on to the sea was, that we were swamped. As is usual with the natives, we all jumped overboard, two taking the outrigger side and the others striving to bail out the canoe. There was however too much sea running, and all endeavors to bail the boat proved futile, while the tide and the swell were drifting us toward the reef. The young chief, who was quite a lad, made no ado, but cutting away the twine fastenings with his fish-shell knife, stripped the board off the outrigger, laid his breast across it, and paddled away like a dog, for the reef. Seeing no alternative, I disengaged the pole which formed the fore-and-aft part of the outrigger, and, with one of the Nigurts, made also for the reef, with the pole beneath our breasts. As we reached the crests of the waves I could see the vessel, and the other more fortunate canoes every moment getting nearer to her. The very dress of the men on the vessel's deck was distinguishable. And here, in the very sight of the first white men, except our shipmates, that we had seen for years, George and I were apparently devoted to death, before we could exchange a word with them. I should have mentioned, that before leaving the canoe I fastened my mat to the mast and waved it, but the vessel's crew, imagining us natives, paid no attention to the signal. George, with one of the Nigurts, remained with the canoe, contrary to my advice, as he insisted that a native of the islands must know better how to conduct in an emergency like this than I could. In a few moments I heard him hailing, beseeching me for God's sake to wait for him to overtake me. The Nigurt who was my companion objected, and for a moment I listened to the Indian and paid no attention to the cries of my friend. My better feelings, however, prevailed, and I waited for my shipmate, who reached us panting with exertion, and seized the outrigger just as he was nearly exhausted. I had trembled for him, but it was impossible to turn back and face tide and surf. One moment and I caught a glimpse of his head on the top of a wave, the next he was invisible. My joy at the relief from suspense which his arrival gave was second only to his at reaching us.

We had by this time reached the surf. Taught by former experience, I watched the rollers, and when I saw one coming let go of the outrigger, faced the sea, and clasped my hands over my head. Down it came upon us, but my hands and arms broke the force of the water, and I was driven down, but emerged again, many feet nearer the reef. My companions, George and the native, followed my direction and example, and we rose nearly together. The outrigger was thrown upon the ledge at second or third roller, and had we clung to it we should have been dashed to pieces among the rocks, by the force with which we should have been driven. The young chief had reached the ledge before us, and between our forced plunges we could see him encouraging us by swinging his mat. After being thus swamped five or six times we reached the rocks, more dead than alive, and crawled where the water had least force. Here, taking the pole of the outrigger, which, as before stated, had preceded us, I attached my mat to it, and made signals of distress. On board the schooner they paid no heed to it, although she stood at one

time almost within hail of us. Taking us for natives, and supposing us used to such mishaps, her master thought we could manage for ourselves; had he, however, been inclined to assist us, no boat would have lived in the surf. We were two or three hours on the reef before we were discovered by the natives; then some fishing canoes came to us from the inside, where the sea was comparatively nothing, and the reef approachable, and took us off. One of the party, the Nigurt who remained with the canoe, was drowned, his body being picked up a day or two afterward among the rocks which formed the reef.

The rapidity of thought is never better exemplified than in seasons of imminent danger. Years pass in review in moments; but we had ample time for reflection, and that none of the pleasantest. It was over an hour from the time the canoe was swamped before we reached the reef, and that with the tide and swell in our favor. Perhaps the vessel was as near us as the reef, but in endeavoring to reach it we should have been compelled to contend with wind, tide, and swell, while all assisted in drifting us toward the reef. During the last few moments before we landed we considered our death next to inevitable, and the prospect was embittered by the reflection that it would occur just at the moment when we hoped to regain communion with civilized beings again, after a sojourn of years with uncultivated savages.

CHAPTER XVII.

Return to Nutt.—Astonishment of Ahoundel.—Anxiety.—Despair.—Return of hope.—The Spy returns.—Putting off again.—Canoes alongside.—Invitation on board.—Dinner on board.—The Spy anchors at Matalaleme.—Purchase of a canoe.—Stolen back by the natives.—Fruitless pursuit.—Capt. Knight shoots a Nigurt.—Swivel in the fore-top.—Capt. Knight's fright.—Under way again.—Blazing away at the natives.—One's day retrospections.—A change comes over Capt. Knight's deportment.—Ship's cook left at Matalaleme.—Altercations with Capt. Knight.—Arrival at Manilla.—Irons.—Guard boat.—Agreeable position, enlivened with music.—landing.—Arrival at a building opposite a church.—Their affectionate care of us, and commendable precaution.

Upon reaching Nutt, Ahoundel was astonished with the story of our escape, coupled as it was with the loss of the Nigurt. The young chief described our conduct to him, and his astonishment was increased, that two white men should prove better or more fortunate swimmers than a native fisherman. We were weakened, bruised, and sore, as the reader will readily conceive; but our bodily suffering was forgotten in our mental anxiety, as the last light of day showed us the schooner standing off shore.

Would she return? The night long we passed in anxious doubt, and were out with the dawn to look for the sail; but

“The blue above and the blue below”

was vacant, vacant. Cloud after cloud we watched, till our eyes ached; they only mocked us, preserving awhile an illusive semblance, then vanishing or spreading into broad, honest vapors, incapable of deceiving even a landsman. The sun was well up, the water calm, compared with the swell of the day preceding, the day bright, and every thing propitious where every thing frowned before, save the slight circumstance that the vessel was not in sight. At length I saw her, just a speck. Heavens! how my heart leaped!

A half hour more and the tide was right. The vessel, standing in, was now fairly visible, and, prepared with a fresh load of tortoise shell and provisions, with George and two Nigurts for companions, I set sail again. As we went out by the reef, we were forcibly reminded of our escape of the preceding day, by a fleet of canoes which were paddling as near the reef as they dared, in search of the body of the drowned man. When we reached the schooner she was hove to, with her boarding nettings up, and her men mustered, with boarding pikes and muskets in hand, or at hand. Two or three other canoes got alongside at the same time that we did, and others were coming off. Upon the day before no natives had been allowed to board the vessel, though a barter traffic for yams and bread-fruit was opened between the canoes and those on board the vessel. We passed under her stern, and I read the name, “**Spy**, of Salem.” She was brig-rigged forward, and schooner aft. Passing round to her weather bow, I sang out, “Shipmates, throw us a rope's end, will you?” There was a bustle on deck, a buzz of surprise, but no answer, and in a moment I heard somebody exclaiming, “Captain, the *natives* on this island speak English!” The anxiety to get a peep at us through the boarding netting was

now redoubled, forward and aft. One of the men, after much hesitation, threw us a rope, and the captain came to the gangway and asked us on board, requesting us to keep the natives in the canoe, which we did. The captain did us the honor to ship the side-ladder for us, and George and I needed no second invitation to come on deck, but, taking up the tortoise shell with us, directed the natives to pass up the yams. To my first question the captain answered that the name of the island was Ascension, the group being laid down as one island on the chart. He inquired particularly into our story, and proceeded, while he did so, to offer us, with a sailor's hospitality, a rummer of grog. It was the first I had tasted for years, of course, and a bare swallow of it burned my throat, flushed my face, and played the deuce with my head altogether. Poor George was even worse flabbergasted than I was. The joy we felt at a prospect of return to England was sufficient to intoxicate us, aside from the liquor.

In answer to Capt. Knight's inquiries, I assured him of the peaceable character of the islanders, and that there was abundance of tortoise shell and beche le mer for commerce, and yams, bread-fruit, water, and wood for provision upon the islands. In a short time Capt. Knight expressed a willingness that I should permit my Nigurts to come on board, and we dropped the canoe astern. Other natives were not so fortunate; they huddled about the vessel, and, coveting iron, strove to pull out the iron work under the echains with their hands. The schooner filled away again, and we stood off with a fleet of canoes in tow, dashing and plashing through the water, their outriggers foul of each other, and getting continually carried away.

I dined on board, with George, at the cabin table. The condiments of my own furnishing, with the salt provisions, ship bread and butter of the ship's stores, furnished a more savory meal than I had sat down to for many a day. I undertook to pilot the *Spy* inside the reef to an anchorage, at Capt. Knight's request. At four or five o'clock in the evening she came to an anchor in the harbor of Matalaleme. By the natives who went that night to Nutt I sent Ahoundel a large broad axe and an adz, and to Laowni I sent beads, red kerchiefs, and other trinkets; while George and I remained on board, afraid to trust ourselves on shore again.

In the morning the vessel was again surrounded by canoes, and Capt. Knight purchased of the natives, through me as an interpreter, tortoise shell and other articles, and one canoe, which he purposed to carry away as a curiosity. This was dropped astern and fastened by a rope to the counter. In about two hours from the time of purchasing some of the natives slipped into it, and before we were aware were making off with it, induced probably by some island superstition. Capt. Knight immediately fired upon the thieves, and, lowering a boat, sent some men in pursuit; but it would have been impossible to have overtaken them, even if the water had not been too shallow in places for the keel of the boat. Capt. Knight now began to fear that the natives intended to take his vessel, although George and I assured him to the contrary, and told him that their worst fault was an irresistible propensity to thieve, where they saw articles they so earnestly coveted. We represented to him that harsh treatment might bring about the very event he dreaded, and that, at any rate, the next vessel which came within their

reach would suffer for his conduct. Still he was nervous, agitated, and acted like one beside himself, begging me to prevent treachery and keep the natives quiet. Instead of acting like a discreet person, which had he done, he might have lain at Matalaleme weeks, with profit, he blowed out the brains of a native who was climbing in at the cabin windows, and threw out the body. Luckily for Capt. Knight the murdered man was a Nigurt, so that the dissatisfaction of the natives amounted only to a murmur; had he been a Moonjob, or even a Jerejoh, the capture of the vessel and murder of the crew would have atoned for his death. It did not seem long to intimidate them, but after they had clamorously inquired of me the cause of his death, and I told them it was for thieving, they seemed, in a measure, satisfied that it was just. During the time that the **Spy** lay at Matalaleme no natives were permitted to come upon her deck, but stood in the chains, and in their canoes. No chiefs of note came off to the vessel at all—a precaution adopted by their friends. I presume, and in accordance with the habits and policy of the people; else so simultaneous a measure could not have been carried out by all the islands [i.e. districts]. In a short time after the native was shot in the cabin, a small swivel was hoisted into the fore-top, charged with nails, slugs, and musket balls. Every fresh arrival of canoes put Capt. Knight i additional perturbation; he had commenced hostilities, and even I began to have fear for the consequences. Constant persuasion, and even the exercise of authority, was necessary, on my part, to prevent a rush upon the vessel by the natives. At about ten in the morning the **Spy** got under way, and Capt. Knight ordered his crew to fire upon the natives, and even wished Keenan and myself to take arms against people who had for five years been our friends and protectors. We flatly refused. The musket shots were answered by occasional stones hurled from the canoes, none of which took effect, save one, which struck the mate; but from being spent, or some other cause, it injured him but slightly. During all the time the number of the canoes about us rather increased than diminished, and I was in continual conversation and parley with the natives. They comoplained of the treatment of the Aroche tic-a-tic (petty chief) of the vessel. I answered that I was not to blame for it, and appealed to them for the fact that I had not taken up arms against them. I was anxious that a good report of my conduct should be carried back to Ahoundel.

As we beat out—for the wind was against us—fleet after fleet of the canoes, nothing daunted by the death of the few natives who had fallen, put off for us, from various parts of the group. The echo of a musket report, in the harbor of Matalaleme, was of itself startling. It rang from rock to rock, and from hill to hill, probably for the first time; that generation of the islanders, at any rate, knew nothing of the use or character of fire-arms. Capt. Knight's perplexity was doubled by his want of that knowledge of the harbor which was necessary to safe conduct of his vessel.

The sight of a fresh fleet putting off toward us made Capt. Knight desperate. He sent a hand with a match into the fire-top, clewed up the sail, and sent the charge of the swivel among the thickest of the fleet. I saw several natives drop like dogs over the sides of their canoes. There rose a howl of mingled rage and defiance among the survivors; but the cruel expedient answered the purpose—the antives fell back, and though they fol-

lowed us far outside the reef, it was at a great distance. In the passage through the reef we narrowly escaped getting on the rocks. Had the vessel been wrecked, the lives of all on board would have answered the death of the natives. The crew of the next American or English vessel which touches at the islands of Ascension will probably be sacrificed in revenge, should they fall, by any inadvertence, into the power of the islanders.

The shot from the fore-top was not repeated. The mast was strained, and the sailor who officiated as gunner came down the backstays by the run, protesting he would not again fire the swivel.

Nothing which occurred during my connection with the islands affected me so unpleasantly as the butchery of my friends by Capt. Knight. Knowing perfectly the language and character of the people, I knew that, until they were roused to revenge by the death of the Nigurt, no thought of farther mischief than theft was entertained by them. This might easily have been guarded against by mild means; at any rate, the course taken did not answer. I proposed to Capt. Knight, as we entered the harbor, that the vessel should lay there a month or six weeks, informing him of the quantities of beche mer which I proposed to cure for him, taking the requisite tools from the vessel. I did not expect that any thing but peace and good fellowship between the natives and the crew of the vessel would grow out of the visit; but the hasty and cruel conduct of Capt. Knight marred it all. I was grieved at the death of the natives; but I was astonished at the effrontery with which Capt. Knight called upon us to fire upon our friends. We told him we were anxious to get away from the island, but that we should prefer to be set on shore again, rather than purchase our freedom by such an abuse of friendship.¹

Fairly out of the harbor of Matalaleme, the deportment of Capt. Knight materially changed toward us. He was no longer the supplicant for intercession with the natives, but the master, imposing his authority upon us in every possible manner. In about fourteen days we made Guam, one of the Marian Islands, where Capt. Knight would have left us, but the authorities would not permit it. By the way, I should have mentioned that the ship's cook was set ashore at Matalaleme, with his own consent, and I directed the natives into whose canoe he stepped to carry him to Ahoundel, and treat him well, for my sake. Whether he, and the four comrades whom I left upon the islands, did not fare worse for Capt. Knight's conduct, I had no means of ascertaining; but must do the natives the justice to express the opinion, based upon a knowledge of their character, that they have too much benevolence and perception of right and wrong to abuse known friends for the conduct of strangers, though those strangers were of their color and language. I saw nothing of my four friends during the stay of the **Spy**, although it was my intention, if Capt. Knight had not compelled himself to take such hasty leave, to have carried them away with us.

After leaving Guam I had some altercation with Capt. Knight, which resulted in no very agreeable consequences to myself. During the whole passage I had been sick, from a cold, exhaustion, fatigue, and derangement of my whole system, from the change of

1 Ed. note: For Captain Knight's own account, see Doc. 1833C.

diet. Under my right arm was a large and very painful swelling. One night I had the watch from eight to twelve, the first two hours of which I spent on the top-gallant yard, upon the lookout. When I came down I laid myself on the forecastle by the heel of the bowsprit, exhausted, and in agony from the swelling under my arm. Capt. Knight came forward, and the first intimation I had of his proximity was a kick. "What business have you here asleep, sir?" I pleaded my weakness and ill health, and the suffering I had already endured by the lookout at the mast-head. He collared me, and I returned his grasp with interest; he freed himself from me, went aft, and returned with a brace of pistols in his hand, threatening to shoot me. I told him to do it; that I was tired of life, and would willingly die. He then let me alone for the night, and indeed we had no more words, but he hove to near the first land we made, lowered the boat, and ordered me into it. George insisted upon accompanying me, to which Capt. Knight at first objected, but afterward consented. He then sent the second mate and two men with directions to leave the two Irish villains (he used a worse word) any where—on a rock, or a sand bank, but not to bring them on board again. This was in the straits of [San] Bernardino. Upon reaching the shore we found bullocks grazing, but saw no house, or shelter of any kind, and persuaded the second mate to take us back. He did so, and upon returning to the vessel told the captain that he could not drive us from the boat, but that we insisted upon coming back.

We were taken on board, and the vessel filled away again. I very foolishly, as the event proved, threatened Capt. Knight that I would represent to the authorities at Manilla his treatment of the Indians at Ascension, and his abuse of me. Upon arrival at that port he anticipated me, making all sorts of charges against us, as runaways from punishment at New Holland, pirates who strove to cause the capture of his vessel by the Indians, and mutineers on board. Upon being boarded by the captain of the port at Manilla, just as we thought we had reached the end of our vexations and were in a way to return home, we were agreeably surprised by a present of leg safety-chains, and were placed, ironed, in the bows of the captain of the port's barge.

Captain Knights soon came down over the side, and seated himself under the awning in the stern sheets, with the captain of the port, the quarantine and custom-house officers, and as we sat, we could perceive we were the objects of the conversation. We bore this *taling* for some time in silence, but tiring of it, I requested George to play his flute; which, by the way, as a memento of his residence at Ascension, he had taken care to keep with him. Accordingly he struck up St. Patrick's Day in the Morning, Garry Owen, and divers other merry Irish tunes, to the astonishment and edification of the boatmen, and, after a while, to the amusement even of the officers in the stern sheets. We were pulled in this way alongside half a dozen vessels which had just entered the harbor, and endured the gratification of being pointed out to their crews as felons;—a story we took every opportunity to contradict. The feelings of the sailors were, of course, with us, and their half-expressed and doubtful sympathy was grateful, when all the rest of the world were disposed to frown.

After being paraded in this way about the harbor for half a day, we were landed, and marched with military honors up the street. We did not pay so much attention to our conductors as the honor they were paying us merited, for, after a half dozen years' absence from every thing like a town, George and I had enough to do to look about us at the buildings, the carriages, foot passengers, and other, to us, novel objects in a city.

We had reached a church—were famished with hunger, having eaten nothing since morning, and faint with exposure to the heat of a broiling sun. "Is it vespers you are taking us to? Well, prayer after fasting." The captain of our escort pointed to the opposite site of the street, and there, fronting the church, stood a less agreeable resort for sinners; one, like the church, not always sought voluntarily,—the calabozo.

They had the impoliteness to fasten the door at our backs when we entered.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Entrance to prison.—Jailor's album.—Compliments to Capt. Knight.—Correspondence.—Dexterous thieving.—Modes of punishment.—View of the pillory.—Execution by strangulation.—Boes.—Reflections thereat.—Visit from American consul and Mr. Sturgis.—Amusements.—Quarrel.—Consequence.—Disagreeable chum.—Chances offered, but not accepted.—Cruel treatment.—Discharge of Keenan and O'Connell.—Present from Mr. Sturgis.—Character of prison.—Sufferings there.—Informal detention.—Initials on guard-bed.—Consuls—their responsibilities.—Passage to Macao.—American mate.—Arrival at Canton.—Lionized there.—Trip to Peking.—“Bock agen.”—Arrest of the “foreign barbarians.”—Passage to Halifax [Canada].—Cholera.—Overland journey to St. John [New Brunswick].—Consternation at the health office.—Chloride of lime at boarding-house.—Keenan left at hospital.—Mr. O'Connell sails for New York.—His best bow, and last, to the reader.

...

Of Capt. Knight we saw nothing after leaving him at the landing; except, one day, when he passed the prison, and I took the liberty to hail him by name, adding sundry expletives and titles...

...

Epilogue—Article in *The Friend*, of March 1853, page 22.

O'Connell's Adventures Again.

In the “*Friend*” for Dec. 17th we gave an account of O'Connell's Adventures at the Island of Ascension [i.e. Pohnpei]. Previously to his visiting that Island, it appears from his narrative that he was on board the English whale ship **John Bull**, bound to Strong's [i.e. Kosrae] Island. He reports that on board said vessel, there was a Missionary accompanied by his wife and daughter, destined for Strong's Island. Having no information respecting a Missionary ever having been thither, previous to the landing of the Rev. Mr. Snow, except what is contained in this volume, we make the following extract. O'Connell does not give the name of the Missionary, but as we cannot conceive any motive which he could have had, for making an erroneous statement, we must receive his account of the affair, correct, until opposing information can be collected. Should this account chance to fall under the observation of any of the old English Missionaries in the South Pacific, we should be glad to receive communications from them in regard to the subject. We should also be glad to learn more about the loss [sic] of the whale ship **John Bull**.

Already different reports have reached us relating to that vessel. It may be that some of the Micronesian Missionaries will be able to clear up the subject to the perfect satisfaction of all interested in the investigation.

While referring to O'Connell, we would add that a gentleman from Massachusetts lately remarked to us, that some years since he saw him, attached to a circus company, travelling through the country. At the time O'Connell was accustomed to act the part of a “Savage tattooed Polynesian!”¹

1 Ed. note: Needless to say, the whole story of Wesleyan missionaries sent to Kosrae from New Zealand in 1830 was bogus.

Document 1830J

The ship Panther, Captain Lloyd Bowers

Sources: Ms. logbook in Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; PMB 769.

Extract from the log

...

**Ship Panther from the S. Islands towards Canton. Lloyd Bowers
Master. 1830.**

...

Remarks Tuesday 12 January 1830

Fresh breezes Pleasant. Ship under all sail. Through the night Pleasant. Daylight made the Island of Grigan. Meridian bore W by N. 15 miles. Latt per Obs 18°40 Long 45 [rather 145°] 48.

Remarks Wednesday 13 January 1830

Moderate Breezes Pleasant weather. at 4 P.M. Hove Tue [sic] off the NW Point of Grigan sent the Boat on Shore after Coconuts. Through the night Fine. Ends Pleasant. Latt per Obs 18°26 N Long. 143°58 E.

Remarks Thursday 14 January 1830

Strong Breezes smooth Sea. Ship under all sail. Through the night Pleasant. Ends Fine. Lat per Obs 18°4. N.

...

Document 1830K

The ship **Roman**, Captain Lavender, via Palau

Source: David Abeel. Journal of a Residence in China and the Neighbouring Countries from 1830 to 1833 (London, Nisbet, 1835).

The journal of David Abeel

PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

The writer of the following pages went to Canton under the auspices of the American Seaman's Friend Society, to act as Chaplain to seamen and foreign residents speaking the English language. He took with him a conditional appointment from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in case he should consider it his duty to devote himself exclusively to the Heathen. At the expiration of the first year he left China on a tour to some of the islands and continental kingdoms of South-eastern Asia, with the double purpose of ascertaining the most important posts for Missions, and of rendering himself useful in that station which presented the strongest claims upon his services.

...

CHAPTER i.

Passage—Indian Archipelago.

On Wednesday the 14th of October, 1829, the Rev. E. C. Bridgman and myself bade farewell to our friends and country, and embarked in the ship **Roman**, Capt. Lavender, for Canton, China. The tedium of the voyage was greatly relieved by the society of four fellow-passengers, citizens of New-York. Owing to calms, and a strong oppsing current, we were detained two days within sight of the city.

...

After leaving the Straits of Dampier, the wind obliged us to stand off in nearly an easterly direction. On the 8th of February [1830] we made the Pelew Islands, and were soon espied by the natives, who came off in pursuit of us. One canoes, with six men and women in it perfectly naked, succeeded in gaining the ship; but, although a rope was thrown to them, which they caught, and our progress was checked, their boat was drawn under the stern of the ship, and they were obliged to let go their hold, to save themselves. In their first attempt to gain the lee of the ship they were disappointed, and as

they were defeated in their purpose a second time, even after attaining that position, they were evidently disinclined to renew the effort. After we separated, they remained a long time stationary, as though indulging in the listlessness of disappointment, or endeavouring to re-excite their hopes for another trial. Their proa was apparently the excavated trunk of a tree. Its breadth bore no proportion to its length. The sail was triangular. To the windward side was attached an out-rigger, projecting about three feet. On this as many sat as were necessary to preserve the balance of the boat, while one was constantly employed in discharging the water, received from every wave.

The performance of these canoes, and the skill and dexterity with which they are managed, are surprising. They come dancing over the waves like "fairy sprites," and with a velocity which it demands a stiff breeze and rough sea for a ship to equal. One or two of them continued in pursuit of us, until their small islands were left below our horizon, and themselves shut in by the shades of the evening.

The natives of these islands were formerly represented as the mildest and most benevolent specimens of unenlightened men. This character they have lately lost by attempts at violence, which prove that their previous kindness was neither natural, nor the result of principle. It is said that when they learned the uses of iron, they made a desperate effort to cut off a ship and murder all hands, in order to secure the object of their cupidity. Whether they may not have had another motive for the attack, such as revenge for offensive conduct, we cannot ascertain. But whatever may be their present character, they are to be Christianized, and a mission might be planted, and sustained through the assistance of the ships passing in this track. Let barbarous nations be informed that they are to be often visited by vessels belonging to the friends of those who labour among them, and it would not fail to influence them in their conduct towards the missionaries.

...

Document 1830L

The Infatigable, ex-Calder, sent to Manila

Source: Ms. in LC Mss. Division, part of Item 18, Spanish Gov't Collection.

Original text in Spanish.

Pasaporte.

Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Teniente Coronel de los Reales Ejercitos Governador Politico y Militar de las Yslas Marianas, su termino y jurisdiccion, y Caballero de las Reales y distinguidas ordenes Militares de San Hermenegildo, y San Luís Rey de Francia:—

*Concedo licencia à Don Calletano Ramirez Capitan y Piloto del Bergantin nombrado el **Ynfatigable** correspondiente al Rey N.S. (que Dios guarde) para que pueda libremente pasar à la Bahia de Manila con dho Buque la oficialidad y tripulacion que expresa la lista que à la buelta se incluye, presentandose antes todos los individuos de la expresada tripulacion que expresa la lista al Capitan del Puerto. Por tanto suplico à los Gefes, Corregidores, y Alcaldes mayores de las jurisdicciones, correspondientes al Gobierno del Reyno Filipino, y à los que no lo fueren y encargo que si el referido Ramirez arrivase en dho Buque à los Puertos de su mando por mal tiempo, ú otra causa no le embarasen la continuacion de su viage impartiendo antes bien los auxilios que pueda necesitar pagandoles descontados à precios corrientes.*

Dada en San Ygancio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas firmada de su mano y refrendada por el infrascripto Secretario à primero de Marzo de mil ochocientos y treinta dias.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Joaquín de León Guerrero, Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra.

Lista de la oficialidad y tripulacion del Bergantin nombrado el Ynfatigable.

<i>Capitan y Piloto</i>	<i>Don Cayetano Ramirez ,agregado para en caso de muerte del Subteniente graduado Don Francisco Fox, su Madama y dos niños.</i>
--------------------------------	---

Timoneles y oficiales de mar

<i>Contramaestre</i>	<i>Manuel Fernandino</i>
<i>Timonel</i>	<i>Jorge Arary(?) Yngles</i>
<i>Carpintero</i>	<i>Juan Campbell</i>

*Otro**Ygnacio Tussenos(?)***Marineros***Mateo Mahantan**Diego de León***Grumete***Donado de los Santos***Translation.****Passport.**

Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Armies, Political and Military Governor of the Mariana Islands, their limits and jurisdiction, and Gentleman of the Royal and distinguished military orders of San Hermenegildo and St. Louis, King of France:

Do grant a license to Don Cayetano Ramirez, Captain and Pilot of the brig named **Infatigable** belonging to the King our Lord (may God save him) to enable her officers and crew, listed on reverse, to go to the Bay of Manila aboard said ship, and there all individuals of said crew appearing on said list are to present themselves to the Port Captain. Consequently, I beg the officers, magistrates, and mayors of jurisdictions under the Government of the Philippine Kingdom, and those who are not, and entrust them, should said Ramirez arrive in said ship at ports under their command, on account of bad weather, or another reason, not to prevent him from pursuing his voyage, but rather providing him with the assistance that he might need, pricing such goods and services at current prices.

Given in San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, signed by his hand and countersigned by the undersigned Secretary on the first of March 1830.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

Josquín de León Guerrero, Government Secretary.

List of the officers and crew of the brig named Infatigable.

Captain and Pilot Don Cayetano Ramirez, assisted in case of death by Second-Lieutenant of substantive rank, Don Francisco Fox, accompanied by his Mrs. and two children.

Helmsmen and naval officers

Boatswain

Manuel Fernandino

Helmsman

George Arary(?), English

Carpenter

John Campbell

Carpenter

Ygnacio Tussenos(?)

Seamen

Mateo Mahantan

Diego de León

Ship's boy

Donado de los Santos

Document 1830N

The journal of Dr. John Lyell aboard the Ranger, a London whaler

Sources: Ms. in Archive 463 in the Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Scotland; published in ISLA, a journal of the University of Guam, in 1992, pp. 355-87. Reproduced with permission of the author, Honore Forster.

Notes: The Ranger departed London on 19 October 1829 with a 32-man crew on board. Between April 1830 and October 1831, the Ranger visited the Marianas three times. The Ranger was back home in December 1832. Saipan had first been sighted in April 1830 when the ship was going from Timor to the Japan Ground.

The Ranger was a ship of 425 tons, built at Topsham in 1806, but she had been refitted before this cruise. She was owned by Daniel Bennett & Co. who had acquired her in 1817. Her Captain on this cruise was Thomas Garbutt. As for Lyell, he was only 22 years old when he joined the ship as a surgeon; he was to survive until the age of 72.

Extract from this journal

...

September 10-November 10, 1830.

...

Baffled by calms and variable unsteady breezes at noon on the 18th we had only gained the southing of 19° North Latitude, a tardy advance towards the Ladrones at which we were much distressed on account of our crew, which was so crippled by scurvy, that not only had we ceased to look for whales, but feared the loss of some of them ere the products of the land rescued them from its putrid jaws. In our present position we ought to have experienced the N Easterly trades, but it blew indifferently from all quarters; its character was squally, with showers. The abundance of fish had now left us, tho a few, whose extreme shyness owing to the shrimp shoals in the surrounding sea, made them proof against the delusion of a hook. Our ship began now to swarm with cockroaches, whose evening deprivations annoyed us exceedingly, but more of them hereafter.

Thermometer 85° [Fahrenheit].

On the morning of the 23rd current we descried to the WSW the island of Saipan at the distance of 2 leagues and spreading all sail to a favourable breeze in the afternoon

were close in with its NW coast. The wind now failing, and the only settlement on the island being about 8 miles to the south of us, two boats left the ship for the purpose of ascertaining whether we might obtain any pigs and fruit for the relief of our distress from scurvy. After pulling round a little island¹ situated on the extremity of a coral reef stretching out several miles from the mainland, we were allowed to stand in towards a sandy beach where a few dogs indicated the existence of inhabitants; as soon as we had hauled our boat up on the smooth beach we were greeted by a few uncouth beings, nearly in a state of nudity. Upon some discourse in broken Spanish, we ascertained that they were natives of the Carolina isles, and had been sent here from Guam to procure wild pigs, with which the island abounded, for the government there. They informed us that they were prohibited by the Governor of Guam under pain of imprisonment & the lash to supply shipping with the least product of the island. Upon a promise of secrecy, however, and a knowledge of our distressed condition, they not only consented to supply us with pigs, but also to load our boats with the fruit of the place; for the former, eleven of which we got, we paid them in clothing and money, for the latter there was no charge. The beach on which we landed was crowded with cocoanut trees loaded and dropping with fruit, behind which the lemon bushes were weighed to the earth with their acid loads. Abundance of Papaw trees, erected their naked stems, studded round at the top with green and yellow apples; and various species of capsicums, exhibited their splitting scarlet pods. With these products of the soil, which were a ready & certain cure for scurvy we soon filled the boats, and had we been inclined, might in a little while have filled the ship also, so plentifully did they exist. But of Nature's bounty there were few to share, the island being deserted save of those individuals we had observed on landing, which also were only temporary inhabitants. These people were extremely robust & brawny, and together with their dogs of which they had a great number of the fox hound breed, seemed to be in excellent keeping; their huts were miserable unwall'd sheds without the least article of furniture, and close by them was a long double range of pig styes, each containing a single pig, the produce of the chase. As soon as we had loaded our boats with pigs, cocoanuts, limes, lemons, papaw apples, breadfruit, chilis &c., we left the shore and made the best of our way towards the ship, which we gained an hour after sunset, and spread a salubrious feast, for our scurbutic crew, which would soon renovate their exhausted strength.

Proceeding southward, by daylight next morning we were off the western coast of Tinian, which preserved Lord Anson in his unfortunate voyage from final destruction by scurvy.

There was in like manner dispatched two boats towards the shore to see what fresh stock might be obtained; the first sight that assailed our eyes on landing was two Spaniards chained together by the ankles, and ere we had walked fifty yards towards the Alcalde's house we observed many other individuals so paired, and the clanking of chains struck our ears in every direction; as we had heard some accounts of a conspiracy at Guam, we were not altogether at a loss to account for these appearances, but we

1 Ed. note: Mañagaha Island.

we learned the particular details from one of our own countrymen, who from the chain on his leg appeared to have been implicated in the transaction or at least suspected of being so, for he swore most solemnly that he knew no more of an attempt to subvert Government than the child unborn. This individual by name Sherwood had left an English whaler at Guam, where he had got married and settled, and was carrying on a prosperous business about ten months ago when he was seized with many others, natives, Spaniards and English and taxed with plotting against the life of the Governor and establishment of the place. If they were really guilty of the crime laid to their charge, the treatment they received from the Governor could not be sanctioned by any law, and was even a disgrace to humanity. He threw about 20 in chains, two and two, and banished them to the desert island of Aguijan, a few miles to the West of Tinian, where there was neither water nor food at all adequate to their wants; and although some of the most venturesome had hazarded themselves over to Tinian on a raft in order to obtain a little water and food to satisfy the craving of nature, yet those there were ordered rather to let them perish than to assist them. The hardships they suffered were unaccountable till the present Alcalde arrived, at Tinian, whose humanity often got the better of his orders and supplied them with sustenance. Five still on the island ventured over two days ago for a supply of necessaries, in a canoe, & being furnished with some Indian corn &c. returned to their desolate abode; in token of their safe arrival they were to light fires for signals but as the night came on squally and no fires have been observed, it is conjectured that they have all perished on their passage; this is the more likely to have happened as three of them were sick, and unable to use any exertions for their safety.¹

By Don Sylvester the Alcalde² we were given to understand through Sherwood our interpreter, that his positive orders were not to supply any ship with the produce of the Island, but on the representation of our pitiful case from scurvy, he agreed to sell us a few pigs, fowls and fruit; as we were making the best of our way for Guam he begged of our Captain to afford a passage for a few bullocks for the government's service there, & as this would occasion us but little trouble or delay, his request was after some hesitation granted.

Tinian was in former years thickly peopled, and ruins of houses of a massive description are abundantly to be met with: the pillars of one in particular are seen still standing in a double row, which are at least 10 feet high and 3 feet on the side; they are square and surmounted with capitals in the form of an inverted dome, the diameter of which was 7 feet. It is a beautiful gently rising island clothed with wood and abounding in herds of white cattle & black pigs; every thing that luxury could wish might here be raised by the slightest aid from agriculture; in a wild state, there are abundance of coconuts, limes, lemons, sugar apples, papaw apples, chilis, &c. yet all this munificence of Nature is allowed to run to waste, since there is not a single settled family on the island; in the midst of this fair scene, one beholds with a blush the tyranny of man to

1 I have subsequently learned that they arrived safe.

2 Ed. note: Silvestre Inocencio Palomo.

man, and is forced to confess amid the clangour of fetters that, "man was made to mourn." Here a free-born Briton, who, unconscious of any crime, was torn from his wife and family 10 months ago, and without judge or jury forced to undergo unheard-of hardships, might still be seen pinioned to a tawny companion, and worked like a slave under a burning sun. But we were informed that the fate of the present Governor was drawing to a crisis; that the Government at Manila under whose jurisdiction he was, had had their eyes opened regarding several acts of his tyranny, and embezzlement of public property; and were setting an enquiry on foot respecting his conduct. May it turn out to the welfare of those poor mortals, of whose miserable estate we were eyewitnesses!

From the great quantity of meat that was killed and cured at this island for the soldiery at Guam, the common house fly so annoyingly abounded that they kept us in misery all the time we were on shore, and boarded the ship in such numbers, that their swarms molested us both on deck and below.

After the boats had got on board & the Alcalde left the ship, for he had accompanied us, we made all sail for Guam, expecting, as we enjoyed a fine breeze, to reach it next afternoon, but here we were greatly disappointed for the next two days were spent in getting opposite another small island [i.e. Rota] scarcely half way to our destined point, and where it was just in sight.

However, after these two days of calms we obtained a fine Easterly breeze and on the morning of the 27th had reached the capital of Guam, where we lay to till noon, whilst the cattle were sent on shore for the Governor and notice given of our arrival; this done we made sail again for the place of anchorage nine or ten miles farther to the Southward. The wind having died away we did not reach it before sunset, when we were content to drop anchor within the outermost reef or bar that contributed to the shelter of the inner harbour, where we observed two other English whalers moored; another that had immediately preceded us, brought up in our neighbourhood.

During the whole ensuing day the land breeze was too strong to allow us to make an attempt to gain the inner station, but by daybreak on the 29th, having little wind, we weighed anchor, and with the assistance of two boats from each of the ships in our vicinity were towed & warped into the smooth basin constituting the inner harbour, a place as completely screened from all winds as the London or West India docks. Immediately we had anchored, three of the seamen that were most affected by scurvy were sent on shore to recruit their health and strength; and two of these, that could even scarcely stir themselves when we first made the land were now so much recovered by the fruit and fresh provision we had received on board from Saipan, that they were able to waddle about the deck without assistance: so powerful are limes & young cocoanuts in dispelling this putrid malady!

The basin in which we lay is situated in [the] SW end of the island, about a mile from the shore, its north side is protected by Goat Island,¹ a close wooded spot but uninhabited; and the eastern & southern sides find shelter from the mainland nearly as far as west; the bay thus formed has a coral reef shutting up its entrance, only permeated by a narrow entrance into the harbour basin; the extent of the basin is about 6 or 8 acres, and its sides are almost perpendicular coral walls. A boat in pulling towards the shore passes over immense beds of animal vegetation that seem to ape the inhabitants of the dry lands: all manner of coral arborescence may be here observed glowing with various vivid colours but destitute of foliage, seeming a submarine forest stripped by the stern hand of winter of the "honours of the vernal year;" broad leafy expansions might be seen simulating the ferns of the hill, and the mosses of the mouldering rock were not more varied than the sponges that protuberated from the straggled stones; at intervals too formations of deep water were passed over with no discernible bottom. The harbour is commanded by a small fort built on its coral margin.

After we cast anchor in the inner harbour of Port Apra, we did not get under weigh again till the 5th November and during that time were employed refitting the ship, by tarring, caulking, painting, &c and refreshing the crew on the produce of the place. The fruits most abounding were oranges, cocoanuts & plantains, though others, as lemons, bananas, pineapples, breadfruit, &c could also be had. Roots were abundant, as yams, sweet potatoes, and some other sorts, and sold at 3 or 4 ryals a basket of about 10 bls. Oranges were about 1/2 a dollar a hundred and plantains 2 ryals a bunch. There was no want of bullocks, & pigs, the former selling at from 12 to 18 dollars each & the latter from 3 to 4. Besides eatables a traffic is carried on in shells, the most usual sorts of which are spiders, conchs, and cowries. I procured about 30 different species though the specimens were none of the best. In the mountains and uncultivated places there are many flying foxes (a species of bat) which sally forth during the night and commit their depredations on the breadfruit; there are also some beautiful plumaged birds; no wild quadrupeds except rats were noticed, though deers are abundant and yield the chief of the native's animal food, during the absence of ships. The land soon rises from the shore to mountains of considerable height, these for the most part have their sides interspersed with patches of trees though some are almost naked & others closely wooded almost to the summit. On the low land by the sea side signs of cultivation are alone to be seen, and that only in piebald order, the greater portion being the unclaimed property of nature. Each little farm or ranch has a hut built on it which lodges the possessor, or cultivator of the soil; this is uniformly raised 2 or 3 feet on piles, has its walls chiefly of bamboo & is roofed with cocoanut leaves, imbricating each other.

Besides military houses, and widely separated hamlets, there is a large town named ... [Agaña], which may be reckoned the capital of the island, & indeed of the group. Most of the houses in it are built on the same plan as those noticed, though some of

1 It is reported that the island abounds with goats reserved for a time of scarcity in the garrison; if such is the case they take care to hide themselves well, for none are to be seen; but it swarms with rats & mosquitoes. Ed. comment: Cabras Island had been without goats for a long time.

them are large, commodious and good-looking and partly constructed of stone & lime, but the best building in the place is the governor's palace, which is a roomy massive structure of stone & lime covered with tiles, with balconies in front, its furniture, however, corresponds but indifferently with its exterior. The natives in general are hospitable especially those who have little intercourse with the ships; most of them besides the Mariana, their native tongue, speak Spanish, but very impure; they live chiefly on cocoanuts, Indian corn, roots, and breadfruit; and both sexes practice the smoking of tobacco made into large cigars. Few diseases were witnessed amongst them except ring-worm, ulcers, and intermittent fevers, nor does the latter much disturb the salubrity of the climate. Three fourths of the year there is dry weather, and the remaining rainy portion occurs about the autumnal equinox. They are subject to tornadoes which tear everything out by the root, though those of such violence do not frequently occur. The usual height of the thermometer whilst we lay here during the day was 84°.

From the great number of English whalers that resort to these islands to refresh their crews, the produce of our manufactories so abounds, that their value is equally low as in the English market, and English clothing is the usual attire of the inhabitants of the place. The common dress of the men is a pair of short wide trousers, & shirt worn loose; that of the women is a petticoat & short gown. Both wear hats alike, English beavers, Manila, or home-made broad-brims. They usually wear sandals, sometimes shoes. Almost every hut is an inn and will entertain strangers at the rate of 6 ryals or 3/3d of our money¹ a day bed & board.

[5 November]

When sailing from Port Apra we left behind us seven other whalers and during our stay four had weighed anchor and put to sea. We brought out with us 10 pigs, a quantity of yams & fruit, a considerable portion of which was received as a present from the Governor, in token of his gratitude for some services done for him by our Captain. Shortly after we cleared the reefs sheltering the harbour, a school of whales [was] observed and spouting about a mile & a half distant from the ship, but our fishing gear was not in a state of forwardness enough, sufficient to allow us to take advantage of the tempting opportunity, so they remained unmolested by us.

Intending next to exercise ourselves in the search of whale in the neighbourhood of Bougainville to the eastward of New Guinea; but wishing to take with us a supply of pigs and yams, which could not be so advantageously obtained at Guam as at Rota, the neighbouring island, we shaped our course towards it, and with a fair breeze might have reached it next morning, but the weather interfered. Five days did we struggle with an adverse wind, amid heavy showers and squalls to gain this desired spot and then were 12 miles distant when a squall suddenly took us and blew in pieces the main-top-sail, though at the time double reefed. This determined us immediately to change our resolution and make a fair wind of it; we accordingly squared the yards and bore away to the south. Having a fair and fresh breeze of wind we soon ran down to Guam, and

¹ Ed. note: Three shillings and three pence of English currency.

before noon on the 10th hoisted colours to the vessels lying in Port Apra, and by sunset left them far behind us.

...
[By mid-December, the ship was near Eniwetok in the Marshall Islands, and at the end of that month Nauru was sighted. During January, the **Ranger** was cruising for whales near Nauru in company with the **Matilda** of London, under the command of Captain Pockley. Soon the **Ranger** was once again headed for the Japan Ground.]

February 14-March 30, 1831.

On the morning of the 14th February we descried Agrihan, one of the Ladrone Isles situated a little beyond the 19° parallel of N Latitude. It is high land, and was distant, when first perceived, about 16 leagues.

Next morning before sunrise we made all sail (having lain to during the night) and with a moderate breeze stood towards Agrihan but it was nearly noon before we reached near enough to perceive the cocoanut trees growing on the shores: a forest of them surrounded the mountain and in many places ascended several hundred feet up its sides, especially between the ridges that radiated from the summit to the beach around. On the weather side of this land which we first approached, there appeared but one short portion of sandy beach on which the surf was rolling too heavily to allow a boat to land, but as we got to its western shore the sea seemed to break less furiously so that three boats were despatched to obtain if possible a supply of cocoanuts. The first place that the boat approached was a steep stony beach which did not at all suit our purpose of landing, but after rowing about a mile along a rocky shore to the Westward we gained a little bay into which we pulled, and landed on an abrupt beach of rough sand. From the sea to the ascent of the hill, the breadth of land did not exceed 30 yards where broadest, and on the east side it rose immediately from the surf; here the soil was supported on sea-worn masses of porphyritic rock but in the other places although the angle of elevation equalled and sometimes surpassed 30° not a portion of stone was discernible, but heaps of black mould piled up & supported by the roots of trees interwoven with its substance. Of all species the cocoanut tree was observed to be the most numerous, and it existed in every stage of growth, from the germinating nut to the veteran trunk.

Under the old trees the ground was scattered with their dried fruit, & at the summit of their leaves. As it was too much trouble to procure nuts by climbing the trees, especially those of considerable height, we brought them to the ground by felling the stalk that supported them and before sunset contrived to load our three boats with nuts. If one considers the spread of cocoanut trees on this island he must look far back for the time when the father of the race was cast by the waves on its barren shores; it is possible to conceive that from an original stock, a new progeny might speedily have extended over an adjacent level, but how many centuries must have elapsed ere they could have climbed up the face of a steep hill, to the height of a mile (acclivity) at which they were

now observed. Beside cocoanut trees there were abundances of wild plantains, the fruit of which was useless. The woods swarmed with small blue tailed lizards, and Iguanas and on the surf washed rocks, some beautiful limpets & crabs were picked up; of the birds observed I cannot forbear taking notice of a beautiful pigeon, the wings of which were dark crimson & the head & breast a light fawn colour; these and blue & white plumaged woodpeckers were the most numerous of the land birds; & a white & a black tern in numerous flocks amongst the trees & rocks were the only sea-fowl. Many prints of pigs' & dogs' feet were noticed in the sand but none of the animals themselves could be seen.

As it continued nearly calm from the time the boats returned on board till next morning sunrise, they were again despatched for another loading of nuts which they brought off at mid-day: a fine breeze then arising, all canvas was spread and our ship's head directed for Saipan. In the evening we passed Pagan & the ensuing day, having passed the intervening islands descried the peak of Saipan towards evening. This island was passed during the night and in the morning of the 18th we found ourselves 8 or 10 miles Northward of Aguijan, a little island situated on the West of Tinian. The wind had veered now to the Northward and increased to a strong gale so that we were glad to run under the lee of Aguijan and lay to under our close-reefed main-topsail. For the two days following, the winds being rather more moderate we plied to windward in order to gain Saipan where we wished to procure a few pigs, but we got no farther than Lord Anson's anchorage ... in Tinian where we displayed colours to the Spanish resident, turned our stern to the wind and steered for Rota.

On the 21st at noon, having entered the deep bay on the west of that island, two boats were despatched on shore to procure refreshments; before sunset they returned laded with pigs and roots, chiefly yams. Till midday of the day ensuing was occupied in fetching of two more boat loads when we left the island for Guam. Rota is a small rocky island crowded with wood from the sea to the summit. The bay before mentioned is formed on the North [rather South] by a rugged lofty rock connected to the main by a neck of low land. The shores of the bay are without exception composed of spicular rocks, in some places abruptly¹ and in others spreading into a ledge; through the latter, in the bottom of it, there is an opening sufficient on the top of a sea to float a boat on to a sandy beach and this is the only landing in the whole bay. The village adjoining the elanding place, is a wretched assemblage of huts, arranged in the form of a rectangle. None of the houses adjoin each other; and that row parallel with the beach is single and overshadowed with cocoanut trees that extending backwards form a broad street, with the houses of a much better description than the former: in a line with the street, towards the sea, stands a large barn-looking building, the church, decked out with no image of gold or silver or any baser metal, but a Kanaka Maria and child of wood. Almost every other hut that was entered presented one of the family of maimed, halt or blind, and the chief of their living seemed to be roots which some of them were even observed to be munching raw, I conceive from the trouble of cooking them. The

1 Much of the rock above the surf-washed position was coralline limestone.

pigs and yams procured were almost equal by high price with those obtained at our anchorage at Guam.

As soon as daylight dawned on the 23rd we set sail with a strong breeze for Guam, and soon descried it looming through the haze. By midday we were abreast of the north end, and at 3 p.m. sailed into Port Apra. We did not proceed into the inner harbour but plied up about a furlong within the outer reef towards Goat Island & there found sufficient shelter.

From this date till the 29th March we continued at anchor, and having little ship duty to perform, most of the crew were on shore 10 or 14 days on liberty by which their constitutions would be beneficially stimulated and better be able to resist the attacks of scurvy in the coming season at Japan. When we arrived in port we were solitary, but during the past ten days of our anchorage three more London whalers came in, the **Maitilda**, Captain Pockley, **Lady Amsherst**, Captain Lisle, & **Harriet**, Captain Young. Their respective stocks of oil were 1600 barrels, 350 barrels, & 1300 barrels; the former since we had seen here off Pleasant [Nauru] Island had obtained 400 barrels.

An observation, to the truth of which I am willing to subscribe, is that the more bountiful Nature is to the sons of man, the less assiduously are her favours courted by them; this is well illustrated by drawing a comparison between the Mariana and Scottish isles. While the former enjoy a salubrity of climate and fertility of soil, not surpassed in any region of the earth, the latter are cold & sterile, subject to biting frosts and gloomy fogs; whilst those in confidence expect a threefold harvest of maize in the course of a year, these have the hopes of their normal crop often disappointed by autumnal rains; whilst the germinating seeds & bursting buds of the former are cherished by genial beams and refreshing showers, the seeds of the latter often die an unseen death, and the bud of promise is cut off ere its beauties have unfolded to scent the breeze; and yet notwithstanding all the advantages that the natives of these islands possess, they seem not to enjoy the necessaries of life in greater plenty than the frugal peasantry of the north of Scotland: and why? they love too much to live at ease, and work only when necessity compels them: with half that spirit of activity possessed by the Scottish peasantry they might riot in superfluity, but they have no idea nor inclination to exert themselves more than is barely sufficient to supply their wants. Yes, I believe they would rather go with hungry bellies than weary limbs and hazard being pinched with famine than have aught superfluous to cast to the dogs.

Their system of agriculture is extremely simple. They soften not the ground either by digging or tilling except a few inches around, where the seed or root is deposited, the surface is cleared from weeds in a kind of Dutch hoe, shaped thus:¹

The seeds of Indian corn are deposited about 4 feet apart, and during its growth the ground is two or three times freed from weeds by the hoe; when ripe the ears are plucked & the stalks left to wither in the ground till next planting, for they seldom or never plant in the same ground immediately. For tarra root they select a moist piece of ground and

1 Ed. note: There appears the drawing of the *fusiño*, a simple horizontal cutting blade held by a vertical stick.

plant sometimes irregularly and sometimes in rows, at greater or lesser distances according to the site of the kind planted. Rice is reared in level ground contiguous to a stream of water, a sufficient portion of which is diverted from its course to irrigate the field; more than usual attention and trouble seems to be given to the raising of this grain. During its growth it is carefully attended with water, and freed from all weeds and bracken stems; at this season the chief of it observed was coming into flower.

Next to rice the raising of tobacco seems to be most attended to, for this is a plant used by all old & young. Beds of it are first sown from which the little plants are transplanted into others, where they arrive at a suitable size for placing in their final station. Every hut has its tobacco patch attached to it which is usually fenced in and kept exceedingly clean; when arrived at a sufficient size the stem is cut and the root left to sprout again; for use, the leaf undergoes no manipulation but is merely hung up in the shade to dry.

This was the season for planting yams. The surface of the ground was cleared, a hole dug every three or four feet distant and a small yam deposited therein. The yam being a climbing plant, sticks are placed in the ground, for them to ascend. These are straight pieces of bamboo or straight wood, 5 or 6 feet long; they are not placed upright in the ground but inclined to each other in groups of 6 or 8 and tied together at top to render them more steady, thus:¹

Sweet potatoes, or, as they are termed here, camotes, are reared in light shady soil. Respecting fruit trees, the cocoanut must undoubtedly hold the first place for utility. Its wood is used in the construction of houses and its leaves form their covering; when one is thirsty the green nut offers a refreshing drink and the cravings of hunger may be agreeably appeased by the nutritious and wholesome kernel of the ripe nut. The gloom of night is cheered by the burning of cocoanut oil, and after the sun has sunk to rest and the labours of the day come to an end, one may return to his hut with his friends and enjoy an hour of social talk over a bamboo of toddy; even exhausted nature finds a ready stimulus in the spirituous liquid² distilled from this fermented juice, and the burning fever may be allayed by the cleansing acid of vinegar obtained from the same source. Baskets are formed of the leaves, and fishing lines and ropes of the husk. In a word, I believe that no other {three} trees in tropical climates could supersede the use of the cocoanut; its blessings are constantly shed and easily procured.

The next tree to be mentioned is the breadfruit; it abounded wild in the woods, where not only the fruit is collected by the natives, but it yields sustenance for thousands of

1 Ed. note: A small sketch shows a simple conical structure.

2 Aguardiente. To obtain toddy, the extremity of a flower bud is cut off and a bamboo placed under it to receive the juice as it flows from the wounded vessels; this juice, or sap of the tree, is toddy, and is collected morning and evening. At each of these times a fresh slice is cut off the bud by a sharp knife in order to open the sap vessels afresh. Toddy when fresh obtained is a sweet liquor slightly sparkling. By longer keeping it becomes sharp and intoxicating; in this state aguardiente is drawn from it by distillation. By longer fermentation it passes into excellent vinegar.

flying foxes & wild pigs. It yields two crops of fruit during the year, in spring and autumn; at this time, the trees were laden with fruit almost full grown. Besides what is boiled & roasted for immediate use, they cut it in slices, dry it in the sun and reserve it for future necessity. Its wood is used for making canoes, and household furniture. The Fide rico (Faith of the rich)¹ is a small tree which grows extensively in rocky ground; it delights in the shade, and is consequently usually found in the woods screened from the rays of the sun by the branches of loftier growth. It has a naked stem and fern-like leaves looking like a cocoanut tree in miniature; close to the stem at the foot of the leaves it bears bunches of globular green nuts. These when nearly ripe are collected by the natives, freed from the husk and macerated 9 days in fresh or salt water, which during that time is several times renewed. The water in which nuts have been steeped is a deadly poison, but the nuts themselves subsequent to maceration are dried in the sun, beat[en] in a wooden mortar and then levigated on a flat stone into meal, which mixed with a little fat and molasses² is baked into a very good bread, nutritive and innoxious.³

Of plantains and bananas they possess several sorts. When boiled green, they are similar to a potatoe; when ripe may be eaten raw, fried, or roasted and made into sweet cakes. These broad-leaved trees, if not cut down, are ... as soon as they have ripened the fruit. Sugar cane they possess, but seldom or never think of obtaining sugar from it, or even molasses. The governor I was informed sometimes had attempted the manufacture of this article, and at this time I saw a large space of ground cleared away and planted with cane, adjoining to which was a shed containing a sugar mill & boiler, where another effort was to be made to make sugar. Guavas grew abundantly in the wild state, as also sugar apples and a species of citron: this last notably bore [an] abundance of red aromatic fruits similar to hips, but yielded flowers of delightful fragrance which scented the paths; it is a dark green waxy-leaved shrub grateful to the mouth and the nose. The betle nut tree usually arises by the side of streams, and very much resembles the cocoanut tree in its growth. The nuts which are in great use as a masticatory are seen hanging in bunches a little underneath the tuft of leaves surmounting its naked trunk. The tamarind tree here also grows though not abundantly and it is little cared for. A single one was observed in a thriving condition & I was informed bore fruit; although I suspect the heat of the climate too great for the naturalizement of this plant. The cotton plant is not uncommon and produces excellent down, but it is neglected & put to little or no use; the natives rather chose to purchase their clothing, than manufacture it of their own produce.

In ancient times ere the Spaniards had taken possession of these islands, the current coin was composed of turtle shell cut into circles from 1 to 3 inches in diameter with a hole in the centre for convenience in threading it on a cord, the value being [in] propor-

1 Ed. note: The author thought that the word "fiderico" was a Latin word. It is the palm whose scientific name is *Cycas circinalis*.

2 The molasses is usually made by evaporating sweet toddy to a syrup.

3 Ed. note: It was only in modern times that the Federico nuts, thus processed, were found to still contain enough poison to cause permanent damage to the nervous system of long-term users.

tion to the size; in the language of the island this money was called *lailas*. In cases of marriage, unless the bridegroom could present the father of the bride with a suitable string of *lailas* the match was rejected. In those days, the sling was much in use, and handled with great dexterity. Stones were formed for the purpose into an egg shape, but more pointed; and I was informed by an old Spaniard that he recollected of a native, who taking an aim at an object at a considerable distance was sure to strike it once in three times. Being then unpossessed of iron their chisels & axes were composed of stone. Specimens of all shapes with some difficulty I obtained, for the younger natives scarcely knew that such had been the riches of their forefathers.

Of domestic animals they possess horses, cows, buffalos, mules, apes, pigs, dogs, & cats.¹ And the wild mammalia are much less numerous; so far as I could learn, only amounting to four: deer, pigs, rats & flying foxes. The first exist in great numbers in the woods and mountains, and are frequently shot; pigs are less plentiful. Rats abound and flying foxes swarm the woods: these, which are only a larger species of bat, are esteemed delicate eating, and sell at 3 ryals a piece. They are gregarious, and several hundred may sometimes be seen hanging from the same tree, so closely huddled together that I have heard of 17 being killed at one shot. The variety of birds is not great. I have only observed 14 different species, several of these are, however, very handsome. Nor are insects numerous. The reefs surrounding the island exhibit the greatest display of animal life, from the vegetative coralline, to the numerous shark; many {and} beautiful shell fish shelter on the shoals, and elegant and curious fishes sport amid the groves of coral:² for a sketch of two see Fig. o. & p. Tab. XIV.³

After adding a little to our stock of fresh vegetables, on the 28th March we got under weigh by daylight,⁴ & stood along shore to the Southward for Umatac Bay where we came to an anchor before noon. This was for the purpose of obtaining a supply of fresh water, which could be much more conveniently obtained here than at Port Apra and also of better quality. The village of Umatac stands in the mouth of a deep narrow valley through which a small stream flows into a little bay of the same name; the most conspicuous buildings are the church & palace whose whitewashed walls being partly screened by cushy trees gives an interesting and pleasant aura to the scene; on the one side is seen the river pouring its waters into the bottom of the bay & on the other the huts of the natives peeping through a canopy of cocoanut trees, and a rugged mass of insolated rock fortified & washed by the sea; besides this there are two forts situated on the hills one at each side [of] the bay. Beyond the barren-looking hills which speedily

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- 1 Ed. note: All of those animals had been introduced to Guam. The apes must have been pets brought over from the Philippines. They never existed in the wild.
 - 2 Fish they catch by hand net on the beach, by float nets, by stake enclosures, by hooks, frames and poisoning with a certain bark.
 - 3 Ed. note: Table XIV, facing Lyell's entry for January 14, 1831, contains sketches of insects, fish, and small sea creatures.
 - 4 During our stay the weather was dry and windy: occasional squalls prevailed which were generally accompanied by a passing shower. Wind from the ESE to North. Therm. 84°.

arise from the sea shore, steep lofty mountains appear, embossed with forest trees. From the favourable impression the seaward view of Umatac affords, one expects to be pleased on setting his foot on shore, but disappointment awaits him if he visit the village; the huts are wretched structures and their inmates too well accord with their dwelling. Most of them are covered from head to foot with scaly ringworm or leprosy.¹ They live on the poorest diet and even that scarcely in sufficient quantity, so that it is necessary for one coming on shore to fetch his provisions from the ship with him. Every thing was much dearer here than at Port Apra, as might reasonably be expected from the poverty of the place.

Therm. 84°

[30 March]

On the ensuing day at sunset, having completed our stock of water (200 barrels) we took up our anchor and stood out to sea, leaving one vessel, the **Fawn**, Captain Dale, behind us. Standing to the Northward with a moderate breeze, next day we lost sight of Guam, and bade adieu to the Mariana Isle[s] for the next six months to come and probably for the whole voyage.

...
[For the next five months, the **Ranger** was whaling on the Japan Ground, after which she returned to the Marianas.]

September 22-October 6, 1831.

Having gained the parallel of Agrihan we steered West and on the afternoon of the 22nd sighted its lofty summit at the distance of 40 miles. Enjoying a fresh breeze of favourable wind, by sunset we had reached within 22 miles of it, when we lay to, intending on the morrow to despatch the boats on shore for cocoanuts. During the night the weather was a repeated succession of strong squalls and rain so that when we had run up with the island next morning, landing was found to be impracticable from the heaviness of the surf that swept the lee side of the island. It will be recollected that we visited Agrihan in the month of February last and obtained [an] abundance of cocoanuts. Its hilly surface was then scorched with drought but the rainy season had now clothed the whole with lively green and the breeze blowing over it breathed a delightful fragrance. As we had few symptoms of scurvy on board the disappointment of receiving nuts was not so severely felt, so leaving Agrihan behind us we steered for Saipan 250 miles to the Southward.

Passing the intervening chain of Islands on our left, on the morning of the 25th Saipan was descried on our weather bow 40 miles distant, and soon after Tinian beyond it. We had hoped to land on Saipan this same day to obtain a supply of stock but in the drift of squalls and currents the preceding evening had got so far to leeward that the

1 Leprosy of the Greeks.

whole day was spent in gaining the little island of Aguijan, SW of Tinian when we tacked and plied assiduously to gain the landing place of Saipan by the ensuing morning.

An observation I cannot forbear recording demonstrative of a peculiar instinct exhibited by the water fowl haunting these islands. Far to the Eastward of Agrihan, many birds, chiefly black & white terns, or as the sailors term them noddies & spectre gulls, were noticed, indicating our approach to land, long ere it was perceived from our mast-heads, but [at] other islands few of them were seen unless we approached near the shores. The East is the weather side of the land from which the animals ventured fearlessly, to a great distance, well aware it would seem, if involved in furious squalls or gales of wind, they could safely retreat before it to land; whereas on the lee or west side of the islands they seemed afraid to range so widely lest carried away by a sudden tempest, they might be unable to regain their home when its fury subsided.

As soon as day had dawned on 26th we found ourselves within 6 or 7 miles off the SW end of Saipan and at 7 o'clock despatched two boats on shore to procure refreshments. Crossing a sheltering reef about a furlong from the shore, we landed upon a shady beach, lined with cocoanut trees. We were immediately accosted by two natives who to our inquiries replied they would furnish us with pigs and cocoanuts, enjoining us, however, to be silent at the other islands, for it was under pain of severe punishment by the authorities, that they supplied us. Promising to divulge nothing, one of them conducted us along the beach three miles to another farm (rancho) where more of their companions resided, making up the number of 12 in all. They were exile[d] prisoners from Guam, implicated in the nominal or real insurrection, that took place two years before in Agaña, and without investigation had ben sent here to await their trial!

After a great deal of altercation among themselves, about the division of the money and presents bestowed upon them, they granted us 17 miserable pigs and a boatload of cocoanuts & lemons, with which we returned to the ship and left the island. After sunset we passed the S end of Tinian, and next day got close up with Rota but too late to land.

[28 September]

But early next morning, enjoying fine weather, two boats pulled to the landing on the NW end of the island, and traded for pigs, roots and fruits, with the inhabitants, and two hours before sunset, being loaded, returned to the ship. Taking them on board we immediately spread our sails to a fine breeze of Easterly wind for Guam which was distinguished off the deck ere sunset.

Early in the morning we got up under the lee side of the North end of Guam, and lay to till daylight allowed us to proceed towards Agaña, the capital city of the island. With a fresh and favourable breeze this we soon accomplished, and while the ship lay about a mile off the town, the Captain went on shore to pay his respects to the Governor, and acquaint him with our intention of procuring water at Umatac Bay.

Besides five English whalers, a Manila ship lay in Port Apra, that had lately arrived with a Judge and assistant, empowered to decree justice to the individuals concerned in the late insurrection against the Governor: late! Should I term it? I conceive it does

not appear so to those infortunate men, who have either been incarcerated and fettered, or fettered and exiled in a desert and barren island, for 2 years merely upon the charge of crime! O tardy justice! ye remind me of an adage applied to a certain town, "hang a man, then condemn him." The late Governor we learned was now deposed, and his place taken by the Lieutenant Colonel of the island, by all accounts a humane man, lending a deaf ear to calumny, and according to report determined to bestow justice on the unhappy men who had already suffered too severely for the slightness of their crime, which had its source more in envy and evil speaking than reality.

Leaving the city in the afternoon we stood south for Umatac Bay, first, making some necessary communications with the Port which detained us a night—for the ship getting drifted to the Westward in strong squalls, the boat could not get on board the same evening although an attempt was made to effect this.

The last day of Sept. was nearly a continued calm, so that we were defeated in our intention of reaching Umatac till the first of October, early on which day we cast anchor in the Bay in 20 fathom water, and immediately despatched the boats on shore for water. So excellent is this for a watering place, that ere sunset we had on board 200 Barrels of fine fresh water. In the mean time also we traded for yams, oranges, bananas and breadfruit, and obtained a boatload at a moderate price. Breadfruit & oranges were particularly abundant, and cheap: 3 lbs of lead, for instance, would purchase 50 or 60 oranges, or half as many breadfruit; the roots were more scarce & higher valued.

I may here take notice of a curious method of catching fish, employed at these islands, so far as I know never before described. One fish is caught by any of the usual methods, put into a pool communicating with the sea, and attended with great care, being fed daily with mashed cocoanuts; a hole is cut in the side of its mouth to which a cord is attached and when the canoes leave the shore, it generally accompanies them: in this manner it becomes tame. When the native, its master—if I may be granted the expression, goes afishing in his canoe, the tame fish swims alongside restrained by a bit of cord; after he has gained the proper fishing station, he takes a saciform hook net and making the tame fish fast to its margin, sinks it to a convenient depth. The tame fish immediately when let down begins fluttering in the bottom of the net, and attracts others of a like species, (if any in the neighbourhood) by its manoeuvres. From the cord attached to the tame fish, or some other cause, the others immediately begin fighting with it, and while earnestly engaged in the combat, (which the man easily perceives by the clearness of the water), the net is gradually withdrawn towards the surface, which when near, the man suddenly drags it up, with its contents, releasing the tame fish, for a future decoy, and killing the others for food. The fish taken in this manner are of the parrot bill species, and an old decoy is much esteemed.

On the 2nd October we again weighed anchor and with a fine breeze made the best of our way for Agaña. Night overtook us ere we reached it, but next morning, having gained the passage across the reef that outskirts the beach about half a mile distant, opposite the town, a boat was sent on shore with half the crew on two days liberty for the improvement of their health. As is usual with sailors in a foreign port, it was with dif-

ficulty that our people were got on board, even subsequent to the expiration of their liberty [of] 24 hours. On the 6th, the remainder of the crew were granted the same privilege as their fellows, viz., a run on shore, but with strict injunctions to be ready for sea next evening, as we then intended to set sail, and depart from the island. Notwithstanding the orders given and the decided determination to sail, on the evening of the 7th when we came to muster our crew two were found a-missing; they had been seen on shore and told to return on board as the boat was awaiting them on the beach, but nevertheless thought fit to absent themselves, so that it was necessary to leave them behind to find their way home in the best way they could.

[8 October]

Our next cruising station for whales was far to the Eastward in the neighbourhood of the Kingsmill [Gilbert] Group of Islands, and to gain this, as soon as we had left the north end of Guam, we strived assiduously night and day, with all sail, that the weather permitted...

..
[The **Ranger** passed by Ngulu and Losap before heading south, being on the first leg of her homeward voyage.]

Document 18300

News from Tinian

Source: PNA.

Produsts exported to Guam aboard whalers and Carolinian canoes**Original text in Spanish.**

Nº 1.—Sor. D. José Romero.

Isla de Tinian 31 de Marzo de 1830.

Muy Sor. mio:

*Aprovecho la ocasion de la salida de hoy ó mañana para el Puerto de Umata de la Fragata Americana Ballenera titulada **Lyra** para hacerle à V. entender que ya en el dia cuento tener acopiado en esta Isla cuarenta surrones de carne de baca, dos id. id. de puerco; cuyo peso ignoro; pero tendrá poco mas ó menos cada surron sobre 4-1/2 á 5 arrobas; seis bayones de mongos, veinte y cuatro baquillas destetadas que están ya domesticadas, cien bajadones de azeyte de à tres gafos, seiscientos noventa y siete chiquiguites de mais que existen en deposito en cuatro camarines, los dos fueron formados por mi antecesor, y los otros dos restantes de los que nuevamente acavo de formar, sin contar de la otra sementera que falta que cosechar, puercos y demas articulos; cuyo numero de chiquiguites no está comprendido los doscientos y trece que se consumieron desde mi llegada á esta fecha en dar de comer á los presidiarios, mozos, y demas individuos que se hallan en esta en clase de voluntarios de los que dejo el Alcalde saliente; como igualmente se han consumido en los mismos terminos por dhos individuos cuatrocientos cincuenta y cuatro puercos de los que coge el cazador en el monte diariamente; además los grisamentos(?) y menudos de los toros que se matan.*

El capitan de dha Fragata se ofreció llevar alguna carga à su bordo contra se lo facilite algunas arrobas de camote, y como este articulo, en primer lugar es de poca duracion por que en breve tiempo se pudre, y en segundo no es de tanta necesidad como los demas, y que los montes de esta isla jamas han introducido en almacenes este articulo, y que solo lo siembran con el fin de auxiliar à los buques que se aporten à esta cuando lo solicitan; y para manutencion de los mozos si se le[s] destine[n] en alguna parte de la isla; en cuya virtud lo cedé al referido capitan veinte arrobas de dho articu-

lo con solo el objeto de conducir à su bordo para esa veinte capones de carne, los mismos que lleva para entregar à V. perteneciente à la Real Hacienda con el adjunto recivo de dho capitan, con mas dos surrones de gaugao, ocho gantas de mongos, seis pescados secos, dos calabazas de manteca de puerco, cuatro vejigas de id. de baca, setenta y cinco huevos, y dos cabras, y para estos articulos lo he cedido al capitan catorce arrobas mas de camote, seis arrobas lo he vendido al mismo à cuatro reales arroba, como se verá por el adjunto recivo que tambien acompaño, y que los tres pesos importe de dhas arrobas se lo remitiré à V. en otra proporcion, y le haré à V. tambien entender de otras friolerillas que he cedido al capitan que no merece pena alguna por ser de poquisima consideracion, y de consiguiente no resultará perjuicio alguno à la R. Hac. antes sí à su favor, y que las otras frioleras que me ha correspondido se lo remitiré à V. para cargar al inventario, ó lo que V., el Sor. Gobernador, ó el Sor. D. Francisco [Villalobos] determinen à cerca del particular lo que estimen mas arreglado en justicia; era ocasion de que yo remita mas carga à la R. Hac., pero no he podido verificarlo asi, respecto à que en el Art. 9 de la Instruccion me previene el cuidado de remitir à esa capital cuando se me ordene todos cuantos articulos me sean posible, etc.; por cuyo motivo no remito mas carga que los referidos, por no contravenir à lo prevenido en dha Instruccion: esta es la ocasion mas propia que considero para poder conducir à esa capital las referidas terneras que están ya domesticadas, por que si continua los soles por algunos dias mas, tal vez se morirán de hambre por que à toda carrera se están secando las yerbas y las [h]ojas de los arboles de los que se sustentan, pues que el sacate de mais que es lo que mas comian se ha secado enteramente; y asi es indispensable se conduzcan à esa antes que se malogren, y si no pudiese venir buque por cuenta de la R. Hac., estimaré se me ordene V., el Sor. Gover., ó el Sor. D. Francisco para que cuando se me presenta alguna otra proporcion queda remitir las terneras y otras cargas que están ya acopiadas.

Los puercos encercados en esta isla, se mantienen con los cocos que se traen de Saypan, los cuales los conduce una pequeña canoa en tiempo propriamente bonancible, pues de lo contrario no solo es dificil, y sí imposible poder hacer viaje alguno como así está sucediendo por las crecidas corrientes que orijinan los Nortes que son los que regnan en estos meses, y los puercos en este caso carecerán de auxilio por que en toda la circumference de los montes de esta isla à penas se encuentra[n] cocos por mas diligencias que se están haciendo, que para el intento se ocupan diariamente tres mozos en su busca, y dos presidiarios para sacar yerbas: dhos puercos consuman al dia de doscientos y cincuenta à trescientos cocos; por lo tanto es de tanta necesidad el que en esta isla dejarme una banca para el indicado fin, que con ella se puede conducir los cocos de Saypan à esta en los tiempos bonancibles.

Las dos arrobas de plomo que yo habia [pedido] para el chinchorro y tarragas, se han imbertido para el chinchorro solo, y falta para emplomar las dos tarragas de [h]ilo pues que estan acavandose a tejer, por lo que necesito una arroba mas, y asi estimaré à V. se sirva remitirme en la 1a. ocasion que se le presenta.

No tiene V. ninguna novedad en esta Administracion, y no ocurriendo otra cosa quedo rogando à Dios guarde su vida à V. muchos años.

Isla de Tinian fha ut supra.

Silvestre Inocencio Palomo.

Translation.

Nº 1.—[To] Don José Romero.¹

Island of Tinian, 31 March 1830.

My dear Sir:

I take the opportunity of the departure for the port of Umata, today or tomorrow, of the U.S. whaler named **Lyra** to report to you that, as of this date, I have in store at this island 40 leather bags full of beef, 2 other bags of pork, whose weight I ignore, but each leather bag would hold more than 4-1/2 arrobas and less than 5 arrobas;² 6 bales of mongo beans; 24 calves that have been weaned and are already domesticated; 100 *bajadones* of [coconut] oil of 3 *gafos* each; 697 jars of corn that are stored in four sheds, two of which were built by my predecessor, and the other two I have just built, not counting the corn from the plantation that has not yet been harvested, pigs and other articles. Said number of jars do not include the 213 that have been consumed since my arrival to date in giving food to the convicts, the working lads, and other individuals who are here as volunteers and have been left by the former Mayor; in addition, there were consumed under the same terms by said individuals 454 pigs, from those that the hunter shoots in the bush every day, as well as the leftovers and innards of the cows that are being butchered.

The Captain of said whaler offered himself to carry some freight in exchange for a few arrobas of sweet potatoes, and, given that this article is, first of all does not last long before rotting away, and secondly is not so useful as the rest and that the bush of this island have never provided this article for the warehouses, and that sweet potatoes are sown only for the purpose of providing the ships that touch here, when they ask for it, and for the subsistence of the working lads, when they are sent to other parts of the island; by virtue of which I turned over to said Captain 20 arrobas of said article, solely for the purpose of transporting to that capital 20 capons, which he is to deliver to you, as they belong to the Royal Treasury, with the enclosed receipt from said Captain, plus 2 leather bags of arrowroot, 8 gantas of mongo beans;³ 6 dried fish; 2 gourds full of pork suet; 4 bladders full of beef suet; 75 eggs; and 2 goats. And for the transport of these articles I have given to the Captain 14 more arrobas of sweet potatoes, and I have sold to him 6 more arrobas at 4 reals each, as you will see recorded in another, enclosed, receipt; I will remit to you the 3 pesos in question at another opportunity. I will also report to you regarding other trifles that I have given to the Captain, that do not deserve to be accounted for, as they are of very little importance, and therefore they will not re-

1 Ed. note: He was Administrator of the Royal Treasury in Agaña.

2 Ed. note: One arroba weighs 25 lbs, or 11-1/2 Kg.

3 Ed. note: One ganta weighs 2.5 Kg.

sult in any harm done to the Royal Treasury, but rather to its favor; as for the other trifles that have come into my possession, I will remit those to you to be accounted for in the inventory, or to do with what you, the Governor, or Don Francisco [Villalobos] may decide as the most just thing regarding the matter. It would have been possible to send more freight to the Royal Treasury, but I was unable to do so, with respect to Art. 9 of the Instruction, in which I am told to remit to that capital as many articles as possible, etc., when I receive orders to do so. That is why I do not send more freight than the above-mentioned items, so as not to contravene what is stipulated in said Instruction. However, this is the most appropriate opportunity for me to be able to send to that capital the above-mentioned calves that are already domesticated, because if the hot sun continues for a few more days, perhaps they would die of hunger, because the grass and tree leaves that they eat are becoming dry very fast; indeed, the corn stalks which they ate before has dried up completely, and so, it is indispensable to take them over to that capital before they suffer harm, and, if the Royal Treasury cannot send a ship, I would appreciate receiving an order from you, the Governor, or Don Francisco, to the effect that, whenever another similar opportunity present itself, I may send the calves and other freight that I have in store.

The fattened in pig-pens in this island are maintained with the coconuts that are brought over from Saipan, and which are transported with a small canoe only when the weather is moderate; indeed, when otherwise it is very difficult, if not impossible, for the crossing to be made, on account of the strong currents generated by the north-erlies that are the prevailing ones during this period, and the pigs in this case lack support, because there can hardly be found any coconuts anywhere in the wilds of this island, no matter how many efforts are made daily by the three lads assigned to this task, and two convicts to collect grass; said pigs eat from 250 to 300 coconuts every day. That is why it is so necessary to let me have one canoe for said purpose, to transport coconuts from Saipan to this island when the weather is moderate.

The two arrobas of lead that I had requested for the small fishing canoe and for the fishing-nets have all been used in the canoe, and we need more to make sinkers for the nets whose weaving is about to be completed; that is why I need one more arroba, and I would appreciate it if you would please sent it to me at the first opportunity.

There is no [other] administrative news to be reported, and thus there remains only to pray God to save your life for many years.

Tinian Island, date ut supra.

Silvestre Inocencio Palomo.

Editor's notes.

On following 11 May, another 64 arrobas of corn were remitted along with 12 small barrels of oil with 100 eggs, through the care of Juan Materñge, in charge of 4 canoes. On 16 May, another 50 arrobas of corn were sent by Carolinian canoes whose *tamon* was named Amatao.

On 23 September, the English whaler **Ranger**, Captain William Garbutt, took on board a load of 10 calves for Guam. Meanwhile, another English whaler, the **Brothers**, Captain John Gibson, arrived at Tinian with some sailors suffering from scurvy. After receiving a few fruits and vegetables, they went on to Guam carrying another 10 calves for the Governor.

On 6 October, the English whaler Realista [i.e. **Royalist**], Captain Thomas Harris, visited Tinian and carried 31 cows and 28 calves to Guam. On the 19th of that month, another English whaler, the **Admiral Cockburn**, Captain Peter Kemp, agreed to carry 108 arrobas of corn and 20 pigs, 10 for their fat and 10 for their meat.

The above notes are reproduced here to show that whaling near the Marianas was at a peak in 1830.

Documents 1830P

The Ricafort sent from Guam to Manila

P1. Passport issued to a Filipino passenger aboard the Ricafort, etc. dated 1 May 1830

Source: Ms. in LC Mss. Division, Spanish Gov't Collection, part of Item 18.

Original text in Spanish.

Pasaporte à Vicente de los Santos.

Don José de Medinilla y Pineda Teniente Coronel de los Reales Ejercitos Gobernador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas su termino y jurisdiccion Caballero de las Reales y distinguidas ordenes militares de San Hermenegildo y San Luís Rey de Francia:

*Por la presente concedo Licencia à Vicente de los Santos natural de las Yslas Filipinas para que en clase de pasajero pueda embarcarse en la fragata **Ricafort** que está pronta à dar la vela para dhas Yslas y pido y encargo à las Justicias de los puertos en que si por algun accidente le fuere preciso arrivar[,] dicho pasaporte no le pongan impedimento ni embarazo alguno en su viaje al citado Santos, antes sí le facilite cualesquiera clase de auxilio que pueda necesitar, y pudiere pagandolos à los precios correspondientes.*

Dada en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de dhas Yslas à primer de Mayo de mil ochocientos y treinta.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Passport issued to Vicente de los Santos.

Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Armies, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands, their limits and jurisdiction, Gentleman of the Royal and distinguished military orders of San Hermenegildo and St. Louis, King of France:

By the present I grant permission t Vicente de los Santos, a native of the Philippines, to embark as passenger aboard the frigate **Ricafort** that is about to sail for said Islands and I request and entrust the Magistrates of the ports where he might arrive on account

of some accident, that in virtue of this passport the continuation of the voyage of said Santos should not be impeded in any way, but rather he should be assisted with any type of assistance that he might require, paying for them at corresponding prices.

Given at this City of San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of said Islands, on the first of May 1830.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

P2. Two letters from Francisco Enriquez to General Pascual Enrile, about the transport of convict soldiers to Guam

Source: MN 1670, Doc. 9, fol. 146-147.

Notes: The Captain of the *Ricafort* feared a mutiny along the way, on account of the character of such soldiers.

Original texts in Spanish.

16 de Agosto [1830?]

Mi apreciado General: En efecto me acavan de pasar los Oficiales Reales con el titulo de Reservados, la Expedicion de que V. me habla en su favorecida que contrato, incluyendo la protesta del Capitan de la Ricafort de si no responde de esta, llevando à su bordo la tropa de Asia: Ayer, por prevision suya solamente, me habló de esto Don Pablo, y le dije que se viera con V. sin embargo de que yà hubiamos tocado el asunto, pero no habiendo encontrado à V., y habiendose con la reclamacion del tal Capitan que sin duda aumenta sus temores, me ha dirijido dicho recurso.

Yo estava pensando pasarlo à V. en los mismos terminos de Reserva, pero visto lo que se sirve indicarme, aqui queda detenido à su voluntad, interin que conforme à la misma resuelve lo que estimare, en concepto de que si fuere el que marche el destacamento, habrá de darle curso, por eximir de responsavilidad à todos los que no estamos en el caso de los conocimientos, y autoridad reservada à V. solo, quedarian en descubierto si llegase la desgracia que se teme, no à la verdad sin fundamento, por que aun que el oficial y algun otro, que seran los menos, ofrescan confianza, lo deèmas [sic] promete lo contrario.

Disponga V. como gustef.] de su afectisimo

Q.B.S.M.

Francisco Enriquez

17 de Agosto.

Mi apreciado General: Antes que nos lo digan de oficio, me ha parecido decir à V. que la Hermandad de seguros, no los dà à la Ricafort, si lleva tropas de Asia: Hasta las dos de la noche me ha ocupado este asunto, y aun que sea visto que no suscribo ciegamente à la decision de V., por su mismo interes que ès el mio y el del servicio, veo que de no embiar à Marianas dicha tropa ningun otro inconveniente se sigue si no el de quedarnos con una docena de Tunos, que entre tantos otros pesan poco, y que de embiarlos se corren riesgos muy grandes y de suma trascendencia, por que si [succe]diera

la desgracia que todos temen ademas de perder el Buque y su carga, aquellas Yslas quedaran sin situados; y dado caso que el viage sea feliz, resta despues lo mucho que puede raceer [sic = recaer?] sobre Villalobos con tales hombres, por que sus recursos son muy pocos y casi nulos à la vista y en oposicion de unos desesperados; en fin buelvo à repetir lo que he dicho al principio por las razones que tambien expreso, y quedo por conclusion à la voluntad de V. y lo que resolviere, en cuyo auxilio he creido que devo hacerle estas indicaciones.

Con mejor embajada quisiera dar à V. los buenos días, su siempre afectisimo.

Q.B.S.M.

Francisco Enriquez.

Translation.

16 August [1830?]

My esteemed General:

The Royal Officials have just handed me a confidential letter regarding the expedition that you have contracted, as you mentioned to me in your favored letter, including the refusal of the Captain of the **Ricafort** to transport the soldiers sent to Asia, and what am I to do about it. It was only yesterday that Don Pablo, prompted by you, talked to me about this, and I told him to go and see you, in spite of the fact that we had already discussed the matter, but, after meeting with you, and having to deal with the claim made by said Captain that undoubtedly will increase his fears, he has forwarded his concern to me.

I was thinking of forwarding it to you, also in a confidential note, but, given what you are telling me, it will remain here as you wish, while you are trying to resolve the issue, in case the detachment is sent aboard this ship, of exempting of responsibility all of us who are not fully aware of the case, in a case whose authority is yours only, as they would be held to account, should the unfortunate incident happen, one which is indeed not without foundation, because, although some officer or other, in a minority, are confident, the other officers predict the contrary.

You decide what you wish.

From your affectionate [colleague] who kisses your hand,

Francisco Enriquez

17 August.

My esteemed General:

Before they tell us officially, it has appeared to me to tell you that the Board of Insurers will not insure the **Ricafort**, if she carries Asian soldiers. I have been busy with this matter until 2 a.m. but, although it may be seen that I do not blindly agree with your decision, on account of your own interest which is mine and that of the service as well, I see no inconvenient in not sending said soldiers to the Marianas, other than finding ourselves with a dozen Vagabonds on our hands; among so many like them, they will not add that much more of a burden, and it would be to run very serious risks, of

high transcendence, to send them, because if the unfortunate incident that everyone fears should happen, in addition to losing the ship and her load, those Islands would remain without subsidies, and, should the voyage be successful, there would remain a heavy burden upon Villalobos, with that many men, because his resources are few and almost non-existent when facing the opposition of a few desperate men. Finally I again repeat what I have said at the beginning for reasons that I also express, but remain resigned to your will and eventual decision, although I have considered it my duty to make the enclosed remarks.

Without further ado, I wish you Good Morning!
Your affectionate [colleague] who kisses your hand,
Francisco Enriquez

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