This is the record of one man’s voyages in the Western Pacific in the 1840s, told by himself. At an early age, Andrew Cheyne came from the Shetland Islands to seek his fortune in the Pacific area, and, being a competent and trustworthy young man, was soon engaged in a series of trading voyages for different ship owners. In the four voyages described he searched for sandalwood, bêche-de-mer, and other tropical produce at the Isle of Pines, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands and the Solomons in Melanesia, and Ponape, Yap, and Palau in Micronesia.

Relations between the islanders and the Europeans, and between Cheyne and rival traders, castaways, and deserters, were by no means always harmonious. Encounters with hostile natives who relished human flesh, and with belligerent white beachcombers, added danger to already hazardous voyages.

Cheyne was shocked by the godless and abandoned way of life of the native peoples, but he was an accurate observer, and it would be hard to better his careful account of the places and peoples he encountered and the details of island trade. This is one of the earliest documents on the Western Pacific by a European, a very important source for Pacific historians and anthropologists, and an exciting book for all fascinated by the early adventurers of the Pacific.
This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991. This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press. This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.
No. 3 of the Pacific History Series

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The Pacific History Series of books provides an outlet for the publication of original manuscripts important to historians and others interested in the Pacific islands.

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1 *A Cruize in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas*, by W. E. Giles, edited by Deryck Scarr (1968)
FOREWORD

Just four and a half centuries ago this year, Ferdinand Magellan crossed the Pacific Ocean, discovered the first Pacific island to be seen by European eyes—probably Pukapuka in the Tuamotus—and the first Pacific islanders—almost certainly Chamorros from Guam—while on this epic voyage the industrious Pigafetta and the navigator Albo were writing the earliest accounts of the region.

Pigafetta and Albo were seafarers; and if we except the documentation emanating from the Marianas since their occupation by the Spanish in 1668, and the letters and testimonies of the martyred Father Cantova and his party who landed at Ulithi in the Carolines in 1731, for the initial three-fourths of the whole post-contact period, or until Morrison landed to live in Tahiti in 1789, the sole written record concerning the islands was provided by those on board visiting ships.

These were the narratives of the explorers and discoverers, destined to give way during the first half of the nineteenth century to the journals of the whaling and trading captains, which were in turn succeeded during the last half by those of the labour recruiters and the commanders of warships, surveying vessels and scientific research expeditions; and finally by the never-ceasing modern yachting travelogues.

This maritime literature still fills perhaps a third of the shelving in a typical Pacific research library, and of the works included probably none are more important to students of the island peoples than the accounts of the itinerant trading captains of the
early part of the nineteenth century, and others on board their ships. Despite the advent of beachcombers, missionaries and other literate European residents, they constitute a main, if not the main, source of our information on events and personalities in the islands.

Admittedly the sea traders were unable to give the detailed accounts of life ashore which we find in the best works of the local residents, but they compensated by their ability to observe and compare societies and individuals on many islands and groups, by being less given to parochial or sectarian bias, and frequently by visiting localities beyond the horizon of the most venturesome expatriate settler.

Furthermore, as Dr Shineberg points out in her Introduction, and emphasises with more detail in her book, *They Came for Sandalwood*, they had to ascertain and conform to local mores and etiquette, as well as to the consumer preferences of their customers, if they were to succeed in their ventures. Though the traders frequently had to pay the pipers, it was the islanders who in reality called the tunes.

Mixing of necessity with all sections of the island societies, and often employing mainly island crews, the most successful trading captains took a genuine interest in the island peoples which transcended the rudimentary knowledge of those aspects of their culture necessary for the smooth conduct of business relations. One has only to think of Turnbull, Fanning, Peter Dillon, Coulter, Benjamin Morrell, Eaglestone, Handy, George Bennett, Beckford Simpson, and Lucett to realise how much we are in debt to the shipmasters engaged in trading for sandalwood, bêche-de-mer, and other island produce, and to their super-cargoes and officers, for our knowledge of the island world in the early years of culture contact. And not less, one might add, to some of their wives: intrepid women like Abby Jane Morrell and Mary Wallis.

In such a perceptive and articulate class of sailor-trader-author Andrew Cheyne is well able to hold his own, as will be seen from this narrative of his voyages from 1841 to 1844, transcribed from his original text in the Mitchell Library. The work of editing this important but hitherto almost unknown manuscript has fortunately been undertaken by the Pacific historian Dorothy Shineberg. Certainly no one is better qualified for the task, not only by virtue of her subject specialisations, but also through her
special knowledge of early contact history in both Melanesia and western Micronesia.

In her Introduction Dr Shineberg has provided a biographical sketch of Cheyne which portrays well his complicated personality: severe in his criticism of the conduct of others, both islanders and Europeans, yet conscientious in his own behaviour towards them. Thanks to her, justice has been belatedly done towards a man whom the fates treated unkindly throughout most of his life and, due to not always disinterested detractors such as Karl Semper and Alfred Tetens, hardly better in retrospect.

H. E. Maude
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I would also like to express my gratitude for the co-operation of the librarians of the Menzies Library, A.N.U., and the National Library of Australia, and for the financial support of the Australian National University throughout the course of this project. My debt to the Mitchell Library, Sydney, is separately acknowledged.

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Spelling of Place Names

The spelling of place names for the South Pacific is based on the General Lists of Oceanic Names given by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names of the Royal Geographical Society. For Micronesia, the spellings follow the decisions of the United States Board on Geographic Names, Cumulative Decisions List no. 5501 (Caroline Islands), no. 5502 (Marshall Islands), and no. 5503 (Mariana Islands and Guam).

Australian National University
Canberra, 1970

D.S.
CONTENTS

Foreword
by H. E. Maude
vii

Acknowledgments
xi

Introduction
1

The Trading Voyages of
Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844
30

References
339

Index
343
MAPS

1
The western Pacific, showing the
voyages of Andrew Cheyne
endpapers

2
Lifu
92

3
Ponape
167

4
The Palau Islands
232

5
Yap
280

Maps drawn by the Cartographic Office,
Department of Human Geography,
Australian National University
ILLUSTRATIONS
(Cheyne’s own sketches and maps)

Ball’s pyramid and Lord Howe Island
31
Isle of Pines
32
Council house, Isle of Pines
39
War canoe, Isle of Pines
41
Plan of the Isle of Pines
46
Isle of Pines clubs and woman’s dress
54
Plan of the Loyalty Islands
101
Map of Uvea
124
Framework of the large council house, Uvea,
and a war canoe, steering paddle and scull
130
Sketch of Balade Harbour
143
A page of Cheyne’s manuscript
201
INTRODUCTION

The publication of this manuscript fulfils the destiny intended for it over a hundred years ago. When he began this narrative, Captain Andrew Cheyne had already mined the logs and journals of his Pacific island voyages of 1841-7 for several articles published in the *Nautical Magazine* and for a book, *Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean*, published about July 1852 by J. D. Potter of London. The latter, now rare, was conceived as a guide to other mariners and is therefore largely concerned with sailing directions, locations of islands and reefs, the likely disposition of the native peoples towards visiting ships, and articles useful for trade at each place. When he had stayed at an island any length of time, he sometimes gave a description of the 'customs' of the native society.

Possibly encouraged by the success of this book, Cheyne embarked on the more ambitious project of writing the whole chronicle of these Pacific voyages in a form acceptable to the general reader. He included in it some of the parts of his journal already rewritten for the first book, though without the publisher's elisions, and placed them in their sequence in the general narrative. The manuscript presented here is the first part of this project, written in a good hand in two exercise books and found among Cheyne's papers on his death in 1866. They are now housed in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

From two references in the text, we know that most of this work was written in 1853. This must have been during his long voyage around the world of 1852-4,¹ one of the few periods of his

¹ See pp. 17-19.
life when he had the security of monthly wages and the leisure of navigational duties only for at least the first part of the voyage. The extant work is probably the only part of the composition completed, for the second of the two notebooks is not filled, suggesting that the work was interrupted rather than that the rest was lost. There is no clue to the cause of its suspension. Perhaps the necessary conditions of security and leisure came to a sudden end: certainly, the last part of this journey was replete with the misfortunes which Cheyne seemed continually to attract. It may be that, not wishing to be too deeply involved in unprofitable labours, he stopped at a selected point (the round figure of 500 written pages suggests this), and spent the rest of his available time revising what he had already done until he could gauge the reaction of his publisher. If so, perhaps this prudence was vindicated by J. D. Potter's refusal or discouragement of the work in favour of another book on the successful model of the earlier one. At any rate such a book appeared, in 1855, as a revised and enlarged version of the first, and with more nautical but less ethnographic information, under the title of Sailing Directions from N.S.W. to China and Japan; including the whole Islands and Dangers in the Western Pacific Ocean; etc. As publisher of official Admiralty charts and handbooks, J. D. Potter would understandably have preferred a book of navigational aids for a known and secure market, and indeed the book must have been successful, for other editions appeared in 1859 and 1862.

Cheyne's original intention in the present work was no doubt to tell the story of his adventures during the whole period of his island voyaging to the time of writing—that is from July 1841 to the end of 1847. The unfinished work published here goes only to September 1844, but is nevertheless substantial, and to some extent edited by Cheyne. It had already been revised, paginated, and divided into chapters, each of which was prefaced by a series of heads summarising the contents. Four voyages are described here, three in full and one barely begun. The purpose of all four was the collection for the China market of Pacific island produce, chiefly sandalwood and bêche-de-mer (trepang), but including other tropical specialities such as so-called tortoiseshell (the shell of the hawksbill turtle), coral pieces, sharks’ fins and edible birds’ nests. These voyages took him to almost every island group in the western Pacific, north and south, with the notable exception of New Guinea, which he was to visit some years later.
Although, as already mentioned, parts of this work were first rewritten from the journals for publication and later interpolated in this text, along with extracts of relevant letters and documents, the basic narrative is probably faithfully copied from the original journals and logs. This is indicated by the day-to-day weather and sailing information and detail of shipboard occupations, and by the use of the present tense and even the future for events already past by 1853. It is nevertheless edited at a few years’ distance and with an eye to publication, and therefore it enters the class of autobiography or reminiscences rather than that of a confidential diary. Consequently, the usual allowances must be made for possible shortcomings of memory, for wisdom of hindsight colouring accounts represented as actual reportage, and for the likelihood of his putting the best construction on his own actions. It would, however, be graceless to deplore the negative results of his own editing without being mindful of its blessings. Among these must be counted his labour in eliminating much of the nautical detail that would have occupied three-quarters of the original logs and which he so rightly assumed would bore the general reader, and his commendable efforts to cast the narrative into readable prose.

Andrew Cheyne was born in Northmavine, Shetland Islands, in 1817, the illegitimate son of James Cheyne and Elizabeth Robertson. James was the youngest brother of John Cheyne, the laird of Tangwick, Northmavine. The Cheynes were considerable landowners and also carried on a regular fishing business, exporting cured cod and ling to the Continent. They had a good reputation among their fishing tenants, being helpful ‘in various ways not typical of landlords of the day’.2

Andrew was accepted into the family and grew up under the guidance of his uncle John as a member of the Cheyne household. No record of his schooling has yet come to light, but if Andrew went to the parish school he would have learned reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and navigation.3

He was possibly tutored privately by the local Presbyterian

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2 Dr T. M. Y. Manson of Lerwick, Shetland Islands, in a letter to the editor, 23 March 1968. He continues: ‘One of these was the provision of a weather glass set in the outer rear wall of the Haa of Tangwick, and it is still there.’

3 This is the curriculum listed for parish schools a little later, 1831, in The Statistical Account for Scotland XV, 1845.
minister, as was common for a laird's son; at this time the minister of the local parish was the Reverend William Watson, whose daughter Andrew was later to marry. The Cheyne's fishing tenants would land their fish at Tangwick where it was cleaned and dried and, when ready, loaded on to a ship which took it to the Continent—a pattern of labour which Andrew was to try to repeat many years later, when he was engaged in bêche-de-mer trading in the Pacific islands. It seems very likely that, as local tradition has it, young Andrew first went to sea in one of the family's three ships. It is not known what sent him to the Antipodes as a young man, although it may be conjectured that it had something to do with the death, in 1840, of his uncle John, who left him the sum of fifteen pounds sterling with which to begin making his own fortune.

Cheyne's name first appeared in the shipping columns of the Sydney newspapers when he sailed from Sydney for the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, as master of the brig Bee, on 25 September 1840. In February 1841 he returned as 'passenger' (probably supercargo) of the brig Diana of 204 tons, under the direction of Sydney agent Ranulph Dacre. Two months later, at the end of April 1841, the London Missionary Society brig Camden put into Sydney, after a South Seas voyage from Samoa westwards through Melanesia, where she had left Polynesian teachers at islands barely known to Europeans—at Eromanga, Tana, Futuna, Aniwa, and Aneityum in the New Hebrides, and at the Isle of Pines, the small island at the southern tip of New Caledonia. The missionaries had noted the growth of the valuable sandalwood on the Isle of Pines, but, if they did not deliberately repress the information, at least did not publicise it at Sydney. Nevertheless one of the Camden's crew, Edward Foxall, put it to profitable use; he approached a group of Sydney merchants—Ranulph Dacre, Henry Elgar, and Richard Jones—and arranged with them to pilot an expedition to the Isle of Pines for the purpose of cutting a cargo of the valuable wood and shipping it to the East. The brigs Orwell and Diana were fitted out, ostensibly for Kam-

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4 As reported to me by Mrs Janet Johnson in a letter from Dale Tingwall, Shetland Islands, undated (about June 1968).
6 Sydney Herald, 28 September 1840, 15 February 1841.
7 Murray 1841.
chatka and New Guinea respectively, and given to Captains Hughes and Watson to command. To superintend the whole venture, Cheyne was chosen as supercargo. In China he was supposed to sell not only the cargo but one of the ships, the Diana.

It was no small responsibility to have charge of the prosecution of the owners' business with the sharp merchants of the Chinese ports, as well as of two ships and their property and the management of two crews of colonial seamen among South Sea islanders of unknown disposition. That these hard-bitten Sydney merchants were prepared to trust so much to a man not yet twenty-four years old is eloquent testimony to his alert and responsible bearing. It is also telling evidence of the courage and ambition of the young man who offered himself for such a service. The journal printed here begins with this voyage, starting from Sydney on 7 August 1841. The voyage was one of the earliest in a new phase of sandalwood-seeking in the south-west Pacific.

When it was realised, early in the nineteenth century, that the precious wood, so greatly prized for incense-burning in Buddhist communities, was to be found in some of the newly-discovered Pacific islands, a promising speculation opened up among the itinerant trading ships of the South Seas, first in Fiji, then in the Marquesas, then in Hawaii, then in the Austral Islands, and finally in the New Hebridean and New Caledonian groups. The quality of the island wood was generally inferior to that of Indian wood and consequently fetched a lower price in China, but it could be cheaply bought and many adventurers were lured to seek it by the prospect, often illusory, of quick fortunes.

As in Fiji thirty years before, the traders seeking sandalwood brought about the earliest regular interchange between Melanesians and Europeans in the New Hebrides. Although the groups had been visited by explorers and whalers, the traders' relations with the southern islands formed the first chapter in the history of intensive contact in the region. The best wood was found on Eromanga, but Efate and Aneityum contributed their small share, while the fertile island of Tana became a supplier of food and labour to the traders. Stations for collecting and preparing the wood were formed at first on Aneityum, but later on all the southern islands. Espiritu Santo was the only northern island.

8 For a more detailed account, see Shineberg 1967, chapter 1.
from which sandalwood was exported in commercial quantities, and that not until after the middle of the century.

Although the New Hebrides had been visited by ships seeking sandalwood in 1825 and in 1829-30, for a number of reasons the trade had not been pursued vigorously until the forties. Its revival and development into part of a regular trading route in southern Melanesia had been largely due to the discovery of the wood in the Isle of Pines. This discovery had led to other finds in the New Caledonian group—in all of the three major islands in the Loyalties, and on the mainland of New Caledonia itself.

With a certain supply in these neighbouring islands it proved worthwhile to include the New Hebrides in a round trip. This made the trade less of an all-or-nothing affair; if wood for some reason could not be had in one of these islands it could possibly be had in another; if only a small amount could be taken at one place, it was possible to complete the cargo at others. Thus, a regular beat developed in the region and with it a familiar pattern of exchange, a standard (but not static) price, and a lingua franca, 'sandalwood English', one of the progenitors of pidgin. The trade declined to vanishing point in the late sixties, as the stands of sandalwood were diminished beyond the hope of an efficient return on outlay or were even, in some places, completely cut out.

On this first voyage to the Isle of Pines, however, Cheyne's expedition had no need to go further afield, for it reaped the reward of the first comer, and the holds of both ships were filled in a short time at little expense. There were risks as well as rewards, for this voyage of 1841 was the first recorded European trading expedition to land at the Isle of Pines, and indeed was among the earliest of European contacts with the people of this island.

Captain Cook named the island in 1774, but did not land there. After the settlement of New South Wales in 1788 it is also very likely that, having left their human cargo or supplies of victuals at the penal colony, convict transports and East India Company ships, in experimental and unrecorded passages to the East in search of a return cargo, saw the pine-lined shores of the island. They were certainly seen by Captain Hunter in the *Waaksamheyd* in April 1791, although he was far too concerned with keeping his ship from grounding on the south-western reef to do anything

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9 Ibid., chapter 2.
but locate the island. At least one ship, however, the *Atlantic*, in 1791, made an attempt to land there to cut spars, but the crew were so effectually opposed by the natives that they gave it up.\textsuperscript{11}

The first known European to land on the Isle of Pines was Samuel Henry, a Tahitian-born trader and son of the L.M.S. missionary William Henry. He appears to have put in there briefly (probably on a voyage in 1830) to make repairs to his vessel.\textsuperscript{12} Acting on a report from Henry, the missionary John Williams intended to call at the island on his westward voyage from Samoa in 1839, but he was murdered in the New Hebrides before he reached New Caledonian waters. In his wake the L.M.S. made two visits to the island, in 1840 and 1841, both of only a few days’ duration, and each time they left Samoan catechists with the chief. Apart from the brief observations in the missionaries’ journals,\textsuperscript{13} therefore, the account of the Isle of Pines and its inhabitants given in Cheyne’s journal is the first on record.

A situation such as this, involving contact between peoples chasms apart in culture and each previously barely aware of the existence of the other, is relatively rare in human history and one which well repays close study. Any good description of its day-to-day transactions and encounters, in the very earliest stages, would alone be enough to make it a document of value to the student of human behaviour. To the present writer, an intelligent trader’s description has merit even above this, as a consequence of his need to establish a practical relationship of barter with the people. The trader was forced to shed his ethnic skin to the extent of discovering what the islanders wanted, rather than what he thought they ought to want, for on this the success of his business depended. Again, although he might confide his disapproval to his journal, by the nature of his business he was obliged at least to refrain from interference with local usages and sometimes to conform to them. For both reasons he was often in a better position than many other Europeans to give a realistic account of the people with whom he traded. At the Isle of Pines, as Cheyne explains, he had some help in communication from the outset since he could speak to the Samoan catechists, who had lived on the island for a year, through his pilot Foxall, who spoke Samoan. By the end of his

\textsuperscript{11} Langdon 1967.
\textsuperscript{12} Heath 1840.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.; Murray 1841.
first ten-week stay, however, the captain had acquired his own small store of the the Isle of Pines (Kunie) language.

Cheyne's account of the Isle of Pines shows that he made the most of his advantages in observing and recording the life of the society. The account is considered by Professor Jean Guiart, a noted ethnologist of the area, to provide such an intelligent and accurate account of known ethnography that it can be regarded as a reliable source of data hitherto lost to the contemporary student. An interesting example of this is his description of the canoes, for recent scholarly interest in the migrations of the Pacific has directed much attention to this aspect of Melanesian technology, but reference to the standard work on the subject shows that there is almost nothing known of the indigenous canoe of the Isle of Pines. The excellent description provided in this journal, complete with drawing and observations by a professional sailor of the manner in which the canoe was sailed, effectively fills this gap.

On this voyage the journal, through its narrative of the day's business, introduces the reader to the detail of the sandalwood cutting and trading among the Melanesian people. Throughout there is a lively feeling of the dependence on the goodwill of the local population for survival and success, and the two occasions on which the trading party gave offence caused the captain grave anxiety until he was able to make proper restitution. As I have argued at length elsewhere, the conventional historical view of the white men as all-powerful masters among the Melanesians was one which, with reason, the traders themselves did not share. They found the islanders as acquisitive and as adept in sharp practice as any crafty merchant of Europe or China.

Although on this expedition a full cargo was procured with no serious mishap, the voyage was a financial failure both for the owners and for the captain, whom the former succeeded in cheating of his bonus. Embittered by his hard treatment he dismissed the Sydney merchants as a lot of rogues and had no further dealings with them. In the subsequent voyages described below he held his own share in the ventures, with the bulk of the capital subscribed by British merchants in China.

The second voyage, in the Bull in 1842, was also principally

14 Hadon and Hornell 1937: 4, 7, 10.
15 Shineberg 1967.
to Melanesia for sandalwood. As it turned out, it centred largely on the Loyalty Islands, never sighted by Cook and even less known to Europeans than the Isle of Pines. The L.M.S. had left two Samoan catechists at Mare, the southernmost island, in the previous year, but sandalwood traders from Sydney were the earliest recorded visitors to Lifu and Uvea. Cheyne’s careful record of his experiences and observations in the Loyalties and, to a lesser extent, at Balade, New Caledonia, is therefore again of unusual interest and importance.

On the return voyage to China in the *Bull*, Cheyne put in at ‘Ascension’ Island or Ponape, the relatively large volcanic island in the eastern Carolines. This was his introduction to Micronesia and altogether a most fateful event. Impressed both by the visible wealth in acres of beche-de-mer and the potential wealth as the site of a trading and whaling entrepôt, the captain was to spend many years in the pursuit of his own private empire in the Caroline Islands, a vision for which he paid with his life.

The pattern of European contact in the north-western Pacific had been very different from that further south. Acquaintance with the various groups in the Carolines had begun two centuries earlier than with any of the sandalwood islands of southern Melanesia, except for Quiros’s expedition to Espiritu Santo. When in the second half of the sixteenth century there was an established Spanish empire on both sides of the Pacific, in central America in the east and the Philippines in the west, many of the Caroline Islands became known to the crews of the Spanish galleons on the long trip from Acapulco to Manila, but the Spanish appear to have taken little interest in these new discoveries. At all events no written record of Spanish contact with the peoples has been found, save those of attempts to evangelise two small islands in the first half of the eighteenth century. Caroline Islanders who had drifted to the Marianas had aroused the curiosity of Jesuit fathers, who had become filled with concern for the salvation of these strange people. The two missionary expeditions—one to Sonsorol in 1710, and one to Ulithi in 1731—were short-lived and disastrous, resulting in the disappearance of all the missionaries. No other attempt to contact these people appears to have been made by the Spanish and although the galleon route was followed by explorers and buccaneers of other nationalities, in the middle of the eighteenth century almost as little was known of the region as of any in the south Pacific.
From a European point of view, therefore, intensive contact with the Caroline Islands began, as elsewhere, with the outburst of private maritime activity in the Pacific, chiefly British and American, of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, the long familiarity of the Caroline Islanders with the sight of sailing ships, their acquaintance with European artefacts (from isolated contacts, castaways, or wrecks of ships), and the hearsay that travelled about their own trade routes—particularly from the Marianas, which most appear to have known—surely gave these people a footing from which to deal with the European invasion when it occurred. This offers a contrast with those Melanesians who interpreted the arrival of the white man as the return of the spirits of their own ancestors. As in Melanesia, there would of course have remained islands and parts of islands innocent of all external influence even up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Within the modern period, however, the history of contact in Micronesia was again earlier and more intensive on the whole than in Melanesia. From the time of the wreck of the East India vessel *Antelope* near Koror in the Palaus in 1783, the Carolines were frequently visited by traders in search of tropical produce and above all by whalers from the northern Pacific whaling grounds, seeking ports for refuelling, rest and refreshment. By the time of Cheyne’s first visit to Ponape at the end of 1842 the local inhabitants and Europeans were, for good or ill, very well known to each other.

Although the island did not become known to sailors until much later than the Palau group (probably not until the mid-twenties) Ponape took only ten years to become a favourite port of call of the northern Pacific whaler. Traders were also attracted in increasing numbers by the tortoiseshell and bêche-de-mer which abounded in the region. The Europeans found the people attractive and, since food, rest, and sexual satisfaction were here easily procurable, the number of deserters from visiting ships gradually grew. The island offered an easier life to sailors than they could ever have hoped to enjoy in their native land, and to runaway convicts, heaven instead of hell. When Commander

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16 Ponape was first seen by Quiros in 1595. The next recorded sighting was by Captain Row of the ship *John Bull* on 10 September 1825—*Sydney Gazette*, 15 June 1827.

17 On this subject see Maude 1968: 138-9.
Blake visited Ponape in H.M.S. *Larne* early in 1839, there was already a well-established colony of 'upwards of thirty white men' there. Blake 1839: 668. Two years later, when Captain T. B. Simpson paid a visit, there were 'about fifty', and the island had become notorious as a rogues' paradise; Simpson 1844. For that reason, Ponape began to become as forbidding to ships as it had once been attractive.

Cheyne's journal does not therefore belong to the records of the earliest contacts in Micronesia, as it does in southern Melanesia. Lütke's brief description of the Ponapeans who came to the Senyavin was followed by the published account of the beachcomber, James O'Connell. An account by one Mr Campbell was published in the Sydney Colonist of 23 June 1836 and reprinted in *The Polynesian* of 11 July 1840. The expedition of H.M.S. *Larne* in 1839 produced more observations on the island, some of which were reproduced in the *Nautical Magazine* for 1845. Simpson's report appeared in the Sydney Shipping Gazette, and was reprinted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in the same year. There are no doubt other accounts of the island hidden away in ships' logs and sailors' diaries.

Cheyne's own record of his first stay on Ponape in 1843 is none the less an important source. Sufficiently early in the history of contact to reflect faithfully the indigenous society, Cheyne's account is wide-ranging and meticulous as well. It includes an outline of Ponapean life, customs and social structure, and one of the earliest reliable descriptions of the famous ruins of Nanmatol. As only a non-official account can, it gives an eyeball to eyeball picture of the beachcombing community which had established a tight monopoly over the trade with European ships. No one but a free-lancing trader or whaler could meet deserters and runaway convicts on their own terms, as Cheyne did, employ them in isolated or dangerous areas, or become the confidant or the object of their murder plots. Other traders are seen, it is true, as rivals

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18 Blake 1839: 668.
19 Simpson 1844.
20 Nozikov [1945]: 132-5.
21 O'Connell 1836.
23 Blake 1839, 1845.
24 Simpson 1844.
as well as brothers, but the professional detail with which their movements and their catch or cargo are reported, along with their talk—the latest in Pacific islands fears, gossip, and misinformation—makes this worthwhile.

Cheyne had become familiar with something of the history of Europeans in Ponape before his arrival. His allusion to the two Englishmen who ‘discovered’ Ponape is possibly to O’Connell and Keenan, as described in O’Connell’s narrative.25 The captain was aware that the island had for some years been annually visited by whalers from the north-eastern cruising grounds. He did not, however, seem to know of the Lambton affair of 1836, when in concert with the masters of two other private vessels, Captain Hart of the Sydney trader Lambton hanged a Ponape chief with gruesome ceremony in vengeance for an attack on the whaler Falcon.26 Cheyne’s failure to mention this is the more surprising in the light of his reference to H.M.S. Larne at Ponape in 1839, since the Larne’s sole object in visiting the island was the investigation of this incident. Captain Simpson’s voyage may have been known already to Cheyne through his contacts in China; and though he would not have been able to read Simpson’s account in the Sydney newspapers27 before the time of his first visit, he had no doubt done so before this journal was revised.

After despatching the Bull to complete her journey to China at the end of December 1842, Cheyne remained at Ponape for five months, bewitched by a scheme for a multi-purpose settlement on the islands. His plan was to provide a safe haven for whalers, where water, fuel, provisions, and repairs might be had at a moderate price, as well as making it the central depot of his own trade in bêche-de-mer, tortoiseshell, and other reef produce. The scheme was very like the one successfully begun by James Paddon at Aneityum in the New Hebrides a year later, but Paddon had no organised opposition to contend with. The extraordinary paradox of Andrew Cheyne, the man, becomes evident for the first time as he unfolds his plans for an island empire. This project had every element of rationality, but like many another planner under the spell of neat logic he was blind to the power of the irrational object which obstructed the path of improvement

25 The authenticity of O’Connell’s story is discussed in Riesenberg 1968b.
26 Blake 1839.
27 Simpson 1844.
and refused to be willed away. His courage in cocking a snook at the rogues’ ring on Ponape was admirable, but his belief that he had any chance of breaking it showed a lamentable gap in the imagination, for the opponents he took on had more to defend than a profitable monopoly. The captain’s attempt to secure the intervention of the authorities at China was for him only an obvious measure of law and order, but for the island vagrants it meant at the very least facing charges of desertion and for some, such as mutineers, murderers, and runaway convicts (all of whom were represented), it meant certain death. The light way in which he assumes the necessity of getting officialdom on his side, that he is the man, single-handed, to purge the temple, and that reason and virtue must inevitably triumph over sin and chaos, is not only priggish but also unbelievably naive. He behaves like a character from the *Boys’ Own Paper* instead of a hard-headed sea captain. He was, of course, still very young (twenty-five), but it is strange to see some of the more fanciful of the fallacies of armchair imperialism being taken so seriously by a practical empire-builder. The notion, for example, that the British Crown would gladly lend itself to the aid of loyal sons in a just cause in remote and unprofitable islands he assumed as a matter of course, and it seems also to have survived the polite indifference of the consular officials in China whose aid he sought.

By May 1843, however, Cheyne had almost admitted total defeat for his Ponape project. The crowning blow was the arrival of the *Wave* sent down by the merchants in China, who seem to have been as incompetent as his Sydney owners had been unscrupulous, for the ship was full of goods quite unsuitable for trade at Ponape, and the profits of the *Bull* voyage were at one stroke wiped out.

Once one has become involved in an unsuccessful speculation, the hope of retrieving one’s losses by another venture is as viable an alternative as retiring in loss and disgrace, and much more attractive. In China, Cheyne organised a third voyage, this time in the brig *Naiad*, a vessel in which he had a fourth share, in June 1843. It was to be a year-long venture, aimed at establishing a network of depots for tropical produce throughout the Caroline Islands and any other groups in the western Pacific which seemed to hold possibilities of development. In the course of this voyage, he visited not only Ponape but also the Palaus, Yap, Ngulu and Pakin in the Carolines, and farther south New
Georgia, Simbo, Tauu and Sikaiana in the Solomons group. Of these new islands, only the Palaus were much known to the world—through the account of Captain Wilson and the crew of the East Indiaman *Antelope* and the supplementary accounts of others.\(^{28}\) Cheyne himself was familiar with these accounts and was also aware that Palau waters had regularly been fished for bêche-de-mer for ten years before his arrival in 1843. He knew, as well, that the other small clusters had already been visited by traders and whalers, although he was probably right in believing that his contact with Yap was a relatively early one.\(^{29}\) His observations at these islands are of a piece with those in earlier chapters—intelligent and painstaking. The route he took through the Solomons was a beaten track of whalers, as is well known from other sources as well as his own remarks. His accounts of the people he met in the New Georgian group, although brief, are among the earliest reliable ones known.

The plan of the third voyage was rational to a high degree, but foredoomed to failure, for once again its author made no allowances for human difficulties. Being unwilling to have his vessel idle at Koror, his headquarters in the Palau Islands, while the gathering and curing of bêche-de-mer was going on, he left this and other stations in the hands of crew members and beachcombers while he went to search out new fields. Cheyne's delegation of responsibility was a course more fraught with hazard in the Pacific Ocean than anywhere else, for these islands had become a refuge for Europeans who could not abide the strait-jacket of their own society, and nowhere in the world could one have found a collection of men so uniformly unreliable, whatever other virtues they might have possessed. He should have learnt from this experience that constant supervision of such unreliable employees was a price he had to pay for any success, even if it meant detaining his vessel to no other purpose. He was at one stage forced to the conclusion that a man prepared to live at the north-eastern end of Yap, and among the natives of the Pakin group, the small islands 21 miles off the north-west coast of Ponape, far from his comrades and the protection of the ship, was unlikely to be a sober, god-fearing citizen. One has to admire the captain for not upbraiding such a man for his alcoholic

\(^{28}\) Keate 1788.

\(^{29}\) See pp. 248, 262-3.
sprees, for the effort of keeping silent must have indeed been a painful one to a man not tolerant by nature. It is therefore puzzling that he nevertheless continued to try and found his empire on such shifting sands. It seems that the possible prize was so glittering that it blinded his appraisal of the tools to hand. The voyage collapsed in failure and considerable financial loss as one after the other his deputies were found to have disobeyed his orders, cheated him and idled away his resources.

The fourth voyage, also in the Naiad, began in Macao in June 1844. When the narrative ends, he has been out only three months, but we know from the chapter heads that after beginning from the western Carolines he had gone east to Eauripik, Woleai, and Ifalik in the vicinity of Yap, and then on to the Truk group, but with what success we do not know. Judging from his general comment on the voyages, it was probably another series of failures.

The rest of this voyage can be traced from other sources, including his own published works. In February 1845 he was at Ebon, where the Naiad was attacked and nearly taken. He then went south to his old hunting-ground of Melanesia for a cargo of sandalwood. In March he was on the west coast of New Caledonia, at Port St Vincent, but the natives appeared so hostile that he stayed only a few days. He then went to the Loyalty Islands, as he had planned to do on the previous voyage. His relations with the Uveans must have continued as friendly as before, for he took the young chief Jokwie aboard the Naiad as he went east to the New Hebrides for sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. Another object of this first visit to the New Hebrides was apparently to have the Naiad repaired at James Paddon’s station at Aneityum. But the Naiad’s troubles were not over: in November 1845, while at Aneityum, a severe earth tremor shook the vessel

30 See p. 267.
31 See p. 160.
32 Gulick 1862: 301.
33 Cheyne 1852: 43.
34 Cheyne 1855: 12-13, 23.
36 Cheyne 1852: 35, 37.
37 Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 12 July 1845.
'so severely as to open several of her seams', and she had to be abandoned there.38

Early in 1846, Cheyne set out from China once more for the Pacific islands, this time in the Starling. According to a report received in Sydney, he went to Aneityum for the purpose of 'reviving a settlement there'.39 It is presumed that he went to salvage something from the wreck of the Naiad, or possibly to take supplies or Chinese labourers to the island at Paddon's request, for Paddon was still very much in business, although not without his troubles, and would certainly not have countenanced an interloper there. In the New Hebrides Cheyne bought land at Port Resolution, in September 1846, and traded for sandalwood at Efate and again at Uvea, where he bought the island of Wassau, between Muli and the southern tip of the main island.40

Following this he made a voyage to Sikaiana, where he stayed nine months—probably from January to September 1847—collecting bêche-de-mer. His remarks about this venture imply that it was his most successful to that time.41 Soon after his return from this voyage to Manila or China he sailed for home, perhaps having had the news of the death of his father, James Cheyne,42 perhaps wishing to put his first real profits to the best possible advantage.

His inheritance of 'three and one half merk land twelve pennies the merk in the Room of Nounsburgh in the Parish of Aithsting'—two small farms of quite good land—was registered at Edinburgh on 28 April 1849.43 An interesting light is thrown on Cheyne's character by the fact that he never made any use of these farms, but turned one over to his mother, Elizabeth Robertson, who had since married John Forbes; the couple lived on one of these crofts from this time to the end of their days.44 Consistent with this is

38 Cheyne 1852: 32-3; letter, Paddon to Magniac and Co., 8 November 1845, Unbound in-letters, Australian Section, Jardine, Matheson Archives, Cambridge University Library.
39 Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 11 July 1846.
40 Cheyne 1852: 20, 35.
41 Inferred from Cheyne 1852: 52-3.
43 Ibid.; the information about the extent and quality of the land was supplied by Dr T. M. Y. Manson of Shetland.
the local tradition that during all his travels abroad Andrew kept in touch with his mother, sending her gifts and money.

In May 1849 Cheyne was in London where he was successfully examined for his first-class mariner's certificate. He then went once more to southern Australia (Port Phillip), in the Elizabeth. In December 1851 he was again in London where he was issued with his Master's Certificate of Competency. Although engaged for some time to marry the daughter of the Reverend William Watson, the former minister of his home parish and now in the neighbouring island of Fetlar, Andrew was apparently none too anxious to rush into matrimony. As his prospective father-in-law complained to his diary on 1 January 1852, 'Captain Cheyne not coming to Shetland—seems wishing to shuffle off his engagement to Eliza'. If it was Andrew's intention to dodge his obligations he did not succeed, for six weeks later, on 19 February 1852, he was married to Eliza by her father at the Fetlar Presbyterian Church. In the same year, his first book, Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, was published. A month after his marriage Cheyne left Shetland for the other end of the earth, and to the lasting horror of the Shetlanders took his young bride with him: 'to take their parish minister's daughter to sea was terrible in their eyes', as one elderly Shetland lady wrote, 'as the Minister and daughter to them was everything'. But Eliza's own letter to her sister as she left Scotland was gay and schoolgirlish; 'old Campbell put up all his colours in honour of us and gave us a salute when we came on board', she wrote, 'was not that grand.' In London

45 Merchant Navy Officers Index, General Register and Record Office of Shipping and Seamen, Board of Trade, Cardiff.
46 Log Elizabeth, held by Sir Joseph Cheyne, Rome. The log is not, at present, available to the public.
47 Master's Certificate of Competency No. 1645, issued 2 December 1851, General Register and Record Office of Shipping and Seamen, Board of Trade, Cardiff.
48 Diary of the Reverend William Watson, 1849-54, entry for 1 January 1852. The diary is in the possession of Colonel Cheyne, Leagarth, Fetlar. The entry was extracted by Mr John Graham, Lerwick, Shetland.
49 Parish Register of Fetlar, Shetland.
50 In a letter to the editor from Mrs Janet Johnson, Dale Tingwall, Shetland Islands, undated (about June 1968).
they awaited the fitting out of the large ship put under Cheyne’s command—the *Lady Montague* of 763 tons. The cargo, probably the most profitable one Cheyne ever carried, was a strange one for a Pacific trader—280 male convicts for the penal settlement at Hobart Town.

It must have been a most uncomfortable first voyage for poor Eliza, who was well advanced in pregnancy when they left Plymouth on 9 August for Van Diemen’s Land *via* the Cape of Good Hope. On 10 December 1852 they arrived at Hobart Town.52 Four days later, Eliza gave birth on board to their first and only child, a son, who was named after her father at a ceremony performed by the Reverend John Lillie of St Andrew’s Scottish Church, Hobart Town.53 William Watson Cheyne grew up to be a man of great eminence, though neither of his parents lived long enough to know it. He became one of the foremost surgeons of his day, working in association with the famous Lord Lister, and the author of many medical textbooks. In 1901 he was created a baronet for his services to medical science.

The convict cargo unloaded, Captain Cheyne apparently decided that, since he had to return his wife and infant son to Shetland, he would do so by way of the Pacific Ocean. On 19 January 1853 they set out from Hobart Town on their marathon journey, ‘for Guam in ballast’.54 The first port of call was the Isle of Pines and there Cheyne found that things had greatly changed. The old chief had died and the new one lived in peaceful accord with two sandalwood establishments and a group of French Catholic missionaries.55 The *Lady Montague* then passed through the Loyalty Islands and made Havannah Harbour in Efate, New Hebrides, where they spent thirteen days.56 In March they touched at Ponape, where Cheyne found his old friend ‘Lewis Coggatt’ (Louis Corgat) living on Mutok Island off Ronkiti, together with James Hadley.57 The *Lady Montague* reached Hong Kong on 31 March, staying there two months.

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53 Parish Register of Fetlar, Shetland.
56 Ibid.: 40-1.
57 Ibid.: 137.
before sailing for Manila. Then followed the long haul across the
great ocean to San Francisco, where they arrived on 16 September
and remained until the end of the year. They reached Callao on
22 January 1854, but had to endure a long and exasperating
delay. Probably they were held up in the first place for the same
reason as many other ships in Peruvian waters at this time— the
lack of seamen, 'consequent on the late sickness'58 (possibly the
smallpox epidemic that swept the Pacific at this time), with the
available seamen demanding very high wages as a result. But
worse was to come. The Lady Montague was found unfit for the
rest of the journey to England, and the Cheynes had to remain at
Callao until she was sold. They were still there on 20 June 1854.59

The couple finally completed their journey around the world
in November 1854, and on the nineteenth of that month they
registered the birth of William Watson, now nearly two years old,
at his grandfather's church at Fetlar. Eliza was by now very ill,
and the parishioners never forgave the captain for taking her on
such a long hard sea voyage.

During this period in Britain, Cheyne brought to press his
second book, Sailing Directions from New South Wales to China and
Japan etc, in which, among other things, he laid claim to discover­
ing a couple of islands just south of Japan on the Lady Montague
cruise. The book was much praised by the Nautical Magazine60
and was quoted for many years as an authority by successive
editions of Findlay's sailing directories and the Pacific Islands Pilot.

In October 1855, Andrew left Eliza and their son in the care of
her sister Christian who was married to the Reverend David
Webster, and set out for the Pacific once more as commander of
the Wild Wave. He never saw his family again. Eliza died of
consumption a few months after his arrival in China,61 and the
Websters apparently never allowed any communication between
father and son, for William Watson was never given the name
Cheyne and did not know who his father was until after Andrew's
death.62

58 Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, 20 September 1853.
59 Ibid., 9 November 1853, 6 June 1854.
60 Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle, 24 (September 1855): 500-1.
61 Death certificate, 25 July 1856, Parish Records of Fetlar, Shetland.
62 Letter, Sir Joseph Cheyne to editor, undated (about March 1968); North
 China Herald, 15 March 1856.
The next—and last—ten years of Cheyne’s life were years of bitter frustration, without the comfort of family and friends. As his cousin later wrote, ‘he seems only to have gained by one voyage to lose by the next’.63 For a year he traded along the China coast in the *Wild Wave* for Moncrieff and Grieve, probably faring very badly, for cargoes always seemed to be fairly meagre and in fact Moncrieff and Grieve went bankrupt shortly afterwards. Early in 1857 Cheyne took a cargo of tea to Melbourne in the *Wild Wave*, returning to China *via* Singapore towards the end of the year to resume his coastal carrying—an employment that he must have found dull after his island adventures, but which no doubt represented a steady job while he accumulated sufficient savings to invest in a vessel of his own.64

In 1859 we find him, at the age of forty-one, again in Manila with his own vessel, the *Black River Packet*, ready to try again for the fortune which, he was convinced, awaited a man of pluck and perseverance in the Pacific islands. His first voyage was to New Guinea, probably for a cargo of bêche-de-mer,65 but the Palau group and the island of Yap appear to have been marked out for the main Cheyne realm. At first, in 1860, he collaborated with Captain Edward Woodin, a Hobart Town trader who had long been fishing for bêche-de-mer in this region; but the two fell out and by 1861 were bitter rivals.66 In May of that year, perhaps as a consequence of Woodin’s threat to his monopoly, Cheyne entered into a contract with the Ibedul (Abba Thulle), the so-called ‘Treaty of Commerce’ and ‘Constitution of the Pelew Islands’—the object of which was, to each party, to guarantee the monopoly of trade with the other.67 He also arranged a petition by the chiefs of Koror requesting British protection in support of

64 *China Mail*, 5 February 1857; *Argus*, 30 March 1857; the *Wild Wave*’s movements 1857-9 were reported in the *Overland China Mail*, in the *China Mail*, and in miscellaneous papers in the Jardine, Matheson Archives, Cambridge University Library.
65 Information through Sir Joseph Cheyne, who has the log of the *Black River Packet* in his possession. It is not available to the public at present.
66 Woodin 1861. See, for example, the entry for 27 April 1861.
67 Copies in Semper 1873: 236-44. A letter from Cheyne to the British Consul in Manila (Public Record Office, London, F.O. 72/1017) says that copies of these documents were enclosed, but they could not be located.
the government of Koror, now threatened by its rebels—not that there would have been any difficulty in securing the assent of the Koror chiefs to such a proposition—and presented it to the commander of H.M.S. *Sphinx* when he visited Palau in January 1862. In all three documents it was assumed that the power of Koror was supreme in the group and that any resistance to this authority of the Ibedul’s ‘subjects’ in other districts constituted rebellion. This, of course, suited Cheyne’s purposes, or so he thought at the time. In fairness, however, it must be noted that his British predecessors Captain Wilson and Captain McCluer and their lieutenants had not only made the same assumption, but had also assisted Koror in wars against its enemies, which Cheyne himself did not do. Moreover, Captain Tetens, one of Cheyne’s most influential detractors, assisted Koror in a war against Ngatelingal after Cheyne’s death.

The benefit Cheyne hoped for was some security for his land holdings and the advantage he assumed (wrongly) would be his by virtue of his support of the dominant district. This overture to the British government, needless to say, was cursorily rebuffed.

Cheyne’s ambitions grew as his imagination dwelt on the possibilities for the development of these islands. He began purchasing large tracts of land in the group, having started with the small island of Malakal in Koror harbour, and in a few years had acquired more than 10,000 acres. He planted sugar, coffee, cotton, bananas, and indigo, and advertised for Chinese labourers to work on the plantations. Cheyne’s monopoly of trade in the Palaus was naturally resented by other traders, one of whom, Captain Woodin, his former partner, put up some resistance at Ngabuked, in the north of Babelthuap. The visiting warship *Sphinx* unwittingly took part in the conflict by going to Ngabuked at the instance of the Koror chiefs to investigate the ‘rebellion’. Woodin was not there at the time, and the Ngabuked party foolishly fired on the *Sphinx* crew as soon as they landed, and again on the following day. This caused the commander to

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retaliate by firing the district, incidentally destroying all of Woodin's property there.\textsuperscript{70}

Woodin's cause was taken up by the German naturalist, Karl Semper, who had travelled to the Palaus as Woodin's passenger. He in turn influenced his compatriot Alfred Tetens, Cheyne's first mate and agent at Palau and Yap. According to Tetens, the turning-point in his relationship with Cheyne came when Semper showed him a copy of Cheyne's 'constitution' of Palau and the offer of cession to Britain. Such documents were fairly commonplace in pre-administration times in the Pacific, as Europeans sought the kind of guarantees with which they were familiar for their property and for a reasonable measure of order in government, but Tetens's account treats this 'revelation' as a piece of devilish treachery which changed his entire attitude to Cheyne and his dealings.\textsuperscript{71} While it is true that British expatriates at this time tended to be indiscriminately suspected by Europeans of other nationalities of being under-cover agents of British expansion, it is also possible that Tetens had other motives for turning his coat.\textsuperscript{72}

By 1863 Cheyne appeared to have achieved his goal. In principle he controlled the whole of the bêche-de-mer trade of the group, supported by the considerable authority of the Ibedul of Koror. With his plantations, bêche-de-mer exports, and labour resources, he had, on paper, fulfilled his dreams of the forties of a self-sufficient depot for passing ships, combined with a centre of lucrative trade for himself. He was Cheyne of Palau instead of Cheyne of Tangwick, with his own farm and fishing tenants, his own curing establishment, his own boats and two sea-going ships. But empires depend more on people than on plans, and here once more the captain miscalculated. In twenty

\textsuperscript{70} Report by Lieutenant R. A. Brown of the proceedings of H.M. Steam Sloop \textit{Sphinx}, Hong Kong, 21 April 1862, held at the Public Record Office, London (Adm. 1/5790, part II); Statement by Cheyne, Manila, 9 September 1862, enclosed in letter, British Vice-Consul Loney to Admiralty, Manila, 10 February 1867, Public Record Office, London (Adm. 1/6006).

\textsuperscript{71} Tetens 1958: 9-10.

\textsuperscript{72} Tetens's journal was published during his lifetime in 1888; as a trading factor for a German firm and as a citizen of a nation at the time making a bid for an empire in Micronesia, he would have had a double motive for discrediting previous English settlers, and especially one whose land titles included some of the best land adjacent to the best harbour. His account of the circumstances of Cheyne's death is most suspect, containing at least two patent falsehoods.
years he appears to have learnt little about human nature in general, or South Sea islanders, whether white or brown, in particular. He continued to base his dealings with his fellow men on due payment of promised wages and on contracts and covenants, neatly drawn up in pseudo-legalistic language and duly signed, with copies.

The ‘treaty of commerce’ of 1861 was nothing but a bad bargain from his viewpoint. While he was not allowed to trade with Koror’s rivals, the Ibedul and Koror chiefs never fulfilled their part of the contract: the bèche-de-mer fishing was put off with one excuse after another, the plantations were allowed to run to ruin and his property robbed as soon as he left the island. Although scrupulous in the performance of contracts himself, he lacked the warmth and tact which would have been more useful to him than a mountain of paper. His continual reproaches and outbursts of anger—on one occasion he is said to have assaulted the Ibedul by pulling on his ear-ring and thus tearing the lobe—undoubtedly antagonised the Koror chiefs, and it is clear from his own log-books that as early as 1863 his life was in jeopardy.73 Above all, his naivete in expecting others to live up to their contracts in a place where no sanctions of law or force could be invoked to support them is quite astonishing. In the 1840s he had to be told by a sailor the reason for the remarkable failure of the men on a bèche-de-mer expedition to places where the slug was plentiful: they were on monthly wages instead of a ‘lay’ or share of cargo, and therefore the minute they were out of his sight they slept in the sun for most of the day and blamed the hostility of the natives for their failure.74 Twenty years later he is still recording his losses and his sense of outrage when islanders or European employees failed to live up to their obligations, in spite of advance payments or written contracts.

At the end of 1865, Cheyne realised that the bargain with the Ibedul was nothing but a burden, and that his only way out was to arm the rival districts—particularly Ngatelngal, whose people were very anxious to trade with him. This was a complete reversal, and, it will be noted, answered exactly to the charge of supporting ‘revolution’ in the group which he had levelled at

73 Log Acts, held by Sir Joseph Cheyne, Rome. This log is not, at present, available to the public.

74 See p. 301.
Captain Woodin four years before. When the contract with Koror lapsed, therefore, and the Ibedul did not take the proffered chance of renewing it by collecting bèche-de-mer for Cheyne at Koror, the captain felt relieved from his side of the bargain, and now quite justified in trading with the rival tribe of Ngatelnagal. How little his logic was shared by the Koror chiefs was soon to be all too clearly shown. Nothing but foul treachery could explain to the Ibedul why a former ally should begin dealing with his bitterest enemy. It appears that as soon as the news that the captain had traded with Ngatelnagal, and intended to continue, had been confirmed, the plans for his murder were laid. On his next visit to Koror in January-February 1866, Cheyne was at the first opportunity lured from his house near the beach, and there strangled and beaten on the head and breast with a stone until he died.75 A year later, the Ibedul paid with his own life, when his execution was ordered by Captain Stevens of H.M.S. Perseus, the warship sent to investigate the captain’s murder.76 Cheyne’s last ship, the Acis, was sold by public auction at Manila, and after the crew’s wages and other debts were discharged, there remained only seventeen dollars seventy-eight cents and his dubious land titles to show for all his years of struggle and labour.77

Andrew Cheyne emerges from his own writings, actions, and the comments of others, as a fairly clearly defined character. His bravery and intelligence are always evident and need no comment. In other respects he is the very caricature of the product of a Scottish Presbyterian upbringing of the period: hardy, humourless, scrupulous to a fault, unforgiving in his judgments on the foibles of others. As his journal shows, the Sabbath was strictly kept on his voyages (although apparently no service was held) and the Bible as well as the Nautical Magazine went as his travelling companion. Many of his moral attitudes are indistinguishable from those of contemporary Protestant missionaries in the South Seas—evidence of the danger of classifying Pacific adventurers by occupation instead of by background and temperament. A striking case is his exclamation following his description of the Isle of Pines: ‘No one can visit this Island without feeling deep regret,

75 Stevens 1867.
76 Ibid.
77 Letter, British Consul to H. Cheyne, Manila, 3 June 1867; for a list of the land deeds see Stevens 1867.

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that so lovely a spot of God’s creation should be inhabited and
daily sullied by the deeds of these depraved Wretches whom I have
given an account of’.78 This immediately calls to mind the South
Seas missionary’s tiresome quotation of the lines

Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile.

The Ponape scheme outlined in this journal, and later his Palau
scheme, also evinced that passion for improvement which was the
mainspring of a generation of British political, industrial, and
religious empire-builders. Cheyne himself was so susceptible to
this emotion that at Ponape he appeared to be personally disturbed
to see land capable of development and people capable of reform
being allowed to run, as it were, on their own ruinous course.

In the quaint phrase of Captain Stevens, Cheyne’s intercourse
with island women was said to have been ‘of a somewhat unlimited
nature’;79 yet the captain’s standards of sexual morality were
typically Victorian, and if indeed he breached them as alleged he
is certainly guilty of hypocrisy in this respect—also a common
enough concomitant of this moral pattern.

In spite of spasms of blind rage, Andrew Cheyne was not a cruel
man and for all his contempt for ‘savages’ maintained a high sense
of justice towards them, for, as he said, ‘we sought them, not they
us’. I have found no good cause to doubt his assertion either that
‘it has ever been my aim to treat all savages with whom I have had
intercourse, kindly and humanely’ or that he never ‘at any time
defrauded a savage to the value of a cocoanut’.80 When Captain
Stevens invited former employees and Palau islanders to give him
such a cause as an excuse to avoid the painful duty of taking
revenge for Cheyne’s murder, none could on oath do so. Nor, in
spite of Cheyne’s reputation for concupiscence, could the com­
mander find any evidence of forcible abduction, or of any
connection between his behaviour towards island women and his
death (although later writers have done it for him).81

That the captain was ruthless with a rival in the interest of his
monopoly cannot be denied; nor does it distinguish him from all

78 See p. 58.
79 Stevens 1867.
80 See pp. 308-9.
81 Following Tetens 1958: 29; see, for example, Marston Bates and Donald P.
Abbott 1959: Ifalik: portrait of a coral island, London—‘Andrew Cheyne, later
brutally executed for rape by the Palauans’—p. 201.
other Pacific traders. In the 'collecting' trades of the Pacific, since
the produce was for all practical purposes irreplaceable, everything
depended on being the first to skim the cream, and monopoly was
often a question of survival. The treatment he is accorded by the
beachcombing monopolists at Ponape, and of which he bitterly
complains, is precisely that which he metes out to Woodin at
Palau twenty years later.

Although clearly a clever man, Cheyne does not display much
intellectual flexibility. Despite his excellent observations on the
external behaviour of the islanders, he has learnt so little sympathy
for their mental attitudes that, for example, after several years'
experience in the South Seas, he could believe that the Yap people
were joking when they accused him of having brought the
influenza epidemic to their land. Most travellers to these islands
learnt much more quickly that allegations of sorcery were no
laughing matter.

It is tempting to suspect Cheyne of misanthropy as, one after
another, the people with whom he dealt turned out to be a bad lot.
The antidote comes only when reading what others had to say
about the same people; for example, the observations of Captain
Stevens on the mate of Cheyne's last ship, the *Acis*, make the
captain's remarks seem mild indeed. As for the crew, they drove
her subsequent captain to the point of despair; they refused to
obey him and 'made a rush' on himself and the mate while they
were still in port. 'How when the crew behave this way in a harbour,
what can you expect at sea?' wrote Captain Ditter Torn, 'I
consider it dangerous to go to sea with such a crew.'

Cheyne's patent gullibility in his human relations seems at first
to be at odds with his harsh, autocratic behaviour in other respects:
but it becomes evident that they were both symptoms of a rather
priggish faith in himself that is the most unattractive feature of his
personality. They were also both signs that he had assumed too
much responsibility at too early an age. This side of his character
was summed up with admirable perceptiveness by Captain
Stevens, who, after being unable to draw any substantial charges
against Cheyne from his former island and European associates,

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82 'Mr Bacon accompanied the Boat by my order, and corroborated my
previous impression of him, that he was an idle imposter, to which he added
on this occasion drunkenness, insubordination and highly mutinous conduct'—
Stevens 1867.

83 Log *Acis*, 10 April 1866.
wrote: 'However, he [Cheyne] appears to have evinced a spirit of dictation, combined with a somewhat unpleasant determination to overthrow every obstacle which blocked his path . . .'. It was the very epitome of Cheyne—indeed, he would have been surprised that this 'perseverance' was counted a fault instead of a virtue. Unfortunately for him, the Victorian virtues can without doubt be voted as those least likely to succeed in the Pacific Ocean, whether among sailors, beachcombers, or islanders, for here charm, humour, and dash could achieve wonders of loyalty and affection, and on the frontier a man was more important than an agreement. On the other hand, they served the historian well, for who but a man of sober, industrious, and 'improving' disposition could have left so meticulous a record of his travels?

With regard to Cheyne's qualities as an observer, one could hardly ask for better. Not only is his record full and detailed, he is careful, on the whole, to describe only what he saw himself, or at least to distinguish carefully between what he saw and what he was told. Various disadvantages Cheyne's rational temperament brought to him, the historian, accustomed to the wild guesses of more flamboyant characters, can only be grateful to him for such statements as: 'With regard to the population of the Isle of Pines I found it impossible to obtain correct information', and for then giving the grounds on which he based his own estimate. And, puritan though he was in principle, if not in practice, he did not shrink from references to venereal disease on Ponape and to concubinage on Yap, although his publisher saw fit to leave them out of the printed version in Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean.

As a writer, too, Cheyne is most satisfactory. His prose is generally lucid, forthright, and graphic. His absurd emphasis on savagery, cannibalism, and treachery really did reflect his own revulsion to island patterns of behaviour but, like the missionaries, he is sometimes not unmindful of his reader's appetite for ghoulish descriptions of 'primitive heathen practices'. We are therefore occasionally regaled with passages such as the following, from his second visit to the Isle of Pines:

the king came on board in a War canoe, attended by about Thirty armed ferocious homicides, reeking with the blood of our

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84 See pp. 189-90.
85 See pp. 192, 283.
countrymen with whose mangled flesh, their unhallowed maws had most probably but recently been gorged.  

It was hardly fair comment, especially since the decks of his ship were at the time still ‘reeking with the blood’ of many New Caledonians from a fight at Balade (though of course they were not eaten), but one can almost see the author sit back after writing that sentence, allowing himself to savour it with satisfaction before dipping his pen again. Ironically this rare indulgence of his imagination is one of the few occasions when he had his facts wrong: the Star massacre to which he refers here and which in retrospect he places as immediately before his visit, in fact occurred two weeks after he left.

In general, the principle of keeping as literally as possible to Cheyne’s text has been adopted. The main problem concerned Cheyne’s own revisions and deletions in the manuscript. Should the text be printed in the original or the revised form? The matter has been decided on the basis of the probable reasons for the revision. Where Cheyne has corrected his spelling or his grammar, it seemed pointless—also unsporting—not to allow him the correction. Where he has ‘improved’ the style, the matter was more difficult. Almost always, the more ‘refined’ version was less expressive than the original: for example, when he described the gambling of the Chinese of Macao he first wrote: ‘and their whole Soul appeared to be staked with their money, however small . . .’ for which he substituted, ‘appeared to be absorbed in the amusement’—a poor exchange. There seemed some point, also, from a historical point of view, in letting the reader benefit from having the more spontaneous version, so, in the case of stylistic changes, the original has been kept. Consistent with this, corrections clearly made at the time of first writing have been allowed him. There is the odd occasion when there is an addition of practical benefit to the reader—for example, the insertion of a date—and these of course have been included. In some cases, the revision seems to be more significant—when he is apparently trying to present himself in a softer light to the reader. For example when Foxall was made to stay on the Isle of Pines against his will,

87 See p. 147.
88 See p. 144.
Cheyne first wrote that he was taken ashore ‘by force’, but later these two words were deleted. And when he was forced to threaten the chief to prevent him from setting the trade house alight, he did so ‘with a pistol to his head’, but this phrase was crossed out at the time of revision. In these cases there was no hesitation in retaining the original version, and as a revision of this sort adds something to our knowledge of the man, it is noted as well in a footnote. In general, substituted phrases are noted only if they have some possible significance.

There have been few alterations in punctuation. As was common at this time, Cheyne used a small dash to indicate the end of a sentence, and in all cases except a few made doubtful by his failure to begin the new sentence with a capital letter, I have translated these into full stops. Occasionally I have closed his brackets or inverted commas when he forgot to do so. Abbreviations (like AM, p.m., Mr, 10th, Latobs., long chron) were inconsistently punctuated and capitalised by Cheyne only because of familiar usage: they were written quickly and without thought. I have standardised these as it would be pointless to do otherwise.

Cheyne’s spelling was very fair. Some words he mis-spelled fairly consistently (‘hankerchief’, ‘excercise’); about others he was quite uncertain (‘hove to’ or ‘hove too’?). Except where it is obviously a slip, or he himself corrected it, the mis-spelling has been reproduced. Where a slip consisted of the omission of a letter, I have supplied it in square brackets. His capitalisation—especially for names of places (China) and people (chinese)—is erratic. His capital ‘Os’ and ‘Cs’ are hard to distinguish from his small ones, and in these cases I have given him the benefit of the doubt wherever possible.

One or two grammatical failures recur, such as his use of ‘and which’, instead of merely ‘which’, and his curious use of the possessive instead of the plural (two ship’s): these are retained as characteristic of his writing.

In some places the manuscript is damaged and illegible: to give an idea of how much of a line is missing the appropriate space is left blank in square brackets. Where it was possible to conjecture words or letters, I have done so and given the result in italics in square brackets.
[Chapter summary and first two pages missing. The Diana, under the command of Captain Watson with Captain Cheyne as supercargo, had left Sydney 6 August 1841, in company with the Orwell, Captain Hughes. The Diana had already been one or two days at sea when the extant MS. begins, at his page 3.]

... secretly; as it was not known before, that any Sandal Wood existed on those Islands. After communicating with the Orwell, we again made sail, and shaped our course to the N.E. and the Isle of pines; In the evening it came on a Gale from the Southward, which obliged us [to] reduce our canvas to Double reefs, and about [mid]night the sea was running so high, that I thought it necessary to get the Larboard Quarter Boat (a new six oared Whale boat) in on deck to prevent her getting washed away; but unfortunately before we could get her in the vessel gave a heavy lee roll gunwale under, which filled the boat, & washed her and the Davits away. The sea washed me off my legs, and carried me over to Windward where I struck my Head against one of the quarter deck Guns and cut my temple very much; next morning the Weather moderated and we saw the Orwell to Windward. On the 10th we made Lord Howe’s Island and passed close to Balls pyramid. The Island is very high and can be seen fifty miles [in] clear weather. At midnight we passed over the position assigned to New Island in Norie’s chart without seeing any appearance of land and as I have passed near the same place I am confident it does not exist.

At daylight on the 11th the Orwell was not to be seen from the
mast head, we lost sight of her light at Midnight, at which time we supposed she must have altered her course more to the Northward. We did not see her again until our arrival at the Isle of Pines. We had steady Southly Winds & fine weather, which carried us into the S.E. Trades and enabled us to get all our Gun Gear fitted and put in order—we got two Arm chests ready for the Tops and served out the small arms to the men giving each man one musket & bayonet—cutlass, Pistol, Dagger & cartouch box with ammunition and employed our spare time in stationing & excercising the crew; & making Ball Cartridges &c after setting all our fighting Gear in order we commenced preparing Axes, Saws &c for cutting and cleaning Sandal Wood. Got sails made for our boats, and chocks fitted on the bows for Musquetoons to ship in: [by] the evening of the 14th all our preparations were completed. At daylight on the 15th we saw the Isle of pines bearing W.N.W. 18 Miles distant; and made sail for the land with a light breeze from S.E. About noon we could see the tops of the trees rising above the Horizon on the low land near the shore, which at first appeared like the Masts of an immense fleet of Shipping, and had a delightful appearance.¹ We stood in cautiously towards the land with an officer at the mast head until 3 p.m. when we Hove too; being about 3 miles off shore, and abreast of two low sand Islets connected to the main by a narrow coral reef extending at least 3 miles in an easterly direction from the Main land—and very dangerous in a dark night—

¹ A stand of the Araucaria columnaris, the tall slender pine from which the island received its name in 1774, when Cook was similarly impressed by the sight. Like Cheyne, he thought the trees on the horizon were 'not unlike the Masts of a fleet of Ships', while his 'philosophers' argued that they were pillars of stone, like the Giants Causeway in Ireland—Beaglehole 1961: II, 550, 551n.
after taking a good look round from the Mast Head, We again bore away & ran within 1 mile of the entrance of a deep inlet which looked like a Harbour & appeared to extend some miles inland. I then Hove the brig too & went myself in the boat to examine it—I found the entrance shallow & full of sunken rocks with only 9 feet in some places, but after getting some distance inside the water deepened to 3 & 3½ fms—fine Sandy bottom. It is only fit for boats & small craft. Although I was within a quarter of a mile of the beach, we could not see any natives [but] saw abundance of cocoa nut trees—& the country appeared thickly wooded, especially on the low land near the shore. I then returned on board & being nearly dark, we hauled our Wind and stood off & on for the night, intending to examine the S.E. part of the Island in the morning, as we did not know on what part of the Island the Camden Brig² anchored—our Pilot being on board the Orwell.

At daybreak on the 16th we stood in for the Island again & about 7 A.M. passed close to the two sand Islets & stood to the S.W. at 8 close in to an Island³ connected by a reef to the shore—sent the Boat ahead to sound—found a channel near the South

² The London Missionary Society ship, a member of the crew of which was acting as a pilot to the expedition. See Introduction, p. 4.
³ Alcmené Island, commonly known, from its appearance, as ‘Brosse’.

32
August 1841

end of the Island leading into a large Bay. The Boat having made a signal for us to follow—we did so—and crossed over a coral Bar with irregular depths of from 4 to 10 fathoms—and about Noon came to an Anchor in the Bay in 18 fathoms coral & sand. After getting the sails furled—we loaded the Guns & sent the Arm chests up in the Tops with Muskets & Cartridges in each. Saw two or three small Canoes near the head of the bay, but the natives in them appeared very shy—as they would not approach near enough for us to communicate with them. In the Afternoon we got the Boats out Manned & Armed them & pulled for the shore. On getting near the beach, we saw 2 or 3 natives waving Green branches & inviting us to land. We pulled in slowly in the Whale boat—and left the Launch a little outside to guard us. On the boat's touching the beach—a number of men & women came round her—when Captn Watson & I landed, & tried to make the Natives understand what we wanted; on walking up a little way from the beach, we could see a number of Natives peeping out from behind the bushes—where they were laying concealed & all armed with clubs & Spears. The natives soon brought us a few pieces of Sandal Wood—which they readily exchanged for Iron Hoop. As soon as they found we were friendly they flocked round us in great Numbers & we could hardly prevent the Women from getting into the Boats—finding the natives rather troublesome we thought it advisable to go on board—as our whole success depended on keeping on friendly terms with them: they made us understand by signs, that they would all go and cut Sandal Wood tomorrow.

17th At daylight a few small canoes came off with small pieces of Sandal Wood which they continued bringing during the greater part of the day & sold for Beads and Iron Hoop. We learned from the Natives to day that a vessel with three masts was laying at an anchor on the N.W. part of the Island—

4 Vao Bay. This name covers such a large area that it is necessary to be more precise in order to follow Cheyne's movements in the next paragraph. M. G. Pisier of Noumea, who has sailed in the Diana's tracks following Cheyne's directions and sketch map, found that Cheyne anchored his ship at what is now known as the Alcmène anchorage, to the leeward of Alcmène Island. The cove where he landed with the whale boat ('Cheyne's Harbour' on his map) was probably Saint-Maurice, the best place to land, but could also have been Muiné or Kéré.

5 At Gadji anchorage, named 'Port Victoria' by Cheyne.
supposing it to be the Orwell, and being anxious to communicate with her—I started at 3 p.m. in the Whale boat to go round to her—having a native with us as pilot. We got on board about dark—and found them hard at work taking in Sandal Wood. Captn Hughes came round to the Brig with me to see Captn Watson—we got on board about 10 p.m. found Mr. Keys on board (late a Midshipman in H.M.S. Beagle) he had walked overland from the Orwell—and had been on the Top of the mountain—the natives had treated him civilly. He seems much pleased with the appearance of the Island & says it is very fertile. The Orwell is laying at the place where the King resides—and is getting Wood fast. The native Missionaries are very useful to them as Interpreters. As Edward Foxall the pilot can speak the language of the ‘Samoan’ or Navigator Islands to which they belong. Captn Watson has decided on going round with the Brig to the Kings place and to load the Orwell first & send her on leaving me here to load the Diana, after she sails. The Orwell will land Captn Watson on Norfolk Island—and then proceed to China with her Cargo.

At 7 A.M. on the 18th We weighed & made sail with a light air from the Southward & sent Mr White away with the Launch to the other Harbour, round the South end of the Island, and to trade for Sandal Wood on his way round. At 9 A.M. when crossing the Bar, the Galley caught fire—which we got put out before doing much damage. Had there been a strong breeze at the time—the ship would in all probability have caught fire. After getting clear out to Sea it commenced to blow & rain from the eastward which kept us working to Windward until near Midnight before we weathered the 2 Sand Islets. At 2 A.M. on the 19th being clear Hove to till daylight. 4:30 made sail & stood to the North. 8 passed round the N.E. end of the Island steered to the Westward along the reef—at 10 entered the passage & got to an anchor about Noon near the Orwell. Moored ship, unbent Sails—and commenced to clear away the Hold—opened some casks of Tomahawks & Axes & stowed them away in the fore cabin.

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6 Pic Nga, named ‘Mount Keys’ on Cheyne’s map (p. 46) after the midshipman. It is only 872 feet high, but the highest point on the island.

7 The paramount chief, who at this time was Touru, of the Vandegou family.

8 Samoan teachers left by the London Missionary Society to prepare the way for European missionaries. See Introduction, p. 7.
August 1841

On the morning of the 20th I went on shore with Mr White & a shore party from each vessel to cut Sandal Wood. We got natives to shew us the trees & carry the billets down to the boats. The Native teachers gave us the use of their house for the shore party to sleep in—and assisted us every way they possibly could. King ‘Motuka’⁹ & the principal chiefs being away at Botany Island¹⁰ catching Turtle. Mr Keys volunteered to go there in a canoe & fetch him up as the natives did not seem anxious to cut Sandal Wood without orders from him. The King arrived on the 25th along with Mr Keys. & visited the Diana next day—we saluted his Majesty on his coming on board & made him a handsome present which seemed to please him much. He has promised to make all his natives cut Wood & load the Vessels with all despatch—after his arrival we generally got 3 and sometimes 4 Boat Loads of Sandal Wood daily—one half of which was cut by our shore parties, The Natives carrying it down and loading the boats.

⁹ Also spelt ‘Matuka’, ‘Matungu’, and other variations by European visitors. As Professor Jean Guiart points out, this was a title of respect and not, as they thought, the chief’s personal name. On the first visit of the Camden in 1840, the Rev. T. Heath had been given the chief’s personal name of Touru, but was inclined to think it was a title—Heath 1840.

¹⁰ Cook had landed on one of the small sandy islands scattered over the line of reefs between Cape Queen Charlotte, on the southern coast of the New Caledonian mainland, and the Isle of Pines, in order to examine and cut down for spars some of the curious pines. He called it ‘Botany Isle’ in view of the plant life ‘which gave sufficient employment to our botanists the time we stayed upon it’, but during the nineteenth century the name was applied to the line of islets collectively—Beaglehole 1961: II, 558, 558n. (the latitude is given incorrectly: substitute 22° for 21°).
CHAPTER TWO

Natives commence stealing—Night Visitors—King Motuka bit by the Dog—Arrival of Canoes from New Caledonia—Visit the Village—Native Houses—Canoes—Natives bring in Fish—daily Routine of duty—Mr White commences building a House—Clearing away for a Garden.

On the 30th Captn Watson being on shore while the Natives were loading the Boats, detected one of the natives stealing a piece of Sandal Wood—& having caught him in the act struck him with it. The natives immediately gave a shout & surrounded us armed with clubs & spears headed by King Motuka who was in a great rage. Captn Watson was obliged to give him a quantity of cloth Beads & Iron Hoop to pacify him. He did very wrong in striking the native as we were completely in their power—he went on board very quickly, and never landed again during his stay at the Isle of Pines. If the Natives are well watched they will seldom take any thing by force, and the best way when they do steal—is to take no notice of it—as punishment for theft will be certain to lead to Bloodshed. On the night of the 31st about 1 A.M. being awake in bed I heard empty bottles rattling on deck —& immediately turned out & looked up the companion Hatch, when I saw a native passing empty bottles\(^1\) from a crate on deck over the side to another Man in a small canoe. I gave the alarm, and rushed on deck but the fellow Jumped overboard before we

\(^1\) Bottles were much prized, principally for their glass, pieces of which were used as cutting and scraping tools, but they were also desirable as containers.
could catch him, and swam for the shore—we immediately manned the whale boat, and brought the other man and canoe along side—but being rubbed all over with cocoa nut Oil—he got away from the two men who were holding him in the boat and swam away for the shore, leaving the marks of his teeth on the mens arms; we made the canoe fast alongside, & found 3 or 4 Dozen empty bottles in her which they had stolen—they had seen the bottles when on board during the day—& had come off at night (supposing we would be all asleep) to steal them. The two men who had the watch were lying asleep on the Windlass while they were stealing the bottles It was fortunate I heard them, or they might have gone away with the impression that we kept no watch—and have formed a conspiracy some future night to take the ship. We fired a round shot after them and a few muskets to let them know that we were always prepared. In about a minute after I gave the alarm all hands were on deck with their arms thinking the ship was attacked—which I was glad to see, as it showed, the men were on the alert and could be trusted. On the 1st Septr I brought the Orwell’s Bull Dog on shore and chained him up to the door of the Trade house to prevent the Natives from going in—finding it impossible otherwise to keep them out of the house: this had the desired effect, as they had never seen a dog before, and were very much afraid of him—but unfortunately we nearly got into a serious scrape through it—for The King Motuka came down to the Trade house about Noon and being of course a privileged person was going in the door as usual, when the Dog seized him behind, and nearly took a piece out of his posteriors, on hearing the noise I ran out and took the Dog off him, he was in an awful rage and shook his club over my head—but seeing one of the men close behind me with a musket he dropped it, ran out of the yard & told the natives to bring a fire Brand which he was about applying to the thatch when I stopped him with a pistol to his head. Had he been allowed to fire the House it would have been the signal for a general Massacre—as there was at least 300 Armed Men round the trade house at the time, and it would have been

2 Very likely true, for dogs were not indigenous to New Caledonia and Cheyne is among the very earliest of European visitors to the Isle of Pines. The name in the local language for the animal is ‘dog’, suggesting that the arrival of the dog at the island coincided with that of the English.

3 ‘with a pistol to his head’ is later deleted in the MS.
impossible for any of us to have escaped as our men were scattered about in small parties cutting Sandal Wood in the bush with Hundreds of natives around them. Although it was hazardous on my part to threaten his life I knew it was the only chance we had—as I had him in my power—and the Natives respected their King too much to do any thing which might endanger his life.

By removing the Dog and giving him a number of presents I soon pacified him.

The King comes down to the Trade house every morning about breakfast time and remains till near Sunset, attended by all his wives and children. The natives pay great respect to him and are all obliged to sit down in his presence, and to stoop when passing him. He is a strong built man about 65 years of age and is sole Monarch of the Isle of pines he likewise claims Sovereignty over the S.E. end of New Caledonia, which he gained by conquest—being a great warrior and a very brave man. He has Thirty Wives and a great number of children. The Government of the Isle of Pines is Hereditary, as I am told his oldest son will be King on his death. There is seldom a day passes but what he gets some presents from us, as we find it to our Interest to do so—for he has great power over the natives, and makes them keep bringing the Sandal Wood. I generally give him an axe and some Iron Hoop for every boat load of Wood that goes off to the ship, as tribute; which makes him anxious to get as many sent off in a day as he can, He visits the ships very frequently, and seldom comes on shore without his small bag full of Iron Hoop.

On the 5th Four Double War Canoes arrived from New Caledonia carrying about Thirty five men each, with old cocoa nuts as tribute to Motuka, their canoes are similar to those of the Isle of Pines. Next day Motuka invited me to the village—

4 As in many South Sea Island societies, particularly in Polynesia, the head of a subject was not to be higher than that of the chief in his presence.

5 These canoes would have been from Tuauru, on the south-eastern coast of the mainland, and were exceptional among New Caledonian canoes. This explains the apparent contradiction to the statement on p. 00, that the 'Isle of Pines canoes are much superior to those of New Caledonia . . .'. The latter remark comes from the general descriptive section on canoes, evidently interpolated later when he had been to other parts in New Caledonia and also to the Loyalty Islands. It was true in general.
September 1841

it is situated on a clear and beautiful spot of Ground about a mile from the shore Having an excellent road leading to it—with many plantations of Sugar cane and bananas near and around it. The first object which meets the view on entering the village is the large council house which stands at the head of the road and in the centre of the village—it is perfectly round, The roof and sides neatly thatched with long Grass and a long pole in the centre projecting 6 or 8 feet through the roof, & decorated with conch shells Tappa's & The dwelling houses are all surrounded by rude fences or fortifications, and are generally shaped like the council house—although some are square about 15 feet in length and 8 in breadth with a double pitch to the roof, falling on each side of the ridge to eaves which are 3 feet from the Ground. The fire place is in or near the centre of the house and the only escape for the smoke is through the door. They make excellent mats for sleeping on from the leaves of the Pandanus tree & cocoa nut and use a log of Wood for a pillow.
The Isle of Pine Canoes are much superior to those of New Caledonia and the loyalty Islands. They are double being formed of Two Canoes a large one and a small one. The largest one is sometimes as much as Forty five feet in Length—they are connected together by beams—on which a platform is laid. The platform is about Twenty five feet in Length and Ten in Breadth. The small Canoe serves as an outrigger for the Large one and is always kept to windward. The Canoes are made of large trees Hollowed out and are decked over at each end—sides are seized on to the upper part of the canoe to which the Platform beams are lashed—and are completely decked over so that no Sea can get into them—they have two small Hatches in each canoe leading through the platform to the Hold for Baling the Water out. Their depth of Hold varies from 4 to 5 feet according to the size. They have a small thatched house on the middle of the platform to keep their provisions in, and to protect the Women and children from the Wet. All the Double Canoes are ornamented with White shells. They have only one sail which appears much too large for the size of the Canoe. The sails are made of Mats, plaited from Pandanus leaves and sewed together with Coir Sennett. The Mast is nearly half as long as the largest Canoe. The yard about 1½ Lengths of the Mast and the Boom twice the length of the Mast. The Mast steps in a chock fastened to the platform, and placed near the centre of the largest Canoe. The Rigging belonging to the mast is one Shroud and Two Stays—one to each end of the Canoe—which are required to shift the mast with when Tacking. The Halyards are rove through a large Hole in the Mast Head, and are bent on about the Middle of the Yard. The natives are very expert in managing these canoes, and will beat to Windward with them in a strong breeze. They seldom get capsized—as they are very careful always to keep the outrigger canoe to windward. The mode of Tacking is as follows. The Canoe is kept away—The sheet slacked off—and a man goes to each end to attend the stays while another takes hold of the Tack of the Sail. The man in the bow slacks away his stay while the other one hauls in and cants the Mast—when the mast is perpendicular to the Canoe—The man with the Tack walks along with it in his hand keeping it to leeward of the Canoe & carries it to the other end, and fixes it in the chock, as soon as the mast is canted sufficient to make it take. While the Man is walking along with the Tack the sheet is dipped under the Boom
September 1841

& taken to the other end of the platform which now becomes the stern—The Out Rigger Canoe must always be kept to Windward. The Two Canoes are about 6 feet apart. They steer with an immense paddle having a blade 6 feet in length and a foot Broad. These Canoes sail very fast, but when they get in a Seaway, they generally keep a Hand or two Baling. They go frequently in them from the Isle of Pines to Lifu a distance of 90 miles & to New Caledonia. Notwithstanding these long voyages, it is seldom any of them gets lost. They are built of the Beautiful Pine which grows on the Isle of Pines & S.E. end of New Caledonia The only tools they had previous to our visit were Stone Adzes—lashed on with Sennett to a crooked piece of Wood. It is a species of Jade Stone and very hard.

The largest Double canoes will carry 40 men easily. They have small canoes with outriggers which they use for fishing and visiting in. The large ones are seldom launched except when going on a

* The visits to Lifu are further evidence supporting the link between the Isle of Pines and the Xetiwaan chieftainship of Lifu. The smaller canoes would have been used for visits between the Isle of Pines (Gadji) and New Caledonia—J.G.
voyage or some War Expedition—when not in use they are always hauled up in the Canoe House, where they are protected from the Weather.

On the morning of the 10th some canoes brought in a large quantity of fine fish—which they had caught on the reefs with nets—old Motuka divided them out in the small council house near our Trade House, and gave a share to each of our vessels. He put some to one side as an offering to their Gods—and after mumbling some sort of a prayer over them—they were tied to a stick and thrown into the Sea.7

We have been well supplied with refreshments during the time we have been here—as there is seldom a day but what we get 2 or 3 fowls, and can always get a sufficiency of fine Yams & Tarro for the crews of both Vessels. Since the Kings arrival from Botany Island our daily routine of duty has been as follows. At daylight the shore parties are turned out and sent away in the bush to cut Sandal Wood accompanied by some 50 Men and Women who shew them the trees and carry the Wood down to the beach and load the boats—about breakfast time the King & suite arrive—and the natives soon after commence coming in with Sandal Wood—each Man carrying a stick weighing from 20 to 80 lbs for which they get a piece of Iron Hoop about 5 In in length—if a very small piece or decayed, they only get Beads—or one small fish hook—as the pieces are bought they are thrown inside the fence in front of the Trade House door—and as soon as we have got enough to load a Boat—we hoist a flag on a pole—as a signal to the ship. As soon as the boat arrives we divide the natives into two parties forming a lane in a direct line from the Wood to the boat—and get the natives to carry it down paying each man a few small beads for each stick he carries to the Boat—we are obliged to keep a sharp lookout that they do not steal it when carrying down—as they are the most expert thieves I ever met with—as soon as the boat is loaded we send her off—and if we require her again make a signal for her. The Natives seldom bring any Wood after 2 P.M. being too lazy to work more than half a day. We generally have about 400 Natives round the Trade House every afternoon every man armed with

7 This is the first mention of such a practice. The net fishing must have been done by the Vano of Wapan, in association with the Vakumé of Gadji. The offering may have been meant for the goddess Yaatye, mother of the hero Vano—J.G.
September 1841

a club and 2 or 3 Spears and a more ferocious looking set of Cannibals cannot be seen any place. They generally manage to steal something or other from us during the day notwithstanding we keep a bright look out. They nearly all go away at Sunset which is a great relief to us. Our shore parties come in about 6 P.M. and I go on board shortly afterwards—and come on shore again at daybreak every morning. The Orwell is filling up fast and in a few days more, we shall have completed her cargo.

11th Mr. White and Six Hands commenced to day to build a Store—it being understood that I am to leave him here in charge of a shore party when I have completed the Diana's cargo. He is going to build it of squared logs of Timber for strength, & have it roofed Native fashion. Two men employed clearing away a piece of Ground to plant Potatoes in—the others in the bush cutting Sandal Wood.
CHAPTER THREE


On the 16th Sepr 1841 we completed the Orwell’s Cargo. Captn Watson removed his things on board her the same day, and made preparations for sailing the next morning. He entered into an agreement with Mr White and Six of my crew to remain on the Island as a shore party—and to collect and clean Sandal Wood for our owners until another vessel could be sent down from Sydney to them. He gave me Instructions to have the ‘Diana’ filled in Six Weeks if possible—and when loaded to make the best of my way for Sydney Heads—to Hoist a private Signal when off the entrance of Port Jackson—and not to enter the Harbour, or hold any communication with the shore, until I heard from the owners¹—and to leave all the remains of Trade and what provisions I could spare with Mr White. It was also agreed that Edward Foxall, our Interpreter should remain with Mr White as trading Master and to be paid one pound p. Ton

¹ In the cause of secrecy. This was the first sandalwood expedition to the Isle of Pines and the owners hoped to preserve a monopoly of this trading ground for as long as possible. In fact, they kept it for less than four months. See Shineberg 1967: 29-30.
for what Wood he might collect. On the Morning of the 17th the King and principal chiefs went on board the Orwell for their presents—and about Noon having made all our arrangements—she Weighed and stood out to Sea. We gave her Three Hearty cheers in passing which was returned.—she is going to Norfolk Island to land Captain Watson and from thence to China.

Before proceeding with the Narrative of the Diana’s Voyage, I shall now attempt to give some description of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Pines with their customs & as far as came under my personal observation during the time I was amongst them.2

The Peak of the Isle of Pines is situated in Latitude 22°38' South: Longitude 167°25'E. The Island is Forty Two Miles in circumference. The N.E. part is clear of reefs, with the exception of a fringe reef extending about 100 yards from the shore—but from East round by South and West to North, The Island is connected to and surrounded by Coral reefs—with many Small Islands which form several good Harbours inside. None of the small Islands have any permanent Inhabitants, but they are resorted to occasionally for fishing and catching Turtle. There are also numerous detached Shoals and coral patches.

The Reefs and shoals extend from the Isle of Pines, in a Westerly direction to the S.E. end of New Caledonia, which is about 28 miles distant and in sight in clear Weather.

Near the shore, the land is generally low and rocky with little Soil, but very thickly wooded; about two miles inland the soil improves, and from that to the centre of the Island (on the North side) the ground rises with a gentle ascent with very little timber, and a rich Alluvial Soil—forming a large clear plain of Hundreds of Acres: from the plain the land rises Gradually towards the peak (which is situated on the S.E. part of the Island), and is Thickly Wooded to the Top. There is good fresh Water at the foot of the Hill but it is not convenient for shipping.

Being situated within the Southern Tropic The prevailing Winds are from S.E.—veering round at times to E.N.E., and N.E. generally blowing a fresh Gale during the Winter Months. From November to April Northerly and Westerly Winds are often experienced—and sometimes in February and March Heavy Gales prevail, but they are of short duration. October and

2 The following description of the Isle of Pines society (pp. 45-58) has been used by Cheyne in his book Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, but in an abridged form, with the subject matter rearranged. See Cheyne 1852: 1-12.
November are the Hottest Months in the year. The Winds being generally light about that time with fine Weather. Gales begin at the North East passing round to North and North west, from which Quarters they blow hardest—and as they moderate haul round to S.W. and South, they are always accompanied with Much Rain and thick Weather: the mean Temperature during the Winter Months is about 75°—and in the summer season

References to the Plan of the Isle of Pines:

§ A curious error. The hottest months are December, January, and February, as one would expect. Cheyne was not there in December or January, but he was there in February 1853 for a few days. Possibly a westerly gale with rain appeared to modify the temperature then, and he inferred that this was true of the whole season of the westerlies, from December to March.

46
about 80°. The Barometer is seldom affected, except in those severe Gales, when it sometimes falls as low as 29.45 In. The Tides are very irregular. It is High Water on full & change of the Moon at 8 Hours—Greatest rise and fall 5½ feet. at Neap Tides, there is only one tide in the 24 Hours, and which is generally in the night. The rise and fall at that time not above 2 feet. On the first of the flood the tide runs strong in the passages through the reefs but as soon as the reefs get covered—it then flows in all directions, and with less velocity. Great care is required in Navigating among coral reefs—and nothing but a careful officer at the Mast Head, can prevent a vessel from getting on shore—as Dangerous coral spires grow up from the Bottom in the shape of a Mushroom to within 6 or 9 feet of the surface, and can only be seen from the mast Head.

Sailing Directions for the Isle of Pines

If bound to Victoria, Get the Peak to bear S.W. then steer for it, and when within ¼ of a mile of the reef, bear away to the Westward along the reef keeping it close aboard; as soon as the reef terminates you will see the small Island (marked I on the plan and covered with tall pine trees) bearing from you about South, that Island forms the east side of the channel and a reef with a small sand bank on it forms the West side. The channel is not above 200 yards wide, and the course in is about South, borrow on the Sand bank side, as a coral ledge runs from the pine Island some distance: after getting inside steer for a small Rocky Islet which you will see a little on your Larboard Bow, leave it on your larboard hand, and anchor between it and the Main in 3 or 4 fms bottom Coral & Sand. If the Wind will not allow a vessel to lay through the small channel, she will require to run down along the reef for the large entrance it is ½ Mile wide and the Peak bears SE from it; In working in, Keep a good lookout for a large coral patch which lays a little inside the Entrance leave it on the Starboard Hand and work up inside the reef for Victoria Harbour, keeping a good lookout from the Mast Head for coral patches, of which there are several. In working a ship amongst coral reefs—The commander ought always to be at the Mast Head: All dangers can be seen from Aloft in a clear day.

If bound in to the S.E. Harbour, marked C on the plan, steer in for the land with the Peak bearing about West. Untill
you get near the two low sand Islets, which lay from three to four Miles from the shore, and are very dangerous in a dark night, when abreast of them and within $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile steer to the South-west\(d\) for some Rocky Islets, which you will see, they form the South side of the 7 fathom Bar channel, after getting about Half way between them and the Woody Island which forms the North side of the channel; you may then steer to the Westward—crossing the Bar about mid channel, then steer towards the Peak keeping a good lookout for some black rocks 2 or 3 feet above water, which lay fronting the Cove marked C. The anchorage is to the Westward of them in 8 or 9 fathoms—Sand, off the Mouth of the cove, or a vessel may anchor in the Cove in 5 fathoms as it is clear of coral patches. You may pass the rocks on either side—but if to the Southward be sure and give them a good birth.

The Harbour Mark'd F has 3 fms in it, but the entrance is full of sunken rocks: by placing buoys on them—a small vessel \textit{might} go in but she would have some difficulty in getting out, as the prevailing Winds blow right in. The climate cannot be considered unsalubrious although the changes from Heat to cold are sometimes very great as a very hot day will frequently be succeeded by a night cold and chilly—especially in June and July,\textsuperscript{4} and exposure at night by sleeping in the open air would be liable to injure a European constitution.

Many species of fine timber grows on the Island. The Sandal Wood is found on the level Ground one or two Miles inland & all that I have seen cut, was found in places destitute of Soil, and on coral rock: The trees are very much scattered, and I have frequently searched over half a mile of ground without finding any. It is very difficult to walk through the bush—The trees being interwoven with vines and brushwood: After getting inland clear of the Coral flats, the vegetation is very luxuriant all over the Island. Some of the Sandal Wood trees are very large, but the average size is about 10 or 12 Inches in Diameter. The tree is very much in appearance like a large Myrtle—& has a small oval leaf about $1\frac{1}{4}$ In in Length & $\frac{3}{8}$ In. in breadth. The Sandal is the heart of the tree, of a deep Yellow colour and yields an agreeable perfume—it is surrounded by an outer Wood,

\(\textsuperscript{4}\) This fact explains the round houses devoid of draughts described in Chapter II—J.G.
which is white, and must be cleaned off with Axes or Adzes. After the Tree is felled, it is barked, and cut into Billets of 3 or 4 feet in length, and taken on board ship to be cleaned, when cleaned it averages from 3 to 10 In in Diam: according to the size of the tree. The deeper the colour—and the nearer the root, The more valuable is the Wood. The branches should be rejected as they are nearly all Sap. The Woods on the low Coral lands are very thick, and among them are many large and fine trees of a beautiful Red Wood. I did not see any Bread fruit trees, nor do I think there are any either on the Isle of Pines or New Caledonia. The cultivated plants and trees are Cocoa Nut—Sugar Cane—Bananas—Yams—Tarro—Sweet Potatoes—and Ti root. The Pandanus tree grows nearly all over the Island—and is of great use to the Natives for making Mats—baskets and Canoe Sails of. They pay great attention to the cultivation of their Yams. They plant them in September and October, and they are ripe about April or May following. The Yam Grounds are dug up with Wooden spades—and are planted about 3 or 4 feet apart—a Reed is put in the Ground by each yam for the Vine to run up—and when it withers the yam is ripe. Tarro is planted in Wet Soil—and is the most nutritious vegetable which we get amongst the Islands. The Sweet Potatoes are planted in the Yam Grounds—and grow to a fair size—they form a very agreeable article of Diet and when cooked—the skin is hard and peels off like the bark of a tree—there is no particular season for planting the Tarro—for when it is ripe— the Top is cut off and immediately replanted. There are a number of Beautiful Pine trees growing on the Island, some of which are very large and similar to the Norfolk Island pine. The Natives of the Isle of Pines are generally about the middle size, and in complexion between the Black and copper-coloured races—although dark in colour they have nothing of the Negro appearance about them—their faces are generally well formed with rather a large mouth, and a fine set of teeth but their is something restless and savage looking about the expression of their countenance. Their Hair has a frizzly appearance, and is

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5 La Billardière, the naturalist with the d'Entrecasteaux expedition, observed two at Balade in 1793, and noted that the natives set great value upon them—La Billardière 1800: II, 253. They were probably introduced at Balade from Polynesia at the end of the eighteenth century and were taken further south by the Marist fathers in the middle of the next century—J.G.
generally worn long by the Men, and wrapped up in Tappa—
while others have it cut short with a Tuft left uncut on one side
of the Head. The Women both old and young—have generally
their Heads shaved—which gives them an ugly appearance. The
boys have their Hair cropped short—both men and Women
have the lobes of their ears perforated, and in the men distended
to the size of 2 Inches in Diameter. The only dress the men have
is a piece of Tappa—which only partly covers their nakedness.
The boys before being circumcised, go entirely naked. The
Women when married wear a fringe tied round the Loins about
3 Inches broad which hardly covers their nakedness—and
is the only article of dress they have—the unmarried females
and virgins—go entirely naked. The ornaments Worn by the
Men are strings of Beads and Human hair. The beads they have
got from us—& have them strung alternately, black white Blue
Red Yellow & Green. They plait the Hair like Sennet, & wear
it round the neck. The chiefs wear white Cowrie shells tied
round the Knees and wrists—& strung on thread made from the
Down of the Flying Fox. The Men when dressed for War—are
painted Black on the face & breast with the Hair done up in
many folds of Tappa & decorated with Cocks feathers. They also
have a long piece of Tappa tied round the left wrist which they
use for fending off Spears with. The Women wear no Ornaments
except Beads—are exceedingly filthy in their persons—and have
no feeling of shame about them. The Isle of Pine Natives are
great Thieves. Extremely ferocious and treacherous—but withal
great cowards. They are so greatly addicted to lying—that it is
hardly possible to get the truth out of them—and consider
Stealing and lying as great accomplishments. Although in the
lowest state of savage barbarity—yet they are possessed of great
cunning and are quite as well versed in Villany, as the worst
characters in our own country. Both men and Women7 shave all
the Hair off their persons—formerly they used 2 cockle shells as
Tweezers to pull it out by the roots, but since our arrival—they

50
shave with broken glass bottles. The women are kept in great subjection, and when they prove refractory their Masters will frequently give them a severe thrashing, and infidelity in any of the Kings wives is punished with death; they are made to carry burdens, attend to the Banana and sugar Cane plantations, Weed the Yam & Tarro grounds, fetch Wood and water, make Tappa Mats & baskets, cook, & take care of the children. The Men assist to plant yams, build Houses and canoes—fish, and go to War: the remainder of their time is spent in sleeping & lounging about their Houses. No man goes any distance from his House without having his club and spears in his hand; they are very covetous and will not hesitate to kill a man (if they can do so with impunity) for the sake of getting possession of his property. They generally have a plurality of wives, and promiscuous intercourse of the Sexes before marriage is allowed.8

They generally bathe in the Sea every morning—and while in the Water drink through leaves—about half a pint of Salt Water.

Their implements of warfare, are clubs, spears, Slings & stones—and since their Intercourse with us—Tomahawks, which they prefer to any other Weapon. They have 4 different descriptions of clubs—one shaped similar to the beak of a bird—another with a large Head and prongs projecting from it—but the one which is most common has a large Knotty Head made from Iron Wood, the upper part of the root forming the Head. Their spears are from 8 to 10 feet in Length and are thrown by a Sip—plaited of cocoa nut fibres, it has an eye wrought on one end, which fits on to the forefinger of the right Hand, is about 7 In in length and a knot on the other end—they can throw the Spear a long distance and with great precision with the Sip.9 The stones they use for slinging are shaped like a pidgeons egg and are carried in a bag, made in purpose for them tied round the waist; they can Sling them very straight, and sometimes kill birds with them. I noticed many of the Women with scars on their shoulders and breasts, which is done as a token of grief on the death of any of their near relations.

The Natives of the Isle of Pines are Cannibals, and always eat the bodies of their enemies slain in battle, not merely to gratify

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8 This corresponds with acknowledged traditions of Lifu, but not with those of the mainland of New Caledonia—J.G.
9 An excellent description of the Sip—J.G.
their revenge, but to satisfy their craving appetite for this sort of food, and the operation of cutting up and cooking their victims is gone through, without the least emotion or feeling of shame; should the King order any of his subjects (who had committed any petty offence) to be killed, he would be likewise roasted and devoured although not an enemy. The natives when questioned by us about their cannibal propensities—made no secret of it, and seemed much surprised to find that we were not cannibals. They prefer Human flesh to any other sort of food, and say it tastes much sweeter than Pork.

When a body has been cooked, it is cut up, and divided among the chiefs and those who are not present have their portion sent to them. The Bones and skull are preserved as trophies by the persons who feast on them; They prefer the flesh of Women and children to men.

All the Males on the Isles of Pines are circumcised—this ceremony is performed when the boys are about Ten years of age and is accompanied with feasting and dancing; they then wear the Tappa the same as the men.

With Regard to the population of the Isle of Pines—I found it impossible to obtain correct information—from the number of villages and Natives which I have seen at different parts of the Island—I should take it to be not less than Two Thousand five Hundred Souls. The Town where the King resides, has the greatest number of Houses and is the most thickly populated. All the villages are situated near the coast and are built among groves of cocoa Nut trees. There are no inhabitants in the interior of the Island. Whenever the Natives meet a chief they go to one side of the road—stoop down and lower their clubs until he passes.

During my stay at the Isle of pines I saw one Albino, A girl about fifteen years of age. Her skin was of a reddish White colour—and marked with small brown freckles. The Hair of a yellowish White & frizzly. Her eyes appeared Weak and inflamed. In appearance she looked like a European slightly sun-burnt.

10 Possibly so, as local subsistence agriculture could carry them easily. The ravages of alcohol and tuberculosis—the latter possibly aggravated by the forcible destruction of round houses about 1930—could account for the decrease to as few as six hundred in 1936—J.G. In recent years, the population has increased sharply, and is now above one thousand, and showing a tendency to rise.
The Natives are extremely cruel, void of affection, and are truly wretches in every sense of the Word, degraded beyond the power of conception. All aged and decrepit persons, and Men Women and children who have been long ill of a lingering disease—are either put to death by their relations or carried to one of the small Islands and left there to perish without food.11

When on shore one day trading—a Woman stole a piece of Sandal Wood—belonging to some relation and sold it to me for beads—she was seen by some men, who rushed on her with their clubs and beat her to that degree, that she lay insensible on the beach for some time; and would have killed her, had I not interfered.

The fringe which forms the Womens dress is made from the fibres of the Banana tree, braided on a String.12 The Tappa which forms the Turban and dress of the men is made from the Bark of a tree—it is well soaked in Water, beaten out on a log, and exposed to the Sun to dry. They use vines split as seizures for their Houses. Torches for fishing with at night are made of dried cocoa nut leaves tied up in bundles. Calabashes for holding Water are made of Gourds13—neatly crossed or braided with Sennit. They have a peculiar mode of drinking which appears awkward to a European. they throw the Head back with the mouth open; Hold the Calabash up with both Hands, and allow the Water to run into the mouth. this is done to prevent the vessel from touching their mouth as it would be considered unpollite for several persons to drink out of the same Calabash with their mouths to it—they sometimes roll a long leaf up in the form of a Tube, insert one end in the Calabash, and drink out of the other, when this plan of drinking is adopted the leaf is always changed when passed to a Stranger. Their food consists of Excellent Yams & Tarro Bananas Cocoa Nuts and fish also Sweet potatoes they bake their food generally in Ovens, made by heating stones, and are cleanly in their cooking as every thing is

11 This practice has often been noted. Cases have been recorded, however, where old men asked to be abandoned, and others where long-suffering patients considered to be dangerous were left to perish as far as possible from the community. The reason was, then, possibly not merely hard-heartedness, as Cheyne implies—J.G.

12 One of many techniques—J.G.

13 The observance of gourds at this time (1841) is noteworthy, as there is a controversy as to how and when gourds arrived here—J.G.
wrapped up in fresh banana leaves before being put in the oven. They eat with their fingers, and have their food served up on banana leaves. They have also clay pots which they sometimes use for cooking in.

Their feasts are conducted with much form—and evince some slight degree of politeness, the food when cooked is placed before the King—and served out by his directions—generally by the priest who repeats a prayer over it. The Natives are seated in Groups opposite to the King—and as soon as all the food is divided—The King retires, and the feast breaks up.14 The evenings entertainments consist of Dancing and Singing. The Isle of pine natives rise about daylight—shortly after Sunrise they take their morning Meal, and then go to their work, in which they are engaged until about Noon when they return to their Houses and after eating something—Sleep, chat, and lounge about during the afternoon. At Sunset they take their evening Meal, and in fine Weather generally dance and sing until a late

14 The chief retires so that his subjects can feast, for they could not eat in his presence—J.G.
hour—when they retire to rest. One of their Afternoon occupations appears to be searching in their Woolly Mops for Vermin with which they are infested—and banqueting on the results of the Hunt, this disgusting custom is common all over Polynesia. The Men sit cross legged like a Tailor. The Women have a peculiar mode of sitting which I can hardly describe—they appear to sit on the left Heel—resting on the right knee with the leg on the ground and foot back.

Although the Men are almost naked they have a great Idea of modesty, and consider it very indelicate to expose the whole person. With respect to Diseases they appear to have but few. One or two men were seen with Elphantiasis, & another with Hydrocele. Rheumatism appears to be the most common disease—it generally affects them in the long bones of the legs—they relieve it by making an incision in to the bone, over the part affected which can be seen by the large Scars on their shins. they suffer most pain at night, and in rainy weather. Ulcers on their legs are frequent,—this is one of the most disgusting things about them—as they are left exposed and they never apply any thing to heal them. I have seen some on their legs 3 In. in Diameter. Wounds received in Battle heal up very quick which is the consequence of living regular, and on a vegetable diet. while at the Isle of pines—I acquired but little information respecting their Religion—they believe in the immortality of the soul; and have many Gods which they worship—they also believe that the spirits of the Dead enter into the Priests when inspired—and that whatever they say then, is dictated by the spirit. they have no Idea of any other country existing, but their own and the adjacent Islands—and believe the 'Papalangis'\textsuperscript{15} (the name given to the Whites), comes from the skies—and after sailing to the edge of the visible Horizon, that we fly off into the air—!

The Native Teachers appear to be tolerated merely for the sake of getting presents and not with any desire to receive Instruction from them. however they have not been long enough here to know whether their Mission will be successful or not—as they have not yet had time to acquire much knowledge of the language, or to enlighten them in any of the truths of christianity. There are four Teachers at the Isle of Pines, and two at New Caledonia

\textsuperscript{15} This is a Polynesian word, and doubtless, like 'Bula ma kou' (see p. 57), it came to them through the Samoan teachers.
on the S.E. end.—they were left here about 3 months ago by the Missionary Brig Camden—which is the only Vessel that has visited this Island previous to us since its discovery by Captain Cook.\textsuperscript{16} There are several Feejee Islanders on the Isle of Pines, who were drove here many years ago in Canoes;\textsuperscript{17} they are much the same in appearance as the Isle of Pine natives, and of the same complexion, so much so that no person would take them for natives of a different Island, unless they were pointed out to them as such: As the Isle of Pine canoes are much better constructed than either those of New Caledonia or the loyalty Islands, I am led from that to suppose that they have been taught an improved mode of building them from the Feejee natives.\textsuperscript{18} Both men and Women are very expert swimmers and good divers, much of their time is spent at certain seasons catching Turtle on the small Islands and fishing on the Reefs, They use fish pots and Nets for catching fish. Green Turtle are plentiful, and of a middling size, they catch a good many on the small Islands during the laying season; A few Hawks Bill Turtle are caught now & then—but they do not appear to be very expert in this branch of fishing. When a person dies, the body is wrapped up in mats—and buried in a sitting posture with the breast resting on the Knees—before being taken to the Grave, the priest or King mumbles some sort of a prayer over him. The burying grounds are all Tabooed.

The natives are very superstitious, and believe that If they have any intercourse with their Wives while planting Yams, that they will not grow. they likewise abstain from Women before

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{16} Cheyne was mistaken in this belief. The Camden had gone to the Isle of Pines on the information of Samuel Henry, who had been there a few years before—probably in 1829 or 1830. The Camden herself had paid two visits to the Isle of Pines—the first a year before, in May 1840, when two Samoans were left, and the second, to which he refers, in April 1841, when another two Samoans commenced work there.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{17} No earlier visitor to the Isle of Pines mentioned any Fijian castaways. They spoke only of Tongans supposed to have been cast away there and later to have left—Heath 1840; Murray 1841. It seems unlikely that their ‘Tongans’ and Cheyne’s ‘Fijians’ could have been the same people, unless, as Guiart suggests, they were Lau Islanders, that is Fijians under the influence of Tonga. It could well have been expedient for Lau castaways to have sheltered under the greater name of Tonga.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{18} Similarly, the missionaries believed that, in the construction of canoes, the Isle of Pines people had ‘taken the hint’ from the Tongan canoe drifted there.—Murray 1841.
and during War, when on fishing excursions, and whenever they are cultivating the ground, no man I am told sleeps in the same house with his wife on any of these occasions.\textsuperscript{19}

Vessels visiting the Island for the purpose of Trade, ought to be well armed, and continually guarded against treachery, as the natives are not by any means to be trusted. The articles most in request here are Tomahawks, Axes, Adzes—Cloth, fish Hooks, knives, Iron Hoop and large blue glass beads. but the greater part of our Sandal Wood was purchased for Beads and Iron Hoop.\textsuperscript{20} The natives for a long time could form no Idea as to the use we made of the Sandal Wood—and would not believe it was used for burning—after seeing us eating Biscuit, (which they thought was made of Saw dust) they came at last to the conclusion that we ground it into Powder, and used it as food, and no explanation could dissuade them from holding that opinion. At first they took our salt Beef & Pork for human flesh and it was some time before we could convince them to the contrary, having no Idea that there were any animals larger than Dogs in existence. They have named the Beef and pork ‘Bula ma kou’ which name I believe they have derived from the ‘Samoan’ Native Teachers. With respect to the Religious or rather superstitious observances of these Islanders (to which I have before alluded) I may remark that the distinction between right and wrong is utterly unknown to them; Murder, Cannibalism, Theft, covetousness, lying, and knavery of every description are not looked upon by them as sins, neither do they believe that the Spirits whom they invoke so consider them: although they have a firm belief in the immortality of the soul, Yet of a future state of Rewards and punishments they have no knowledge; The souls of the deceased are supposed to hover in the air over their graves or the land of their birth, with power to visit other Islands at discretion. they have another superstition regarding spirits, which is Transmigration, and think that spirits wander about in various shapes—and can make themselves visible or invisible at pleasure—this form of superstition makes them very averse to go out of their villages after dark: when they do travel at night, they always carry a lighted flambeau or fire stick in their hand. Priests are generally self chosen; To accomplish this they will

\textsuperscript{19} The sexual tabus are correctly described—J.G.

\textsuperscript{20} For the value represented by both these trade goods and the sandalwood, see Shineberg 1967.
cunningly pretend to have been inspired by the spirit of some deceased chief or noted Warrior, and that they have been told by it of future events which are to happen; should any of their predictions relative to War Expeditions or events which Interest the people much, happen to correspond; nothing more would be required to constitute the foreteller of such events a duly inspired Priest, and entitle him to the power & respect claimed by that class of persons. The Scenery of this Island is beautiful, and has a pleasing effect on a person unaccustomed to Tropical climates. The clear land near and above the Kings village would make a very fine coffee and Sugar plantation, the expense of cultivating it would be trifling as the ground is clear of Timber. The soil is very productive and cattle would thrive well as there is plenty of fine grass all over the Island. No one can visit this Island without feeling deep regret, that so lovely a spot of God's creation should be inhabited and daily sullied by the deeds of those depraved Wretches whom I have given an account of.²¹

²¹ He had modified this harsh judgment by 1855, when he said: 'The character of the Isle of Pine natives has undergone much change for the better since their first intercourse with the Sandalwood traders, in 1841 . . . they are now so much civilized as to render it safe for a white man to walk all over the island unarmed.' —Cheyne 1855: 21.

I have already stated that the Orwell sailed on the 17th Sept. The King came on board the Diana the same afternoon, and to my great astonishment told me that he could no longer spare any of his people to cut Sandal Wood, as their services were required to plant yams, which could no longer be delayed, as the yearly season for doing so had commenced. He kept this entirely secret from Captn Watson, and did not mention a word about it until the Orwell was out of sight, imagining perhaps that if he did so he would not receive any presents. I was now left to my own resources and had to make the best of it. Mr White my mate had Six of our men constantly employed on shore with him building his house, and which occupied their whole time during our stay, so that I had only fourteen men including myself left to cut Sandal Wood for the Brig and no one but those accustomed to the trade, can form any Idea of the Labour attending the cutting of 150 tons of Sandal Wood by Eight Men in Six Weeks, which was the time taken by us to fill her: A person unacquainted with the character of Savages, can hardly imagine the many difficulties which attended our duties, or the obstacles which impeded our progress. Sometimes the shore party would get a gang of natives with them to carry down the Wood, and who after getting paid
would often drop it half way, or if not strictly watched they would steal it and take it round to the Trade House and sell it—although it was cut by our own men. It required the utmost vigilance and forbearance on our part to prevent a rupture with them. After the Orwell’s departure they daily got more daring and Insolent, and would hardly render any assistance, although they were half their time unemployed, as they seldom remained after 12 o’clock at their yam grounds, and spent the Afternoon in visiting the ship, hanging round the shore party, and stealing whenever they had a chance; While the Orwell was here they kept very quiet, and wrought hard, perhaps more through fear than any thing else, but since her departure, the true character of the Savage has been developed: Their Motto is ‘Might makes Right’ as the saying is, and so it appears, in their every day transactions; I visited the Village frequently during our stay and generally met with a friendly reception, although I was often annoyed by the Natives examining my Arms legs and body to satisfy themselves that I was composed of flesh and blood: Going to the Village alone was far from being a safe experiment, and sometimes when surrounded by a crowd, I have repented of my temerity, and wished myself on board again. Had I known as much of the Treachery of Savages then, as I have learned subsequently, It is not very likely I would have trusted them so much.

We managed to average two Boat Loads of Sandal Wood daily, which was cut and brought off by the shore party, the remainder of the crew being employed on board cleaning Wood and stowing the Hold. At 8 A.M. on the 10th Octr the Launch with the shore party on their way to cut wood touched at the Trade House to land some things for Mr White. While there the King ‘Motuka’ stole all the empty bottles which they had with them for trade. About 10 A.M. I went on shore and remonstrated with him for doing so, he said I had no business to give Trade to any Village but his, and spat in my face and shoved me away, which I was obliged to take in good part, as our only chance of getting a Cargo was by keeping on good terms with him. I was often insulted in this way both by him and others—and I have seen many of them stoop down and place themselves in a very indecent posture, as a mark of contempt or derision. They frequently assume this latter posture among themselves when fighting; and have frequently done it to me when alongside the vessel in Canoes.
October 1841

At daylight on the 14th I was alarmed by hearing Muskets firing on shore—and immediately left the ship in an armed boat to learn the particulars. Mr White said they were only firing off and reloading their arms—in consequence of some natives whom he knew having attempted to steal bottles during the night—he chased one fellow into the small council house, but being dark inside, he managed to make his escape through the door while he was searching for him. One of Mr White’s men who was guarding the door outside, gave him a severe gash with a cutlass in passing—as the marks of the blood were seen on the grass in the morning. These same fellows had been warned before by Mr White that he would shoot them if he caught them stealing¹—notwithstanding which it appears they still risked their lives, for the sake of stealing two or three empty bottles.

On the night of the 15th the large Council house in the Town was burnt to ashes. It is not known how the fire originated, but supposed to be by accident, as no native in his right senses would have attempted such a thing. They cannot keep their own secrets, and had it been maliciously done the guilty person would have soon been found out and punished with death. A few days afterwards they built another on the same spot and of the same shape and dimensions as the one burnt.

About this time I was taken very ill with fever, and unable to move about. I suffered most from severe pains in my head at night which prevented me from getting any sleep. It appeared to be a sort of Rheumatic fever, brought on by being frequently wet on shore, and not changing my clothes or taking any care of myself.

On Friday the 29th We got our last boat load of Sandal Wood brought off, which filled up the fore cabin and completed our Cargo. It gave me much gratification to find that I had succeeded in loading the Vessel in the time specified in my instructions, and fortunately without any serious accident having taken place. Mr White’s house being then finished we landed all our remains of Trade, & a sufficiency of provisions for him and his party and gave them two four pounder guns and some small arms with plenty of Ammunition; it is rather a hazardous undertaking, to remain on shore among merciless cannibals, and little chance of

¹ White evidently did not share Cheyne’s views on the best way of dealing with stealing (see p. 36).
October 1841

escaping should they be attacked. I left them a Whale boat but she would be of little use, as the natives could easily prevent them from getting away in her. However Mr White appears satisfied as to the result, and having been a number of years Whaling amongst the Islands in the pacific, he is well acquainted with the character of Savages, and thinks that in case of any outbreak, he can walk through the Island with his hand full of Men. He is aware that nothing but the fear of Death, will restrain them from committing crimes, and consequently rates their lives at a very low value. Provided he keeps a strict Watch at night, and allows none of them inside the fence with which the house is surrounded—he may be able to hold out until the arrival of a Vessel from Sydney.

Having arranged every thing in a satisfactory manner with Mr White, and the Brig being ready for Sea; on the morning of the 30th I sent for the King and Native Teachers to give them their presents and bid them Adieu. The King arrived about 8 A.M. in his Large War Canoe attended by a body Guard of Eighty Men. I made him a handsome present, and after giving something to each of the Inferior chiefs, explained to them through the Native Teachers The motive of Mr White's remaining on shore, The benefit they would derive from keeping on friendly Terms with Europeans, The probability of punishment for aggressions committed on them, and the certainty of Two large ships being sent down from Sydney immediately on my arrival well manned and Armed for the purpose of carrying on the Trade in Sandal Wood—and that I expected them to again cut Sandal Wood for Mr White, as soon as their Yams were planted: The King acknowledged the Justness of my remarks, and said that every thing should be done that I had requested. He appeared to be highly pleased with his present, and before leaving the ship—presented me with His Turban or Tappa which according to their customs, was the highest honour he could confer on me. The shouts and gestures of the Natives sufficiently expressed their astonishment on seeing this rare ceremony performed—it was according to their rules investing me with the Rank of a chief, second only to himself. The Bundles of Iron Hoop and Bottles

* There was a White in the sandalwood business about ten years later who had one of the worst reputations in the trade for brutality; it may well have been the same man. See Shineberg 1967: 91-2.
October 1841

which I had given him had touched the heart of his Majesty, and we parted on the best possible terms. At 10 A.M. Having Hove short, and set the sails, Edward Foxall trading Master came aft and told me he would not remain on shore, but wished to go to Sydney alleging the natives were not to be trusted, but as he appeared to be actuated by Sinister motives and being contrary to his agreement, I refused to take him & having the most strict orders to leave him behind I was under the necessity of putting him on shore by force. As soon as we had settled this unpleasant affair we weighed, and stood to the Westward inside the reef intending to go to sea through the Orwells Entrance, but the Sun being ahead we were obliged to come to an anchor in 17 fathoms inside the passage for the night. Mr White and his boats crew rem’d on board—at daylight on the 31st we weighed and stood out to Sea. While running out the passage—we heard several guns fired at Mr Whites house, and which led us to suppose that something was wrong on shore. As soon as we got clear out to Sea Mr White left the ship. I told him I would work up along the reef to the Diana’s entrance and if any thing was wrong to make a Signal. At sunset we were close to the small entrance, and as no signal could be seen we stood off to sea. We had a narrow escape from shipwreck that same night. I had no officers but the 2nd Mate and carpenter, & we stood off till 10 P.M. when we tacked and stood in for the land. Being very unwell, I was not able to remain on deck after that time, and on going below I told the Carpenter to be sure and tack at half past one in the morning as we would be quite near enough to the reef about that time. I went to bed, and fortunately happening to awake got up; finding the Vessel still on the same tack I ran on deck and could see the breakers under the bows. We had just room to stay, and cleared the reef. Had I been 2 minutes later the vessel would have been on shore. The carpenter was asleep when I went on deck & it was then half past two o’clock. We certainly had a most Miraculous escape. This occurrence shows the necessity of having trustworthy men as officers, and the danger of their sleeping in their watch on deck—for had the vessel been lost we would have been murdered by the natives—as they consider all wrecks lawful prize sent by their Gods, and invariably Kill the crews, should they unfortunately fall into their hands. Next day we weathered

3 'by force' is later deleted by the author.
the Isle of Pines and stood to the Southwfd We had a continuance of S.E. Winds until the 10th November on which day we made Lord Howe's Island. The wind then shifted round to S.W. and blew a gale for 12 Hours when it hauled round to N.W. and North and enabled us to shape a direct course for Sydney. On the morning of the 13th we made the Lighthouse and at 8 A.M. were close in to the South Head hoisted our private signal (The Portuguese flag at the fore) and stood off and on for orders. At Noon Messrs Dacre, Jones and Elgar, the owners came on board in one of the pilots boats—and were pleased to find that I had executed my orders so well. They informed me that Capt Watson had again sailed for the Isle of pines with two large vessels— which I was glad to hear as it relieved my mind of the anxiety I felt for Mr White's safety.

Being in a bad state of health, and very weak and debilitated, I requested either to be allowed to leave the vessel, or to have a Doctor sent off to me, which they would not permit, but said I must proceed at once to Manilla, and hold no further communication with the shore. This was very unkind and I may say inhuman on their part, as I risked my life and contracted disease by over anxiety for their benefit, but I am sorry to say that the character of the Sydney Merchants at that time was far from being Respectable or honourable, and they little cared what they did, so long as they got their own interests served. Perhaps it would hardly be believed, that I was actually so weak at the time, as to require frequently to be assisted on deck—yet such was the case; and I knew If I took the Vessel in to Harbour contrary to orders I would forfeit my wages. As soon as the crew heard of our destination, they came aft in a body and told the owners they would not go in the Vessel until she was made seaworthy, being then very leaky, and requiring to be pumped every 2 Hours—on hearing which they went on shore and told me to keep standing off & on, until it was decided what should be done.

On the afternoon of the 14th I had instructions sent off to proceed with the Vessel to Port Stephens and await the arrival of a small Vessel, which would be immediately dispatched from Sydney with Carpenters and Materials for stopping the Leak. On

4 The barques Jane and Achilles, which left Sydney at the end of October 1841.
5 On the east coast of New South Wales, about 30 miles to the north of Newcastle and 130 miles to the north of Sydney.
November-December 1841

Account of baffling Winds we did not get in to Port Stephens until the evening of the 16th we beat up to Salamander Bay and anchored in 7 fms. Care is required in going in to this port—as a shoal extends from the South Head fully two thirds of the way across leaving a channel with 10 fathoms near the North Head. Vessels going in or out must Keep the North Head close aboard. On the 18th a cutter arrived from Sydney with Mr Barnacle shipwright and two other Carpenters, she also brought us some stores, a chief mate and four Seamen, by the evening of the 21st the carpenters had finished their Job. The cutter sailed next day for Sydney, and Mr Dacre arrived the same afternoon overland from Newcastle to dispatch us. he started for Sydney on the following morning, having given me instructions to proceed to Manilla, with letters to Messrs Russell & Sturgis my consignees—and an open letter to them of which the following is a copy—'In the event of your selling the “Diana” in Manilla or China you will make the best bargain for us you can in discharging or employing the crew; Captain Cheyne we can with confidence recommend as a particularly steady young man very different from the Masters sailing out of Sydney, should you therefore find employment for him: he will be further entitled to a Bonus from the owners of the Diana of Fifty pounds for his good conduct—we however leave you to protect our interest as well as do Justice to those who may have claims upon us’

(Signed) R. Dacre,
Agent for H. Elgar & others Owners of the Diana.
The reason of my inserting this letter is to show how I was treated by Mr Dacre subsequently on my return to Sydney.

At 9 A.M. on the 24th we weighed with a light air from S.W. and after getting nearly to the Heads the Wind came in from the Eastward, which obliged us to come to an anchor again as the flood tide had made—we made another attempt next morning but were again forced to anchor and did not get out until late in the Evening. The Wind hauled round there to S.S.W. which took us clear out to Sea. We had mostly strong westerly Winds and much bad Weather until the 3rd Decr when the Weather moderated and the Winds got light and variable, our position that day was Latitude 25°22' S. Longitude 168°35' E. Var 1 point E.

At Noon on the 6th we were in Lat. 22°22' S. Long 170°53' E. with Matthews rock in sight bearing E. ¾ N. dist 27 miles. This
makes its position in Lat. 22°25' S. Long 171°20' E. which is nearly correct.  

On the 7th At Noon Saw the Island of 'Erronan'7 bearing N.N.W. W. distant 22 miles, the Island of 'Anatam'8 bearing S.W. W. dist 28 miles. The ships position being in Lat. 19°54' S. Long 170°30' E. Variation 1 pt Easterly. I made 'Erronan' in Latitude 19°30' S. Long 170°20' E. and 'Anatam' in Latitude 20°8' S. Long 170°4' E. and the Mountain on the South end of 'Tanna' in Latitude 19°37' S. and Longitude 169°40' E. Port Resolution in Tanna is situated in Latitude 19°32' S. Longitude 169° 44' E. We had a continuance of light Variable Winds & calms until the 16th on which day we passed near Mitre Island.9 It is merely a high inaccessible rock with no vegetation on it—I place it in Latitude 11°55' S. Longitude 170°20' E. At noon on that day we were in Lat. 11°42' S. Long. 170°27' E. we had a fresh breeze then from the Eastward which continued during the next day—and then died away—this was the only breeze we had in the shape of a S.E. Trade during the time we were within its limits—from the 18th (being then in Lat. 9°19' S. Long 169°46' E) until we made pleasant Island10 on the 27th we had nothing but Variable Winds, Severe Squalls with Heavy Rain, and calms. we made that Island at 8 A.M. and remained Hove too near its south side for four Hours trading with the Natives for cocoa nuts & fowls. I shall defer giving a description of its inhabitants until my next visit. The Island is rather low, covered with cocoa nut Trees—about Twenty Miles in circumference, clear of Hidden dangers, and steep too on all sides—has a fringe reef all round which projects from the shore about 200 yards. It is

6 Very nearly indeed—22°20'S, 171°19'E by modern reckoning. This small island of basalt rock lies about 150 miles to the south-east of Aneityum. It is uninhabited.
7 Eronan—more commonly known as Futuna, in the New Hebrides group, about 36 miles east of Tana, by modern reckoning lying at 19°2TS, 170°1TE—very little different from Cheyne’s calculation below.
8 Aneityum, the southernmost of the New Hebrides, which lies at 20°12'S, 169°47'E. Cheyne, like most of the traders, spelt it after the mode of Captain Cook, who based it on the pronunciation of the people of Tana from whom he obtained the name. The French still favour this form.
9 Its modern name is Fataka (11°55'S, 170°12'E), an uninhabited outlier of the Solomons group, about 90 miles to the south-east of Tikopia. It still appears as Mitre I. in some charts.
10 Nauru; 0°30'S, 166°55'E.
December 1841 - January 1842

of a circular form. Neither has harbours nor anchorage—and can be seen from fifteen to Eighteen Miles. I make it in Latitude 00°25' South, Longitude 167°3' East.

The Currents experienced by us within the limits of the S.E. Trades were as follows: from Lat. 14° S. to 10° S. the current set W. by N. (true) ½ Knot p hour from 10° S. to 5°50' S. no current. from 5°50’ South to 1°30’ South it set West (true) 2 Knots p Hour from 1°30’ S. to Pleasant Island 1½ Knots p Hour.

On the 28th we were in Lat. 00°53’ N. Long 166°57’ E. found the Current setting West by South (true) 1½ Knots p hour. At Noon on the 29th our position was in Lat. 2°19’ N. Long. 166°12’ E. Current W. by S. 1½ Knots p Hour.


31st Fresh Gales & Heavy Squalls throughout with a Heavy sea running. Wind from N.E. by E. Our position at Noon was in Lat. 5°37’ N. Long 164°59’ E. found no current since Yesterday at noon.

January 1st 1842. Fresh Gales with severe Squalls from E.N.E. Kept away to N.W. by N. to cross the New Carolines. We have run since yesterday at Noon 200 miles, found no current during these last 24 Hours. Our position at Noon was in Lat. 7°24’ N. Long 162°46’ E.

2nd Strong E.N.E. Winds—run N.W. by N. found a current setting W.S.W. (true) ½ Knot p hour.

Noon Lat. obs. 9°00’ N. Long. 159°29’ E.

On the 7th We passed Guam, and made the Islet of St Bernardino—in the entrance of the straits of that name on the 14th. We found a daily set of 15’ to the W.S.W. from latitude 9° N. Long. 159°E. to the entrance of the straits. At noon on that day St Bernardino Islet bore East 1½' distant—steering to the Southw'd through heavy ripples, which had the appearance of broken water, but we found it was occasioned by a strong current running in the Straits. before proceeding any farther, I shall now give a brief description of these straits, with a few directions for passing through them.

11 By which he apparently designates the eastern Carolines, probably recently added to charts as a result of the voyage of the Russian explorer, F. P. Lütke, in the Senyavin in 1827-8.
The entrance of the Embocadero, formed between the S.E. part of Luzon and the N.W. point of the Large Island Samar, is a little contracted by a group of small Isles & rocks which lie a little outside of the latter point. The Islet St. Bernardino is small and rocky, and situated to the N.W. of these, with a good passage on either side, and soundings of 30 to 60 fathoms. Having passed St. Bernardino a course must be steered to the S. Westward; near the South point of Luzon a group of Isles & rocks will be seen—the channel is between these and the Island Dalupiri. On rounding the South point of Luzon—a low rock will be seen near the shore & only 2 or 3 feet above water; a birth must be given to this danger—and caution is required in passing it in a dark night. The course is then to the N.W. between the N.E. side of Ticao and Luzon.

Port St. Jacinto in Lat. 12°34' N. is situated on the N.E. side of Ticao—which is the first large Island to the westward of the entrance of the straits. This anchorage may be known by a building—forming a kind of fort which stands on a cliff—the land rising in Hills behind it. The anchorage in the Road is in 15 fms about half a mile off shore with the fort bearing S.W. 34 W. Having rounded the N.W. end of Ticao—A course must then be steered to the W.S.W. to pass between the South end of the Island Burias, and the North end of Masbate—A large Island which lies to the Southward of Burias; from hence the course is W.N.W. 70 miles to the passage between the South end of the large Island Marinduque and Banton and other Islands which form the South side of the channel; after having past Marinduque, steer to the North westward, and in passing round the North coast of Mindoro—Keep near the Luzon shore, and pass between the Isle Verde and Luzon—when abreast of Maricaban, steer to pass near point Santiago, and from thence to fortune Island. No Soundings are found in these straits, unless in small bays near the shore: a ship may anchor in the N.E. part of Batangas Bay, on the coast of Luzon—to the Northward of the West end of the Isle Verde in from 30 to 7 fathoms. There are other small bays where ships might anchor occasionally—but Batangas bay appears to me to be the best in that part of the straits.

About 4 p.m. on the afternoon of the 14th we rounded the South end of Luconia12 or Luzon—and passed within ½ of a mile

12 In fact Luzon is 'Luconia' to the end of the chapter.
January 1842

from the Rocky patch which lies off it; it appeared to be composed of small stones or shingle about 100 yards in circumference and 3 feet above water—we continued standing on to the N.W. between Ticao & Luconia with a light air from the Eastward—and rounded the N.W. part of Ticao about Midnight, and then steered about S.W. by W. to pass between Burias & Masbate—we passed the South end of Burias at 4 A.M. on the 15th from thence our course was W.N.W. to the passage between Marinduque & Banton. At Noon the extremes of the Island Sibuyan bore S.W. 4S. and South, Point Cabaza de bonda N. by W. Observed Latitude 12°47' N. Towards midnight the weather got Squally and thick, which obliged us to stand off & on till daylight. at 5 A.M. on the 16th we made sail and stood to the W.N.W. Noon Light Arts. Lat. obs. 13°9' N. The South point of Marinduque bearing N.E. by E. ½ E., the S.W. point of Banton S.E. by S. the West Island of the three Kings N.W. ½ N. In the afternoon it came on to blow from the Northward—and towards sunset the Breeze freshened and the Weather had a very Squally aspect—the summits of the mountains were all obscured in dense black clouds. We kept Working to Windward during the night between Mindoro and Marinduque—and at Daylight we found ourselves well to Windward—the Wind then Eastered a little, which enabled us to run through the Narrows between the Island Verde and Luconia—and at 1 P.M. on the 17th we passed the Verde Island found a strong Tide in the Narrows setting to the Eastward at 4 P.M. abreast of the Island Maricaban—which we left on our Starboard Hand. at 6 P.M. The South point of Santiago bore E. by N. ½ N. Fortune Isl. N. by W. ½ W. N.W. coast of Mindoro S.W. ½ W. running along the land to the Northward—at 8.30 P.M. A sudden gust of Wind came off the land which nearly laid the vessel on her Beam ends—we fortunately got the Topsails clued down without splitting—but the Jib blew clean out of the Bolt rope. It was a beautiful clear night—with the stars shining bright—and the Wind off the land—so that we had not the least warning. At Midnight Mount Mariveles bore North distant 7 miles. Working to Windward during the night.

At daylight on the 18th Strong E.N.E. Winds and clear—Working up for Manilla Bay under double reefed Topsails. At Noon the Corregidor bore N.E. distant 2 miles, during the Afternoon working up between the Corregidor and the South side of the Bay blowing a perfect gale at times, which obliged us
January 1842

to take the Mainsail off her frequently at 6 P.M. we rounded the East point of the corregidor. towards Midnight the Wind died away and at 2 A.M. we anchored in 8 fathoms about 6 Miles from the City and near some fishing stakes. We saw many lights in the direction of the city which gave the Bay a cheerful appearance, and bespoke our being near a large population.

At daylight on the 19th we got underway with a light air from the Northward, and made sail for the Roads. At 8 came to an anchor amongst the shipping in 5 fathoms.

Shortly afterwards the Captain of the Port was seen pulling off in a Gun boat, he came on board with much ceremony and after having received an Account of the quantity of Arms and ammunition on board, with a copy of the Manifest and Muster Roll, he gave me permission to land, and left the ship, leaving a Custom House Officer on board. As soon as he had shoved off the shore boats flocked alongside—and our Deck was soon crowded with Compradore’s Washermen Banca men &c seeking for a Job. At 10 A.M. I went on shore with my papers, and called on Josiah Moore Esq partner in the firm of Russell & Sturgis to whom I was consigned: I met with a kind reception from that Gentleman, and before going on board was invited to Lunch with Mr Sturgis and some officers belonging to the U.S. Sloop of War ‘Vincennes’ then laying in the Roads. she is the flag ship of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, they have finished their Surveys in the Pacific and are now on their way home.13

Mr Moore is the American consul. We found a number of Vessels laying in the Roads—and among others a large East

13 United States Exploring Expedition, commanded by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, which in the course of its cruise of 1838-42 visited many Pacific islands. The Vincennes arrived at Manila on 13 January 1842 and left on the 21st, two days after Cheyne’s arrival. It is interesting to compare the description of Manila which follows with the account by Wilkes which appears in Wilkes 1845: V, 273-319. The latter is very much more extensive, and includes a short history of the Philippines, but they have a number of observations in common. On these occasions, some of Cheyne’s phrases are so similar to Wilkes’s that it seems likely that either he used Wilkes’s account as an aid to his own memory or that both used a common source. The latter is most likely, as neither was at Manila long enough to have made the observations for himself, and in view of the fact that Wilkes acknowledges Mr Josiah Moore, the U.S. consul, as the source of some of his information. In other words it appears that both were given an official ‘handout’ when they visited the consul. There is, however, enough independence in Cheyne’s own version to clear him of the charge of plagiarism.
Indiaman manned by Lascars. Her appearance was similar to a line of Battle ship.

The city of Manilla is the Capital of the Spanish possessions in the East, and the seat of Government. It is situated in Latitude 14°36' N. Longitude 121°2½' E. on an extensive plain, which rises some distance inland into Hills, and the centre of Luconia is composed of High mountains several Thousand feet in height—and clothed with Timber from the coast to their summits except where the land is cultivated. The country adjacent produces Indigo, Coffee, Sugar, Tobacco and Hemp &c but the wretched system of Government in these Islands—is not calculated to stimulate the Natives to improvements. If these Islands belonged to any other European power, the quantity of Exports would soon be doubled. Manilla is built on the shore of a bay of the same name, at the mouth of a River which is navigable for small vessels some short distance inland. near the city the river branches off in various directions, which have been converted into canals, navigable for Lighters and Banca’s. The anchorage in Manila Roads is safe, except in the South West Monsoon when Typhoons may be expected and often happen, large ships in these months anchor in Cavite, a safe port about 9 miles to the southward, where the Arsenal is & which is defended by the strongest fortress on the Islands. The city is surrounded by a Wall and Towers—and well furnished with Cannon. Within the city are the Governor’s Palace, custom House &c several churches, convents, and the barracks for the Soldiers. This is the seat of Government and may be called the court residence of these Islands—all the Government officers and those who are considered as constituting the Higher class of Spaniards reside within the city—but no foreigners are allowed to do so, their Houses are in the suburbs, and on the North side of the River, opposite the city. The Houses in the city are built of stone, and only two stories high—the ground floor forming Coach House—Store houses, stables & porters room. The second floor is divided into Dining Halls, Bedrooms—dressing rooms, Kitchens &c, The Windows reach to the floor, opening out on Balconies—with shutters or Blinds, they go with sliding frames—glazed with small squares of transparent shell,14 similar in appearance to Pearl shells—glass is not used in any of the Windows—and not even in the Palace.

14 ‘a species of Placuna’—Wilkes 1845: V, 277.
Mostly all the Tradesmen in Manila are Chinese—they occupy nearly the whole of the Escolta (The largest & longest street in the Binondo suburb) with their shops, and are seen busily at work until a late hour every night. There are likewise several silk and haberdashers shops in the Escolta.

The Chinese are very numerous and many of them respectable and Wealthy men. They appear to preserve their customs and Native character throughout.

The Phillipines are divided into thirty one provinces, sixteen of which are on the Island of Luconia, and the remainder comprise the other Islands of the Group and Guam. The population of the whole Group is above three Millions, including all tribes of Natives, Mestizoes and whites the latter class do not exceed three Thousand. The Mestizoes are supposed to be about fifteen or Twenty Thousand. The Chinese have lately increased to a large number, and it is said there are forty Thousand of them in and around Manila alone. One half of the whole population belongs to Luconia.

The population is increasing, and it is thought that it doubles itself in Seventy years. The native population is composed of several distinct tribes, some of whom dwell in the mountains, and are the only natives, who have not been subjected by the Spaniards. the other tribes are Christians and all Roman Catholics. The army is composed entirely of Native Troops, and are about Six Thousand in number, the Regiments are never allowed to serve in their native provinces, but are sent to some other place, so as to keep up a continual watch on each other; they are seldom allowed to remain long in one place. The safety of the government depends on the continual Jealousies existing between the different Regim and tribes—and not on the Integrity of the troops—for Rebellion & revolts frequently take place among them. The only Newspapers published in Manila are one or two Gazettes which are entirely under the control of the Government—so that the residents get little knowledge of what is passing around them.

The present Governor Don Marcelino Oroa is about Sixty Years of age, and has more the appearance of a well fed John Bull than a spaniard. It is customary for all Masters of Foreign

15 The following facts and figures are almost identical with those given by Wilkes, and probably came from the U.S. consul.
Vessels to be introduced to the Governor General on their arrival at this port by their consignees—and to take formal leave of him before their departure.

The Governor General of the Phillipines holds his office for three years only, when another is sent out from Spain to relieve him—the present one was installed in 1841.

The great Royal Cigar manufactories\(^\text{16}\) claim particular notice from their extent and the number of persons employed.

There are two of these establishments, one in the Binondo, and the other on the large square—the first consists of two buildings, two stories high—with several storehouses, enclosed by a wall—having large gateways with sentinels posted, This Manufactory employs Eight Thousand females. throughout the whole extent, long tables are placed—at which the Women are seated having small piles of Tobacco before them. each Girl makes about 200 cigars in a day. the working hours are from 6 A.M. till 6 P.M. with a recess from Eleven till One O'clock. they are all searched on leaving the establishment to prevent embezzlement this is done twice a day without distinction of Sex. it is a strange sight to witness this multitude coming out. The whole number of persons employed by both Manufactories is about Fifteen Thousand—this includes the officers.

Three nights in each week, they have music in front of the Palace, the Bands of all the different regiments play in succession—and all the fashionable people of Manila resort here in the Evening to hear the Music: they have their carriages in waiting, and promenade up and down in front of the palace during the time the Music is playing. The Masters of the Bands are all frenchmen and spaniards, and the musicians are natives, they play exceedingly well. The Gates of the City are shut every night at 11 O'Clock and no person can get out or in after that time without special permission, as I am told the Keys are lodged with the Governor.

The Natives spend much of their time in cock fighting,\(^\text{17}\) of which they are passionately fond, and they may be seen carrying these fowls with them wherever they go.

The dress of the natives is rather peculiar—they generally wear

\(^{16}\) In this description of the cigar factories the phrases are very similar to those of Wilkes. See Wilkes 1845: V, 295.

\(^{17}\) Wilkes attributes this passion to the mestizoes.
a pair of striped Trousers of various colours—over which they have a fine Grass cloth shirt, unbuttoned at the collar—with a large straw Hat and shoes. this is the only dress the lower class of men wear—the dress of the lower class of females—bears a strong resemblance to that worn by some of the South sea Islanders. A long piece of striped cotton is wrapped round the body—and tucked in at the side reaching nearly to the feet. this covers the lower part of the body—a short Jacket of Grass-cloth, fitting close without any opening in front, serves for the upper dress, and completes their costume—a pair of slippers are generally worn & kept on by the little toe being on the outside—while the other four toes enter the slipper—in walking they have a shuffling gait in consequence of the slippers not being fastened on. The females wear no shirt.

Fish are caught in various ways, by weirs constructed of Bamboo stakes—placed in shallow water—and in the mouth of the River and bay with nets, suspended by the four corners from Hoops attached to a crane by which they are lowered into the Water and Hove up—this Machine is fitted on a Bamboo raft, with a small hut on one end for the accommodation of the fisherman and his family.

Good fresh Water can be got in the River by going some miles up. Near the city it is impure and unwholesome.

A good birth to anchor in Manila roads is in 5 fathoms Water, about 1 mile off, with the North Bastion bearing N.37°E. The S.W. Bastion E.20° N.

Fire Wood is rather dear at Manila, as there is no Timber near the city, it has to be brought from other parts of the Bay, and from the Interior.

The common passage boat is named Banca, and is made of a single tree Hollowed with a Bamboo awning to protect the passenger from the Sun. It is very light and easily rowed about—but rather uncomfortable for a stranger to sit in—having no outrigger it is liable to overset—if the weight is not placed in the bottom—the crew consists of four men—three of whom pulls, and one steers.

The Exports have increased much, during the last few years, and consist of Sugar, Coffee, Hemp, Cigars, Indigo, Rice, Ebony, Sapan Wood, Tortoise shell, Hides, cotton cordage, Bees Wax, Cocoa, Pepper, Silk, Sulphur, Gold dust and many other articles. Gold, Copper and Lead are found in the mountains—with such
mineral resources and a soil capable of producing the richest vegetation of the Tropics—a liberal Government is all that is wanted to make it prosperous.\textsuperscript{18}

Much Iron is found inland, and of so pure a quality, that the natives manufacture it into swords and cleavers. The Northern part of Luconia—contains many valuable mines of Gold—Copper—lead—Iron and Coal.

The whole of the Philippine Islands, are generally of Volcanic formation.

Accounts are kept in Spanish Dollars and cents. The coins are the same as in Spain. both spanish and chinese Weights are in use—all exports are sold by the picul. 100 Catties = 1 pecul = 133\(\frac{1}{3}\) lbs Avoirdupois.

They are one day behind in their calculation of Time, occasioned through having come round Cape Horn—and reckoning their Longitude all West. Our Sunday agrees with their Saturday.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18} 'Greater knowledge and more liberal views in the rulers are alone wanting to cause a still more rapid advance in the career of prosperity.'—Wilkes 1845: V, 282.

\textsuperscript{19} Confirmed by George W. Clark, midshipman of the \textit{Vincennes}, in his journal—Clark 1841-2, entry for 17 January 1842.

We commenced discharging our Sandal Wood on the 25th of January, and got the last of it landed by the end of the Month. No purchasers could be got either for it or the 'Diana'. On the 2nd Feb'y I hauled the Brig alongside of an American ship to take in Ballast, and by the evening of the 7th we were ready for Sea. next day I received instructions from the consignees to proceed to China with the Brig and try to sell her there—and If I failed in doing so, I was to return to Manila, and from thence be despatched to Sydney. On that evening The Captain of the Port came on board with my passport—and on the morning of the 9th we weighed and stood down the Bay with a fresh breeze from N.E. At Noon we passed the Corregidor, and shaped our course to the Northward along the land—during the Afternoon we experienced some Heavy Gusts of Wind off Mount Mariveles, which obliged us to reduce our Canvas. from that time till the 17th we had a continuance of Light Northerly airs and calms & which prevented us from making much progress. At Noon on that day we were in Latitude 21°28' N. having got a strong N.E. Wind the night previous—which helped us on considerably. 1 P.M. we sounded, and found Bottom in 56 fathoms. At 4 P.M. a Large Chinese Junk passed close ahead of us apparently armed and full of men—she was steering to the
February 1842

S.W. 8 P.M. Blowing Hard from E.N.E. Double reefed the Topsails, and Hove too—ships Head to the Northward.

18th at 2 A.M. fresh Gales with Heavy Squalls and thick rainy Weather—saw several lights to Leeward—and supposing ourselves near the land we wore ship—and made all possible Sail to the S.E. At 5 A.M. Wore and stood to the Northward—at daylight the Weather cleared up a little, and enabled us to make out the land—Saw the 'Asses Ears'\(^{1}\) bearing N. by W. 12 miles. Standing to the N.W. under a press of canvas 9 A.M. entered the channel betwixt the Grand Ladrone\(^{2}\) and the Gap Rock. where we got a pilot for Macao—he required some coaxing before he would agree to take us there, being afraid that the Mandarins would kill him, if found out, on account of the War with England.\(^{3}\) we passed through the channel between Pak-leak-low and Chook-chow which is about a mile wide—at Noon we were abreast of Sam Cock,\(^{4}\) and at 2 P.M. came to an anchor in Macao Roads in three fathoms soft mud. the water is shallow in the roads, generally 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) fathoms at low water, deepening to 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) or 5 fathoms close over to Sam Cock, and the other Islands, which form the East side of the Roads. Large ships to preserve a good depth of Water, commonly anchor well over to the Islands, with Macao Town bearing W. by N. distant 6 or 7 miles which renders the communication with the shore difficult and dangerous in blowing weather. In the N.E. Monsoon a ship may anchor close over to the Northern shore, abreast of a sandy beach between the Nine Islands and Macao Town in 3 or 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) fathoms at low water, here she will generally have smooth water and an easy communication with the shore.

The Typa formed between two High Islands on the south side of Macao Roads, is a good and secure Harbour for small ships. In the middle and eastern parts of the Typa the depths are only 14 and 15 feet at low water but a vessel can receive no Injury by Ground-

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1 Presumably the two long north-easterly projecting points of the island of Paktsim (or Pei-Chien and Pei-Chien Shan)—21°54′N, 114°2′E—an excellent mariner’s landmark in the South China Sea.

2 Great Ladrone, or Ta-Wan Shan, the largest of the Ladrones group, about 21°57′N, 113°35′E.

3 The war of 1839-42 or ‘Opium War’: probably the reason why the cargo was unloaded at Manila.

4 There are two Samkok Islands in the South China Sea—one south-east and one south-west of Macao. The former, San-chiao-Shan (22°9′N, 113°42′E), is the more likely in this case.
February 1842

ing, as the bottom is remarkably soft. It is High Water in the Typa on full and change of the Moon at 10 Hours. Rise and fall 7 feet and the Tide runs 1 ½ or 2 Knots an hour. There is little or no Variation at the Mouth of the Canton River or Macao Roads.

Macao Town, a settlement belonging to the Portuguese, on the Island of the same name at the mouth of the Canton River in China is situated in Latitude 22°11' N. Long. 113°33'4'E. there are several forts on the Hills in and near the Town, which is built on the extremity of the High Peninsula that terminates the Island of Macao to the Southward, to which it is joined by a narrow neck of low land to the Northward of the Town across this neck or isthmus which is not above 100 yards wide a wall was erected with a gate and Guard house for Chinese Soldiers—which had been destroyed a few Months previous to our arrival, by the English Men of War. The greatest Length of the Portuguese possessions in China, is under 3 miles and hardly ½ mile broad. The broadest part to the North of the Town is composed of low land—well cultivated by the Chinese, and produces all sorts of vegetables, Rice &c. The Town is supplied with provisions from the main land of China chiefly—and if the Portuguese do any thing to offend the Chinese authorities, they stop their supplies and take possession of their forts, until they submit to the Chinese laws.

The Town is a very healthy and pleasant spot it is entirely under the Jurisdiction of the Viceroy of Canton, and the Portuguese appear merely to hold nominal possession, although it is Governed by Portuguese Laws. previous to the War, a Mandarin resided in the Town, but at present there are none. No European considers it safe to pass beyond the Wall across the Isthmus at present, notwithstanding the troops have been driven away, as going beyond the Boundaries would expose them to insult, and perhaps death.

The Harbour of Macao is on the West side of the Town, and formed between the Peninsula and the Island of Twee-lien-shan to the westward has only 20 feet in it at low water. No foreign vessels are allowed to go inside without special permission from the Governor. Some of the English Men of War went in some months ago without permission and destroyed a number of Chinese War Junks which were laying in the Inner Harbour. The Batteries threatened to fire on them in passing—but they thought better of it, as it appears, for they did not do so. On the 19th I landed at Macao, and delivered my letters from Messrs Russell & Sturgis to Messrs Dent & Co. to whom the vessel was consigned. These
February 1842

Gentlemen told me they would do their utmost to effect a sale for the Vessel, but said I would require to wait a week or so, until they could make proper inquiries.

Nearly Three fourths of the population in Macao, are Chinese, and at the time of our visit appeared to be engaged in keeping their New years festival, which commences about the middle of February, and continues for several days. On walking through the Chinese part of the Town, Groups of Chinamen were observed gambling in every house nearby, in the Bazaars, and at the corner of every street. Some were playing Cards, and others with dice— their stakes appeared to be small copper coin, called Kash of which there are one hundred to a mace. In some of the Respectable shops they were gambling with Silver—and their whole Soul appeared to be staked with their money however small it was in amount.

Chinamen appeared to me to have a strong resemblance to each other, perhaps owing to their dress. They all appear very active and attentive to their business. The streets of Macao are very narrow, paved with round stones, and in some places flagged near the sides of the Houses—the front of every house is a shop, and the street next the Praya Grande (named old china street), is laid out with shops for the supply of Europeans, and here all manner of productions are to be found—Beautiful Silks, Crapes, Nankeens, Grass cloths, Lacquered Ware, Ivory chess men, all kinds of carved work—Curiosities and preserves with Camphor Wood Trunks &c are to be got and at a moderate price. One of the shopkeepers is always to be found sitting on the Counter, writing with his Camel’s hair pencil, or making calculations with his ‘Swanpan’ on which they will calculate Accounts with the greatest exactness, and in as short a time as the most expert Arithmetician. Chinamen at all times are to be found industriously employed, and were it not for their desire to cheat foreigners— have probably as few vices as any other race—peace & quietness appear to dwell in the streets, & no Police appear to be necessary—the only Guardians of the night are the sentries at the different Guard houses. Thousands of Chinese live in Boats in the Harbour with their families, and seldom land unless to purchase provisions. The smaller boats which are pulled by Women—are called ‘Tanka boats’ and a larger size, pulled by men—‘Pull away

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6 Later in the chapter spelt ‘cash’ and described.
6 The Chinese abacus.
boats’—this is the name given them by Europeans. They carry passengers both to & from the ships and Junks in Harbour, or in the Roads.

The first thing which strikes a stranger on making the coast of China—is the immense number of fishing Boats & small Junks which he sees in every direction, when about 10 or 20 miles off the Land. The whole Chinese waters are swarming with them. Many pirates exist on the coast of China, & among the Islands at the mouth of Canton River—and I am told they even anchor off the Town at Macao, without any notice being taken of them—but however well inclined the Portuguese Government may be to suppress piracy in the Chinese waters they have not the means—as there is not a single armed vessel of any description belonging or attached to the settlement—not even so much as a gun boat. The English ships of war have captured some of them at different times, and are always on the lookout for them—but nothing but a fleet of small armed vessels or steamers will be able to Exterminate them thoroughly. They can easily elude the Men of Wars Boats, by getting in amongst the Islands.

The Foreign Merchants keep their Accounts in Dollars and cents—but the Chinese Accounts are kept in Tael, Mace, Candarines and Cash—the Tael is divided into 10 Mace—100 Candarines or 1,000 cash. The cash is made in China of copper—are round—marked on the sides, and have a square hole in the centre, they are commonly strung on Wire, each string containing 100. The value of the Tael varies—according to the price of Spanish Dollars. The Weights used in China are Tael, Catties and Piculs—one Tael—weighs avoirdupois $\frac{1}{2}$ oz—16 Taels or 1 Catty $\frac{1}{3}$ lbs—100 catties or 1 Picul $\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. 7

At Macao there are 2 English Hotels, a Billiard Room, and two European shops or stores on a large scale—also Surgeons—Apothecaries, Watch Makers and boat builders.

The Chinese Burial place is situated on the side of a Hill to the North East of the Town—and near the road which leads from the Town to the Barrier Wall on the Isthmus an immense number of Graves are to be seen covered with Tomb stones—painted white—many of them have inscriptions on them and the remains of Joss-sticks and ornamented papers were seen near the Tombs which are burnt at certain seasons. There is no enclosure around it.

7 A good account of Chinese weights and measures, correctly related to each other. The names of all of them appear to be of either Malay or Tamil origin.
March 1842

The whole coast of China, has a very bleak and barren appearance—and is composed of Rocky Hills, destitute of Timber, and with no vegetation on them—and very much in appearance like the Shetland Islands—but some distance Inland the land is fertile and thickly Wooded—and the Scenery on the Banks of the Canton River is rather pretty in some places.

On the 8th March I received a note pr Captain Walker, (one of the opium Captains) from Messrs Dent & Co requesting me (at the suggestion of Messrs Mc Vicar & Co) to allow that gentleman to proceed with me in the Brig on a trial trip round the grand Ladrone & back, with a view of ascertaining her sailing qualities & seaworthiness, as Messrs Macvicar & Co had some intention of buying her. We got underweigh the same evening, and beat out among the shipping. At 8 p.m. we came to an anchor under Sam-cock for the night. next morning at daylight we wayed and stood to the Southward, and beat about amongst the Islands until the afternoon, when we bore up for the Roads and anchored again in our old position about 5 P.M. Captain Walker was well satisfied with the vessel’s sailing qualities and paid me the compliment of saying that he had seldom seen a vessel manned with Europeans, under such good discipline or so smartly handled as the Diana, and in the event of her being sold he would have much pleasure in recommending me as fit for a command. A few days afterwards Messrs Dent & Co informed me that Messrs Macvicar & Co had declined purchasing the ‘Diana’ on account of her age—as no Insurance could be effected on her—but that they were going to try to sell her by auction. Before leaving Macao I was introduced by Captain Walker to D.L. Burn Esq the Head of Macvicar & Co’s House in China and after some conversation relative to the Islands and Sandal Wood trade, it was proposed by that Gentleman that on my arrival at Sydney, I should resign the command of the Diana, and charter a Vessel there on his and Captain Walkers account for a Sandal Wood Voyage to the South Sea Islands, giving me one fourth share of the adventure; and that instructions should be sent to Wm Fanning Esqr his agent in Sydney to supply me with the necessary funds; which I agreed to.

Having failed in selling the ‘Diana’ by public auction—on the 21st March I received instructions from Messrs Dent & Co to proceed again to Manila with the vessel.

22nd 1 P.M. weighed with a light breeze from S.E. and kept
March 1842

working over towards the Lantoa passage—at 8 a thick fog came on, which prevented us from seeing 50 yards ahead—we however kept underway, and beat through the Lantoa passage by the Lead.

23rd At 2 A.M. the wind died away & the fog still continuing obliged us to come to an anchor until daylight. shortly afterwards the opium clipper 'Black Swan' bound to Hong-kong anchored near to us—& Captain Hart came on board. he was acquainted with Mr A. Garrett my chief mate, and having promised him a chief officers birth in the schooner at £15 pr month—I discharged him at his earnest request, as he had much better prospect of getting on in the opium trade than what he could have in Sydney. at daylight we weighed, and felt our way by the lead—the fog still continuing—at 2 P.M. passed Linting, then stood for the Asses Ears and got clear out to Sea at 6 P.M. when it cleared up.

We arrived at Manila at 7 P.M. on the 28th and came to an anchor in 3½ fathoms in the Roads, and near the Barque ‘Achilles’, Captain Veale, who had arrived from the Isle of Pines, a few days previous with part of a cargo of Sandal Wood consigned to Messrs Russel & Sturgis. I have previously mentioned that this vessel & the Barque ‘Jane’ sailed, from Sydney for the Isle of Pines previous to my arrival there—and now learned from Captn Veale that both these ships arrived at the Isle of Pines about a fortnight after I had left in the Diana: On Mr White’s arrival on shore on the evening of the day we sailed, he found the two Guns crammed to the Muzzles with Stones & Sand, and the house surrounded by hundreds of armed Natives, who were threatening to make an attack on it. The Guns we heard firing on shore, (while running out to Sea in the ‘Diana’) were meant for Signals of distress, and to hurry Mr White on shore after landing Mr White got the Guns cleared and loaded, and placed one at each door of the house, from that time, and until the arrival of the ‘Achilles’ and ‘Jane’ they were besieged by the Natives and would have died for want of Water, had it not been for the Native Missionaries, who managed sometimes to bring them a small supply in the night in bottles. The reason the ‘Achilles’ did not get a Cargo was owing to a quarrel between Mr White and the Natives. it appears they had stolen some Axes from him, and by way of punishment he very foolishly fired the Council house in the night and had to get armed Boats from the
April-May 1842

ships to secure his retreat in the morning. The two vessels were obliged to leave in consequence. The 'Jane' went to the Loyalty Islands to search for Sandal Wood, and the 'Achilles' came on here.

On waiting on my consignees, they informed me, that in consequence of the Sandal Wood being unsold, and having no funds in hand belonging to my owners, they would be under the necessity of sending the Diana back to Sydney in ballast. they at the same time desired me to prepare for Sea—and paid me the Bonus of Fifty Pounds, as specified in Mr Dacre's letter to them—which I invested in Silks &c on my private account.

On the 5th April I weighed and stood out to Sea—and shaped a course to the Westward to pass down the China Sea by Pulo Sapata, which Islet we made on the 11th and after getting to the North Natunas, the Winds got light & variable which prevented us from making much progress. We did not reach Gasper Island until the 24th and passed through the Straits of the same name next day in company with a large American Ship bound home. Having been taken dangerously ill on my way down the China Sea and daily getting worse—I was under the necessity of bearing away for Batavia, to obtain Medical Assistance—at which place we arrived on the 30th. I appointed Messrs Maclean Watson & Co agents for the vessel—who procured Lodgings for me in the country under the care of an English Doctor—and managed to get about 80 Tons of Freight for the vessel to Sydney, during my illness. I got the Freight paid in Batavia and invested the whole amount in Coffee on the owners account, and wishing to make as much as possible for the owners—I sold my Investment of Silks at a small loss—to pay the ships disbursements. Mr McLean thought I did wrong to disburse the ship with my own money—and remarked at the time that my owners would probably give me little thanks for doing so. (it appeared to me afterwards that he knew the character of the Sydney people better than I did and his remarks proved to be correct.) but as they had presented me with the Fifty Pounds, I considered that I was only acting the part of an honest man to again lay it out for their benefit not doubting but what it would be repaid in Sydney.

By the Evening of the 23rd of May, the vessel was ready for

8 For a different account of the affair, by Foxall and White themselves, see Sydney Herald, 25 May 1842. They vigorously denied this story of their having fired the council house.
Sea; and although very weak, the Doctor thought I might leave with safety—as I would stand a better chance of getting well in a cold climate—than by remaining any longer in this unhealthy place—I accordingly sailed the next morning—and after an excellent run of only 30 days, arrived in Sydney—this was one of the quickest passages ever known to have been made from Batavia to Sydney.

As soon as our cargo was discharged, I resigned command of the Diana. The investment of coffee, purchased with the freight, sold for nearly £400, so that my calling at Batavia turned out fortunately for the owners—as I had only been the same time on my passage including the stoppage at Batavia, as another ship which had come direct from Manila.

When I came to settle with Mr. R. Dacre he examined my Accounts, and expressed himself much pleased at their correctness, but said that Messrs Russell & Sturgis had made a Mistake in paying me the £50 as they only intended to have given it on the sale of the vessel and Cargo, and as neither had been sold he must deduct it from my Account. it was evident this was only a subterfuge on his part, as Captain Hughes of the ‘Orwell’ had on his arrival in Sydney (although his Wood was likewise unsold) been paid a similar Bonus—but Captn Hughes had very wisely got an agreement to that effect before entering on the voyage—which I had not.9 I had not only filled the Diana with Sandal Wood but the greater part of the Orwell’s cargo was procured through my exertions on shore at the Isle of Pines—and yet for all that I got nothing beyond my Wages—not so much as thanks for my exertions in procuring freight at Batavia.

Batavia observatory is situated in Latitude 6°9' S. Longitude 106°51'45"E. Here a ship may procure all kinds of supplies—poultry, excellent fruits and vegetables are plentiful, and sold at Moderate prices. The city is large, and many of the houses well built, but the low Marshy coast around the bay, and the stagnant Water in the canals, which intersect the streets, generate noxious vapours, rendering the place very unhealthy at all times to strangers. The most unhealthy time is about the latter part of the dry season from September to December, about 4 miles Inland from Batavia, towards the Hills the country is healthy and all

9 As this was a time of acute economic depression in the colony, and both Dacre and Jones were in serious financial difficulties, Cheyne’s interpretation was probably close to the mark.
the Europeans reside there—coming daily in to the city to transact business—and going out again at 4 P.M. No Europeans sleep in the city. The Island of Java is one of the finest colonies in the world—and Batavia is the Capital of the Dutch possessions in the East.

The Road stead which is formed between the Main land and several small Islands & shoals, affords sufficient shelter & good anchorage ships seldom moor in the Roads, for the anchors are generally buried in the soft mud. small vessels anchor in 3½ or 4 fms. about a mile off shore, and large ships in 5 or 6 fathoms, about 1½ or 2 miles off—with the Dome of the church bearing S.½W. There is little or no variation in the road of Batavia or in the seas adjacent.

The NW Monsoon generally sets in at Batavia and along the coast of Java, about the beginning of November, and continues till April, when the S.E. Monsoon and dry Season commences.

Accounts are kept at Batavia in Guilders & Rupees—divided into 100 parts or doits. The Guilders & Rupees are usually rated at 12 to the pound sterling.

The chinese weights are invariably used throughout Java, and the other dutch possessions in India. These are the Picul & Catty. 100 Catties = 1 picul = 133 1/3 lbs Avoirdupois but at Batavia the picul is considered to be equal to 136 lbs Avoirdupois.
CHAPTER SIX


A few days after resigning Command of the ‘Diana’, I received a letter from William Fanning Esqr requesting me to call on him without delay; and with a note enclosed from Mr Burn addressed to me saying that I would find Mr Fanning prepared to further my views respecting the proposed voyage to the Islands. I called on the latter Gentleman next day—and at his suggestion set about making inquiries for a suitable vessel to Charter.

The only vessel to be got at that time was a fine new Swedish Brigantine of 171 Tons Register then discharging her outward bound Cargo at Sydney. After due consideration it was resolved that she should be chartered at the rate of One Hundred and Seventy one pounds pr Month, and that I should embark on board of her as Supercargo.

The Charter party was made out and signed on the 21st July 1842 by Captain Werngren, and William Fanning Esqr wherein it was specified that I was to have sole control over the vessel and crew from the date thereof, and the Captain was bound to obey my orders in every way even as to the course to be steered,
and to stop stay and Trade at every Port or place, Rock or Reef that I might direct in the Pacific Ocean, that the whole capacity of the ships Hold was to belong to me, and half the Cabin, and that I had power to ship as many extra hands as I might deem necessary, to be entirely under my control, independent of the ships crew, & when Loaded he was to proceed to any port in China that I might direct. Penalty for disobedience of orders, or not fulfilling the charter party £2,000.

On the 22nd I shipped 9 Extra Hands, and a Surgeon, as I was still in very bad health. I also agreed to give a shipmaster out of employment a passage to China.¹

By the Evening of the 25th We had every thing on board and weighed at 7 A.M. next morning with a light breeze from the Westward and stood out to Sea. at Noon Sydney Heads bore W.S.W. 15 miles. I then gave Captn Werngren instructions to proceed with all dispatch to the Isle of Pines. Nothing particular occurred during our passage there. our time was employed chiefly, getting our big Guns and small arms in order, making Cartridges and fitting Tools and benches for cleaning Sandal Wood, while one or two Hands were getting the boat’s Gear fitted and sails made.

I was much pleased to find that the schooner was a very fast sailer, and a good seaboat. We had mostly strong Westerly Winds during our run to the Isle of pines, which we sighted on the 2nd August—bearing S.W., distant 20 miles. On the 3rd at Noon we came to an anchor in Victoria Harbour. I went on shore shortly afterwards to see the King. On landing at our old trading station—I found the four native Teachers living in Mr White’s house. They have been here more than 12 months,² but have not succeeded in doing any good—the natives are quite as bad as they were when I was here before in the Diana, although not quite so wild. A number of Sydney vessels have been here since, and many have had to go away empty. The Native Teachers and all the natives appeared much pleased to see me. I walked up to the Village, & found Motuka in his house surrounded by his wives and met with a friendly reception from him. He made sad

¹ The surgeon was Dr McKellar, and the shipmaster Mr Crew—Sydney Herald, 27 July 1842.

² Two of them, Noa and Taniela, who came with the first L.M.S. expedition in May 1840, had been there more than two years.
August 1842

complaints to me about bad treatment experienced by him from Sydney vessels which have been here after Sandal Wood, and about Mr. White burning the council house.3

I made him a present, and received another in return, consisting of Cocoa Nuts & Bananas, and then went on board, without having got any definite answer as to whether I could get Sandal Wood or not. Next morning at 9 A.M. I again went to the King to request Natives to cut Sandal Wood—when he told me that all the Wood near the Harbour had been cut by Sydney vessels and that although there was still some uncut on the North East part of the Island he could not spare any of his Natives to cut it, as they were all busy about their yam grounds, and advised me to go to the Loyalty Islands where he said there was plenty of Wood. they have apparently got a sufficiency of Trade and do not wish for any more vessels to come here to cut Sandal Wood, as their being employed about their Yams was an untruth for the Yam planting does not commence before September. I went round the North end of the Island during the afternoon, and purchased about ½ Ton of small Wood from the natives which had been cut for some time, apparently. My observations on the Natives this afternoon brought me to the conclusion, that they were inclined to be hostile, as all we met were armed and very insolent. They have got much enlightened4 since my former visit, and are no longer afraid of Europeans.

At 4 A.M. on the 5th I started from the schooner with 6 men well armed, for the North end of the Island—intending to search the bush and ascertain whether I could do any good by remaining here any longer. At sunrise we landed and anchored the boat off with one man in charge. After walking inland about a mile through a thick bush, we found two Sandal Wood trees, and while employed felling and cutting them, a party of Twenty armed natives surrounded us. we immediately stood to our arms & on finding us prepared for them, they assisted us to carry the billets down to the beach, and pretended to be friendly. However I did not trust them, but kept continually on my guard during the whole day—and only allowed two of our men to cut Sandal

3 See p. 83n.
4 The words 'have got much enlightened' are crossed out and amended, in pencil, to 'are much changed'. The second thought perhaps reflects an unwillingness to admit that the change was a matter of superior knowledge.
August 1842

Wood at once—while the rest of us stood to our arms—and kept the natives a few yards distant from us. by Sunset we had succeeded in getting a Boat Load; paid the Natives for assisting us, and returned on board.

This day’s excursion satisfied me that Sandal Wood could still be got here but that the natives were by no means to be trusted, and that great caution & vigilance would be required when cutting it. Early on the morning of the 6th we again started for the same place, and arrived there about daylight—we found the same number of Natives there waiting us, who assisted us to procure another Boat Load of Wood. Similar precautions were observed by us, as on the preceding day.

Just as we were shoving off at dark, one of the Natives threatened to dart a spear at me which I prevented by pointing a Pistol at him. We had then 8 miles to pull to the ship, and did not get on board until 9 P.M. by which time we were quite exhausted, having been hard at work since 3 in the morning, & nothing to eat during the day but some cold beef and bread. On getting on board, we found the Barque ‘Magnet’ Capt’n McFarlane of Sydney, and Brig ‘Star’ Captain Ebrill of Tahiti, at an anchor near the schooner. They were both Sandal Wood traders and had arrived that afternoon from ‘Tanna’ New Hebrides, where they been for Yams and pigs. Both vessels had been out 6 months. The Magnet had only procured 30 Tons in that time and the ‘Star’ only 15. I was much pleased at the arrival of these vessels (although in opposition to me) as this reinforcement would perhaps make the Natives more civil to us and deter them from making any attack.

On the 7th I learned from Captain Ebrill that the Brig Caroline of Hobart Town was lying in the S.E. Harbour collecting Sandal Wood, where she had been 3 months, and that her boats had been attacked by the natives some weeks ago, when they fired on them, and killed and wounded several. This accounts for their being so hostile to us; It was fortunate these vessels arrived as I was quite ignorant of this affair, and might have been cut off by the natives at some future time when cutting wood. Capt Ebrill has been at Lifu with the ‘Star’ where he found Sandal Wood, but the natives were so hostile that he was obliged to leave that place. I also learned that the Supercargo Captain & 4 Men belonging to the Brig ‘Martha’ had been Massacred on shore at the Island of Mari, one of the Loyalty’s some few Months
August 1842

ago. They had landed to trade for Sandal Wood when the Natives rushed on them and Murdered them all. On going on board the 'Star' I was agreeably surprised to find that the chief mate was a countryman of mine—Mr William Henderson son of Mr Gideon Henderson of Papa—Shetland. He had the appearance of being a very worthy young man, but was much down hearted at their want of success, and regreted ever having come on the voyage. I was previously acquainted with him at Sydney in 1841, when I was in command of the 'Diana', and can bear testimony to his being a truly pious young man—poor fellow, he little thought at this time of the Melancholy Catastrophe which was to happen to them in a few weeks, and end their voyages in this world.

On the 8th 9th & 10th I again went round the Island cutting Wood with a small party of men well armed, but in consequence of many narrow escapes and threatened attacks by the Natives, I considered it no longer prudent to do so, and therefore made arrangements with Capt Mcfarlane & Ebrill to Join them with Ten men, and go in a body well armed to the N.E. part of the Island—where the Wood was plentiful—& cut it by armed force in case of any opposition being shewn us. During the Evening of the 10th We were all busily employed making preparations—and by daylight on the 11th we started from the ships in three Launches and Thirty Men well armed, with several days provisions, and tools for cutting Sandal Wood. Having to pull against a strong Wind the whole way it was late in the Afternoon before we arrived at the boat Harbour where we intended stopping, and had no time to look for any Wood that day. We took up our quarters in a large Council House near the Waters edge and after landing our things anchored the Boats off with a guard of Men in each for the night and posted Armed sentries around our encampment who were relieved every 2 Hours. Few natives were seen on our landing, but they collected round us during the night from all quarters. At daylight on the 11th we left a small party of men to Guard the Boats & Stores under the command of Capt Ebrill, & Capt Macfarlane & I went with the remainder into the bush to cut Sandal Wood. The natives would neither show us the trees, nor render any assistance whatever—about 50 Natives followed us into the bush, and it required the

5 For an account of the Martha incident, see Shineberg 1967: 50-1.
August 1842

utmost vigilance on our part to prevent them from Snatching our Arms or Tools out of our hands. On the forenoon of this day, I was standing in the Road, guarding the Tools, while the Men were carrying the billets of Sandal Wood out of the bush—a number of Natives were near me, and to take my attention off—one called out, 'the King was coming'. I naturally looked round when one fellow snatched up an Axe, and ran away with it. They are certainly the most expert thieves that ever I met with. On account of the distance we had to carry it, and annoyance experienced from the Natives my share of this day's Wood only amounted to $\frac{3}{4}$ Ton. I therefore made up my mind to return at once to the ship and delay no longer here as the vessel's charter was an expensive one, and I could not see any possibility of getting a Cargo at this place. At sunset I left the station and arrived on board at 10 P.M.

On the 13th I went to another part of the Island in search of Wood, and landed at three different places, but could not procure any—the Natives appeared Hostile, and would not trade with us. I examined the coral reefs on my way back, and picked up some beautiful specimens of Coral.

On the 15th I sent two Boats round the south side of the Island for the last time—at 3 P.M. they returned without having got any Wood.

The Natives attempted to cut off the Boats, but they fortunately got away without having to fire on them. 'I picked up a few Black Biche de Mar on the reef this afternoon, a large quantity of it might be collected on these reefs and others adjoining New Caledonia, but it would not be prudent to attempt curing it on shore, without a stronger force than we have got.' 6 On the 16th we stowed our Sandal Wood below and got every thing ready for sea. In the afternoon the Brig 'Lunar' arrived from Sydney—she had been sent to bring up the Magnets Wood. I never saw a vessel so badly found as she was, there was not so much as a Musket or any description of Weapon on board—& had she arrived here in the absence of the other vessels she would in all probability have been cut off. I went on board the 'Star' in the Evening, and bade adieu to poor Henderson—I never saw him alive afterwards!

6 I am unable to explain why this passage is put into inverted commas. It was evidently transcribed from a log or rough journal but so, one would think, was the rest of this entry, and many of the others.
On the 17th at 9 A.M. we weighed and stood out to Sea with a fresh breeze from N.E. At Noon the Peak of the Island bore S.E. by S 20’. 5 P.M. Saw the Island of Lifu bearing N.W. by N. 22 miles distant, and an Island bearing East distant 22 miles, which proved to be a new Discovery. It is named Mari by the Natives. The centre is situated in Lat 21° 31’ S. Long 168° 33’ E. 20 miles in Length from N.E. to S.W. and 10’ broad. Thickly

7 Mare was not a new discovery. This error also appears in Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean where he says, ‘The Island of Mari was discovered by the sandalwood vessels in 1841’—Cheyne 1852: 17. Captain Erskine corrected the error with some asperity (Erskine 1853: 385), but it was a pardonable mistake in view of the confusion about the Loyalty Islands on contemporary charts. The
Inhabited by a race similar to Lifu and the Island is much the same in appearance & can be seen from a ships deck when about 20 miles off, has no Harbours. It is steep too all round. Thickly Wooded—produces Sandal Wood—and is of coral formation. Level on the Top. At 7 P.M. about 7 miles to the Southward of Lifu, shortened sail & Hove to for the night saw Two small Woody Islets to the Eastward distant from the South end of Lifu from 5 to 8 miles. At daylight on the 18th Made sail, and stood to the Northward along the West side of Lifu. At Noon abreast of a large bay on the N.W. part of the Island and at 1 P.M. came to an anchor in 8 fathoms in the S.E. part of it—on a bottom of coral & Sand distant from the shore 400 yards, and abreast of a small village named 'Kyjah' or Kygha. shortly afterwards a chief and some natives came on board—we could hold but little conversation with them, as they spoke a different Language from that spoken by the Isle of Pine natives, however we managed to make them understand what we wanted—and they promised to commence cutting Sandal Wood for us. Next day the Natives commenced to cut Sandal Wood—but appeared too lazy to bring off the Trunk of the Trees, as the only thing we got for the first 4 or 5 days of our stay was branches—they did not appear to have any Canoes at this village, as I was informed they had all been seized some time ago by the chief of the opposite side of the Bay, who was then at War with them. They came off to us on small rafts & in old Canoes patched up. We soon found out, that they were equally as well versed in Thieving as their Isle of Pine friends. A few days after our Arrival—I sent a party of our men on shore to cut Sandal Wood and who returned about an hour afterwards with the loss of their Axes & Saws—

first European to discover the group was probably Captain Raven in the store ship Britannia in 1793. On both his 1827 and 1840 voyages, Dumont d’Urville had partly charted the coasts of the group, retaining the name ‘Britannia’ for the southernmost island (Mare) in honour of the discovering ship. Some charts followed him in this, but others called the whole group ‘Britannia’ or ‘Loyalties’ without clear indication of the separate islands, or, as in the chart Cheyne used (Norie’s Chart of the South Pacific), the northernmost (Uvea) was called Britannia, and Mare not shown at all. In his Sailing Directions from N.S.W. Cheyne has corrected the error—see Cheyne 1855: 23.

8 Gaica (Gaitcha), the name of the district on the southern side of this very large bay which is still known as Sandal Bay (Baie du Santal) after the sandalwooders. See Map 2.

9 The district of Wet, the head chief of which was Ukeneso.
they said the Natives had taken them some distance back in the bush and then plundered them. We never attempted to land afterwards during our stay, but when the Boats were sent to purchase Wood they were always kept afloat, & the natives made to bring the Wood off to them.

On the morning of the 28th four Large Double Canoes came close to the Schooner from the opposite side of the Bay, having Sandal Wood in, and carrying about 40 men each, all painted black for War, and armed with Spears, clubs, Tomahawks, Slings & Stones, when within 150 yards of the Schooners stern, they stopped paddling, and held a consultation for a few minutes, and then separated a little and formed for an attack on the vessel, (which it was evident they intended by their manoeuvres) and commenced dancing their War dance while paddling up, two on each quarter, by this time we were all under arms on board. Hands stationed by the Guns and Swivels with Matches, and the rest of us drawn up on the Quarter deck—with Muskets. Although only Twenty Two in number we considered ourselves a match for double their numbers. Thus having confidence in our own strength, my object was to get the Sandal Wood from them without fighting if possible. I therefore allowed them to come within 50 yards of each quarter, when by means of our Interpreter we brought them to a parley. Having them under the Muzzles of our Guns, we told them that on the least movement on their side, we would fire into them, but that we had no wish to do so if they would trade peaceably with us. After some consultation they agreed to sell us the Wood, but wanted all to get alongside at the same time, this could not be allowed as they would have overpowered us had they all got on deck (having no boarding nettings to keep them off) I soon convinced them of their danger in attempting any movement contrary to my orders, and allowed one canoe to come alongside at a time, and made the other three keep their stations about 50 yards distant with 3 Nine pounder Carroandes bearing on them, loaded to the Muzzle with Grape & Canister. I stood on the gangway myself buying

10 As they were from Wet, and at war with Gaica, hostility would be understandable, but possibly the hostility was less aimed at them as Europeans as at their connections with their local enemies. Guiart points out that the people painted themselves black for dancing as well as for war, and that what Cheyne took for aggressive moves might have been merely manoeuvres of caution on their part.
their Wood, with a pistol in my left hand, and Iron Hoop & Beads in the other, paying them for each stick of Wood as they passed it up, the remainder of the crew were at their stations at the Guns on the Quarter deck. Although keeping my Pistol pointed at their heads, and threatening to fire on them, I could not prevent them from coming on board, and by the time I had purchased all the wood from the first canoe we had about 35 of her crew on deck, stealing every thing they could pick up, and flourishing their clubs and Tomahawks over my head. No threats or entreaties of mine, would make them go into their canoes, and at last we were obliged to charge on them with the Bayonets to clear the deck, for some time they showed fight, but after a few of them got wounded, they Jumped into their Canoe and shoved off. We then allowed another canoe to come alongside, and so on until we had purchased all their Wood, but had to charge on each crew similar to the first after buying their wood, before we could get them to leave the deck. The wretches were so eager for plunder, that they did not mind a few bayonet wounds, provided they could steal any thing. They then hauled off to about one hundred yards, and commenced dancing their War dance and slingling stones at us, and before going away told us, that they would come back in a day or two with Twenty War Canoes, and take the Schooner.

Two days previous to the above occurrence I sent the Launch well armed to another chiefs place near the bottom of the Bay, about five miles from where the schooner was laying, to trade for Wood, and after loading the boat with Sandal Wood, for which they were handsomely paid, they rushed into the water, and tried to take the boat as they were shoving off. The boats crew were obliged to fire on them, and several got struck by the stones thrown at them by the natives, although none of the boats crew were seriously Injured.

Notwithstanding this skirmish, I got the schooner underweigh next day about 2 P.M. and stood towards the bottom of the bay —intending to anchor near the place where the Boat was

Later changed to ‘pricked’. Possibly he was anxious to allay any suspicion of undue brutality.

Again, ‘wounds’ is changed to ‘pricks’.

This new place might have been Peng, the local people having had reason to take a stand different from the one of the chief of Gaica, theoretically their overlords—J.G.
August 1842

attacked, as it appeared to be the best place for getting Sandal Wood, and I had no doubt but we would be able to make it all right again with the chief by giving him a present—especially as a new Tomahawk can purchase the head of any native on the Island. In consequence of the Wind being light and baffling, we did not reach the place we intended to anchor at before 5 P.M. the Sun was then very low, which rendered it difficult for us to steer clear of the numerous coral patches with which the bank of soundings was studded. I however kept ahead of the vessel in the boat—and having picked out a clear spot as I thought—made the signal for the schooner to anchor. I then went on board, and on looking over the side, after the vessel had brought up, discovered two patches of coral grazing the vessel’s sides—although nearly dark at that time—we immediately Hove the anchor up, got two boats ahead, and towed the vessel out clear of the bank of Soundings and patches. It was fortunate we did not run foul of any patches going out. during the whole of the above time the Natives were sitting on the cliffs watching us—and we could see the canoes mustering in all directions while towing out.

It was then high Water, and had the vessel Grounded, nothing could have saved us—as the vessel heeling over on the fall of the Tide would have rendered it impossible for us to have used our guns and our chance of beating the natives off from the boats would have been small. On getting clear we had to feel our way the best way we could to our former anchorage, in a dark night, and amongst coral patches, surrounded by merciless Cannibals. By the aid of some native lights (without which we must have got on shore) we were enabled to form some idea of the position the sunken rocks lay in, and to avoid them—fortunately I had made a rough survey of the Bay some days previous, and had all the dangers near our former anchorage, with the Soundings correctly marked down on the plan. at 9 P.M. we got safely to an anchor at Kygha in our old position. This was a trying evening to us all, and the event very doubtful. Of my own feelings on the occasion—I have no very precise recollection, but remember that I felt as if I breathed more freely after we had got to an anchor in safety.

At 3 P.M. on the 30th A large War canoe came alongside from the other side of the bay, carrying 50 men, they brought a little Sandal Wood but did not seem anxious to sell it, having come
apparently for the purpose of taking the schooner; They came on like wild Bulls, and boarded the vessel in spite of us—we drew our men up across the quarter deck two deep while we were buying their wood, and after allowing them to remain on board nearly two Hours, we were at last obliged to charge on them with the bayonets, and drive them overboard. They fought hard for some time but were at last obliged to give way, These Bloodthirsty Villains still seem determined to take us, notwithstanding the lesson they got from us two days ago.

These repeated skirmishes were most harassing both to body and Mind—and kept us in a continual state of excitement as we did not know the moment we might be attacked either night or day, and required us to be constantly on the alert at night, as they would be certain to overpower us, could they catch us off our guard, or asleep.

The following Murder which happened during our stay at Lifu, and of which I was an eyewitness—will help to give some Idea of the Value of Human life among these Islands. A native belonging to the chief of Kygha, had stolen the glass lid of one of the Binnacle compasses and a log glass. On the chiefs coming on board I told him of it, and requested him to get it back. Next day being Sunday he came on board, and requested me to go on shore with him, for what purpose I knew not. As the vessel was laying within 400 yards of the beach I agreed to go and see what he wanted, I took two boys with me in the Jolly boat and went with him. As soon as the boat touched the beach he Jumped out, and told me to stop in the boat until he came back. About fifty to One Hundred Natives were sitting under the Cocoa Nut trees a few yards from the boat. he went up to them with his club (which they always carry) in his hand and after speaking a few words to some of them, he struck one poor fellow in the head with his club and killed him instantly. After giving orders to the other Natives to prepare a stove and cook him he came into the boat and went on board with me (bringing the things which were stolen with him) apparently as unconcerned as if he had killed a dog and told me quite coolly that he had killed the Thief, and hoped I would give him a Tomahawk as payment for doing so although he was as great a Thief himself as any of his subjects. ¹⁴

¹⁴ Only a paramount chief, Angadhoxu, here Sayhwe Alaxuten (also called Zeula), could act thus and only towards one of his close subjects—Api Zeula, descendants of Zeula—J.G.
September 1842

Frequently on my detecting the Natives stealing, I have been requested by that same chief to shoot them although they were his own people or perhaps relations—he said they had no business to thieve without his permission.

On the night of the 2nd of September The above chief named Zoulah remained on board the schooner at his own request, and at bed time I gave him a mat to sleep on in my Cabin. Before turning in, I locked the cabin door and took the Key to bed with me. After laying in bed about an hour I saw Zoulah get up and try to open the door, but finding it locked, he again lay down, he appeared to be very uneasy and wanted to go on shore apparently. Having a suspicion that something was wrong I did not go to sleep, but lay watching him for about two Hours. Every now and then he would get up and try the door and again lay down, at last he called me, saying, 'Aliki, Aliki, Pago nubā mēculada—Congazu mēculada, Pānāsādu Sāpi Hāe Troame, Towā dā Hāe nubā. Chelleda, Chelleda'. which was 'Chief Chief do not you go to sleep. No good sleep—By & By plenty War Canoes are coming here to fight your ship, Get up, Get up.' I asked him how many canoes were coming and at what time, he said, 'Thabumb Whyanu da Hāe—Asāheā Trumman.—Troame Bong Ahu—Nacung Gweath da Dohu—Mesheentie da Hae nubā'—which is 'Twenty War Canoes full of Men—they are coming to night, and are commanded by the chief Gwceaths Son. They will Kill your ship'.

The first thing I did was to lock the chief up in the Cabin, and keep him as a hostage, as it was evident to me that he was combined with them, and had only remained on board as a spy and finding himself locked up with me he had very naturally supposed that when they attacked the vessel, I would have shot him first for not telling me, and that his own safety depended on telling me. Had I not had the presence of mind to lock the door

15 Gwiet, one of the names of the chief of Wet—J.G.
16 This is an interesting transcription of local words. The sentences are a jumble of Lifuan and Uvean words. Most of the words are Dehu (from Lifu), some Iai (from Uvea), and some Uea (from Uvea, a Polynesian language). This is understandable, as Zeula lived part of his early life in Uvea, and in his excited state possibly mixed the two languages or used some kind of lingua franca in the process of being built. They mean roughly what Cheyne translates, except that eight not 'twenty' war canoes are spoken of in the second sentence—J.G.
17 This is a very doubtful interpretation. The fact that Zeula knew what was
when going to bed, there is not a doubt but he would have swam on shore whenever he found the watch asleep or off their guard, and have brought off all the Canoes and taken the ship. After locking him up I went on deck, and called all hands quietly and commenced making preparations for our defence. It was then about midnight, and I expected them to make the attack about 2 or 3 O’clock in the morning so that we had not much time to prepare for our defence against a force of at least 700 men. The chief told me that all the canoes were laying off the beach ahead of the vessel and intended dropping alongside towards morning without any noise—expecting to find us all asleep about that time. As the night was very dark, they might have done so without being perceived had we been off our Guard. The first thing we did was to get springs on our cable, leading in the after ports to the Capstan. I then divided the crew into three divisions, and those divisions into subdivisions, and stationed them as follows, The first division on the forecastle and to work the two foremost Guns, a sub-division to each gun. The second division abaft the Mainsmast, and to work the two midship Guns, and the third division on the Quarter deck to work the two aftermost Guns, and in case of the Natives gaining the deck in irresistible numbers, the first and second divisions to retreat to the Quarter deck and form abaft the third division, two deep across the deck, at the same time the third division to run in their two after guns, and point them forward—to wait until the deck was full of natives and then to fire the two after Guns on them. The moment the two guns were fired on them, the first and second divisions to advance before the third division, and keep up a steady fire of Musketry on the Natives on deck, while the third division were reloading the two after guns, and when reloaded the other two divisions to fall back into their place again abaft the guns and the third division and to again fire the two guns forward along the decks, and so on until the decks were cleared. I kept excercising the crew at the above Evolutions until 2 O’clock in the morning, when we perceived some lights twinkling ahead (which were immediately about to take place does not mean that he was in league with Gwiet in this affair—J.G. Cheyne has already indicated that Gaica and Wet were enemies, and Lifuan informants were adamant that Zeula would never have been in the position of acting as a spy for Wet. Cheyne never succeeded in sorting out the traditional enmities of Lifu.
extinguished) and heard the Hum of voices as of a multitude of people talking. We instantly commenced heaving on our Starboard spring, and slacking out chain to get our broadside to bear on the beach, and when that was done every man went to his station and stood ready expecting an immediate attack, but however they did not attempt it, and at daylight no canoes were to be seen. We were told during the day by some other natives, that they were Just forming for the attack when we saw the lights (thinking we were then all asleep) and were shoving off from the beach in two divisions (intending to board us on both sides) when they heard our cable rattling, and seeing the vessel canting with her broadside bearing on them, made them suppose that we were prepared, and frightened them so as to make them give up the attempt I was sorry they did not come as I think we could have given them a severe drubbing, which would have made them more careful in attacking another ship. Poor Zoulah was laying below quaking with fear the whole time, and would (I am certain) have given all his possessions to have been on shore.

On the Afternoon of the following day some natives told me that Gweath intended to make another attempt to take the vessel that night. We got every thing in readiness before dark, and at 7 P.M. while at Supper, the lookout perceived a large War Canoe on the starboard Quarter, paddling up for the vessel—we were immediately under arms and asked them what they wanted, they said they were coming on board. I told them to keep off but they still said they would not; And that they would come on board in spite of us. I ordered a few Muskets to be fired over their heads to which they paid no attention, but continued paddling up. finding that they were determined to board us (and not knowing but there might be more canoes close at hand, the night being very dark) I gave orders to fire into them, after having cautioned them repeatedly what the consequence would be if they approached; after a discharge or so of Weapons they paddled off abusing me, and saying they would return before morning, and eat us all. When abreast of the Starboard Quarter, I gave them the contents of one of the Nine pounder Carronades, which by the crash it made when it struck the Canoe, I have no doubt sickened them pretty well.

Zoulah told us next day that their whole force (Twenty Canoes) were close to the Schooner, when we fired into them—And that the chiefs son and several others were killed, and many
Plan of the Loyalty Islands. Under the name 'Loyalties' Cheyne includes only Lifu, Mare, and adjacent islands. Uvea was called 'Britannia' on his chart.
wounded from our fire. The death of the chief's son, prevented them from renewing the attack.

The Loyalty Islands discovered and named by Captain Cook have until lately been little known. They consist of two large islands and three small ones. The Island of Lifu is the most northern and the largest of the Group. Its North end is situated in Latitude 20° 27' Longitude 167° 47' E. and the South end in Latitude 21° 3'—Longitude 167° 43' E. is about Thirty Seven Miles in Length from North to South and varying in Breadth from Ten to Twenty Miles. It has no Harbours, but there is a large Bay on the N.W. part, Twelve Miles wide at the Entrance, and about Ten Miles in depth, with very indifferent anchorage at the head of it near the shore among coral patches and on a bottom of Coral and Sand. It is safe during the S.E. Monsoon, but ships should always be ready for slipping, in case of an attack, or the Wind setting in. There are no Soundings to be got in the Bay until within 500 yards of the shore, where you will find a coral bank studded with dangerous coral patches and from 10 to 20 fathoms Water in the clear places where a Vessel may anchor. The other parts of the Island present an Iron bound shore with perpendicular cliffs, and no soundings within 100 yards of the Breakers. The structure of the Island is of petrified coral—its elevation about 300 feet, quite level on the Top and Thickly Wooded.

There is a coral reef in the mouth of the Bay about three miles from the South Head, which can always be avoided by having a hand at the mast Head, otherwise the Bay is clear. Another dangerous Reef lays off the North end of Lifu; it bears from the N.W. point of the Island N.N.W. distant 8 miles and the sea always breaks on it. I have named it Henderson's reef, in memory of Mr William Henderson.

There is a place on the S.E. end of Lifu, where one or Two Sandal Wood traders have been at an anchor, but no person but an experienced hand among coral Reefs should attempt it. The

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18 Cheyne is again in error in his history of exploration. Captain Cook missed the Loyalties altogether (see p. 9). The description of Cheyne's 'Loyalties' and their people appears almost verbatim in Cheyne 1852: 13-18.

19 A fair description for the time. It is about four miles shorter than his estimate, from north to south, and at its broadest point about eight miles wider. The maximum altitude, however, is only about 180 feet, considerably less than the captain's reckoning.

20 Mou anchorage.
passage in leads through a number of Sunken rocks, which can only be discerned from the Mast Head in the morning when the Sun is to the Eastward. The anchorage is formed by a small reef which breaks the Sea off with the Wind at East, but affords no shelter if the Wind hauls to N.E. The place is so small, that a vessel has hardly room to Swing and will require to moor with chains to the shore. The Island of Mari, is a new discovery and was found out about the beginning of 1842 by the Sandal Wood vessels, through information obtained from the Isle of pine Natives; The N.E. end of it is situated in Lat. 21° 21' S. Longitude 168° 33' E. and the S.W. end in Latitude 21° 37' S. Longitude 168° 22' E. It is about Twenty miles in length from N.E. to S.W. and Ten miles in breadth. Its structure is of petrified coral—elevation about 300 feet, and quite level on the Top. There are no Harbours in it—but anchorage may be found near the shore in some places. It is thickly inhabited by a wild race, of rather a small stature whose customs and language are similar to those of Lifu. The vegetable productions of Mari, are cocoa nuts, Yams, Tarro, Sugar Cane, Bananas & Sweet Potatoes.

The Island of Lifu, although thickly clothed with timber, will bear no comparison with the Isle of Pines. With respect to its Soil the only good ground to be found is on small spots of Low land near the shore where the villages are, and on which are several beautiful groves of Cocoa Nut trees, also yam, Tarro, Banana and Sugar cane plantations, these cultivated spots produce more than sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants. Behind these plantations, in some places high coral cliffs arise so abruptly that the ascent to the Top of them is extremely difficult. On the North east part of the Island, the cliffs rise perpendicular from the Sea, rendering it impossible to land—and near which there are no inhabitants. The greater portion of the Interior of the Island is destitute of Soil, and similar to the low coral land at the Isle of Pines.

With regard to the population, I had no correct means of ascertaining the number, although I should suppose they would

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21 See note 7, this chapter.

22 The description of Mare is inferior to that of Lifu, presumably because he did not land there, and probably did not see the south-east coast himself. The location is accurate, except that the longitude is slightly too easterly, but while the length and elevation are about right the island is almost twice as wide as he believed.
amount to about Three Thousand or perhaps more. The Natives of Lifu are generally about the Middle size, and exhibit much variety of figure—their complexion is, in general, between that of the black and copper coloured races. Their Hair is frizzled, and besides the long bushy beards and Whiskers worn by many—they have a great quantity of Hair on their bodies—their eyes are generally fine being black and penetrating, and although equally savage with the Isle of pine Natives—their features exhibit rather a milder, and more pleasing appearance.

The Men when going to War generally wear their hair wrapt up in Tappa—at other times they appear to wear no covering over it—but take great pains to have it combed out in a Mop like form. The Hair of the women is similar to that of the men and is generally worn long—and has the same Mop like or bushy appearance.

The Men both old and young go entirely naked, and the only dress worn by the Women is a fringe about 3 inches wide tied round the body, and which does not cover their nakedness—the unmarried women and young girls go entirely in a state of Nudity. The natural colour of the hair of both men and Women, can hardly be ascertained—for they are in the habit of dying it with lime—which gives it a White, Red, or Brown appearance according to the taste of the individual. The natives of Lifu are very much addicted to stealing, and treacherous and cruel in the extreme, and generally speaking great cowards. They are also much given to lying—and seldom speak the truth even among themselves. The Women appear to be kept under much subjection—and are made to cultivate and attend to their plantations. Polygamy is practised among them and promiscuous intercourse of the Sexes allowed. Circumcision is not practised here, as at the Isle of Pines. Their ceremonies in regard to respect paid to chiefs &c are similar to those of the Isle of Pines.

Their Arms consist of Spears, Clubs, Tomahawks, Slings and Stones, the spear is thrown by a Sip, and all their implements of Warfare, Houses, Canoes, Tappa, drinking vessels &c are similar to those I have before described at the Isle of Pines.

They live on yams, Tarro, Cocoanuts, sweet potatoes, Bananas, Sugar Cane and fish. Their food is generally baked in ovens made by heating Stones—although sometimes they boil it in clay pots, and are generally cleanly in their cooking and eating. shell fish also forms a part of their diet.
The eating of Human flesh is practised at this Island from Habit and taste, and not merely from revenge, as I at first supposed, but from the mere pleasure of eating human flesh as a food. Their fondness for it is such, that when a portion of it has been sent some distance to their friends as a present, the gift is eaten, even if decomposition has begun before it is received. When mentioning the result of the last attack on the schooner at this place—I forgot to mention that the bodies of Gweeath’s Son and the others who had been killed from our fire—were that morning roasted and eaten by the chief Zoulah and his natives, in sight of our vessel; so that their eating those men could not be from feelings of revenge (but from a liking to that sort of food) as they had been fighting with us, and not with Zoulah’s Natives.23

The inhabitants of Lifu, are divided into two Tribes, who are independent and often hostile to each other—they are classed into Kings, chiefs, land-holders and servants or slaves. The King of the North part of the Island is named Gweeath, and that of the Southern end Bulah who is quite blind. The hostile feelings of the two tribes makes War the principal employment of the Men throughout the Island, their Wars usually arise from some depredation or Theft committed by the one party on the other, of which the strongest party takes advantage—and which generally ends in Bloodshed. A formal declaration of War is then made by the aggrieved party, preparations are then made on both sides—and a certain place and day appointed to have a fair open fight—on the day appointed both parties meet on a clear spot of Ground between the two tribes—and form in line abreast of each other about 100 yards (or more) distant. The fight is then commenced by throwing Spears from both Armies and which they generally catch and throw back again. The two lines then make a charge, meet, exchange blows with their clubs in passing—and again halt, at about the same distance, having changed positions. they continue these manoeuvres, until some of either party is killed. The victorious army then carry off the bodies of their Slain enemies, and return home with them. A feast is then prepared, and the bodies are cooked and eaten. The Bones and skull are preserved as trophies by the parties who eat them. The

23 This fact certainly weakens his interpretation of Zeula as an ally of Gwiet. As to the general observation on cannibalism, Guiart points out that human flesh was considered a delicacy for a chief’s court, much more than a common food.
King eats the eyes, heart, and breast—the Women are not allowed to partake of it at the public feast but I have been told they sometimes get a portion from their Husbands in private. In preparing for War, and during its continuance, they are always to be seen painted black on the face and breast—with the Tappa round their Hair decorated with feathers. But although they sometimes have fair fights, yet they are not always so honourable—as small parties will waylay others, and not scruple to Murder defenceless Men, Women or children when fishing, & carry their bodies home and feast on them. They prefer eating young Women and boys to men.

Vocabulary of the Lifu Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diäthen</th>
<th>What Name</th>
<th>Hae</th>
<th>The Head; or a ship</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dohu</td>
<td>A Chief</td>
<td>Luamek</td>
<td>The Eyes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loloïh</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Feth</td>
<td>The Nose</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congăzah</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Jinawhē</td>
<td>The Mouth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Truman</td>
<td>A Man</td>
<td>Thinum</td>
<td>The Tongue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feau</td>
<td>A Woman</td>
<td>Păpăăli</td>
<td>White mens country</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thathiin</td>
<td>A Virgin</td>
<td>Măculedu</td>
<td>Sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luiäh</td>
<td>No more</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
<td>Father</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecăh</td>
<td>A shirt</td>
<td>Ninah</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennäh</td>
<td>Tăsăh—Red cloth</td>
<td>Năcong</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thubărăsa</td>
<td>A Boy</td>
<td>Mimi</td>
<td>Brother</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maessier</td>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>Kah</td>
<td>Sister</td>
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<tr>
<td>Troami</td>
<td>Come here</td>
<td>Komidăh</td>
<td>Take it away</td>
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<tr>
<td>Troddah</td>
<td>Go away</td>
<td>Atowhat</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<tr>
<td>Niniep</td>
<td>Run</td>
<td>Leng</td>
<td>firewood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lapadu</td>
<td>Sit down</td>
<td>Umah</td>
<td>A House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelleda</td>
<td>Stand up</td>
<td>Nuh</td>
<td>cocoa nuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iningă</td>
<td>Water Calabash</td>
<td>Wingint</td>
<td>Green cocoa nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiım</td>
<td>Fresh Water</td>
<td>Wythimint</td>
<td>Bananas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nongăthăh</td>
<td>Salt Water</td>
<td>Coco</td>
<td>Yams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hucha</td>
<td>Rock or Reef</td>
<td>Troami mahan</td>
<td>Come &amp; eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awitha</td>
<td>Give me</td>
<td>Lotahaedæae</td>
<td>Go onshore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pănăsadădu</td>
<td>By and By</td>
<td>Atringanah</td>
<td>A Thief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 This is the formalised combat of We: a very precise and accurate description—J.G.

25 Granted the idiosyncracies of Cheyne's system of orthography, by and large the vocabulary is right. One comical exception is the word given for 'sandalwood'—emmoimo—which really means 'to gesticulate'—D.T.
During our stay at Lifu, we collected about 40 Tons of Sandal Wood—but although of good quality it was very small and crooked with much sap on it—consequently it required much cleaning—and through not being assisted by Capt'n Werngren's crew as expressed in the charter party, we had not more than one half of it cleaned when we left Lifu.

Captain Werngren did not seem to care whether I procured a cargo or not, as he threw all the obstacles in my way that he possibly could, and instead of giving me the assistance of his crew to procure and clean Wood, he kept them employed during our whole stay at that place, making New Sails for his vessel, of which she was very deficient having no spare sails whatever on board. this was contrary to his charter party as it was expressly stated that his vessel should be found in a sufficiency of Sails—Rigging, Boats and stores of every description for an Eight Months Voyage before leaving Sydney, so that on our arrival at the Islands, the whole time of the crew should be employed for the benefit of the charterers.

On my remonstrating with him for this breach of contract, he said procuring and cleaning Sandal Wood was not mentioned in the charter party and with Respect of sending his men in the boats to trade, he would not risk his men's lives by doing so—and as the nature of the voyage had been kept secret from him in Sydney—that I might procure a cargo with my own men the best way I could. this was merely a Subterfuge on his part to prolong the voyage, as he had got an excellent charter, and wanted to make the most of it. He was told before leaving Sydney that much risk of life attended a Voyage of this description. I may likewise remark that he had not a sufficient crew on board as required by the charter party—having only the following number—Capt'n Werngren, 2 mates, cook, steward, 3 Seamen and 2 boys—making Ten in Number including himself. The Charter party expressly states, that the vessel is to be manned with at least Ten able bodied Seamen independent of any extra hands I may ship instead of which he has only Ten in number including himself, officers and
boys. I had not only to purchase the Wood—but clean, and stow it away in the Hold with my own men, besides protecting and defending the vessel when attacked. the only times during the voyage when he placed his crew under my command, was when fighting in defence of the vessel when attacked.

The Doctor and shipmaster which I had given a passage to, turned out to be bad characters, and made much mischief on board; they rendered me no assistance whatever during the Voyage, and were the occasion of many quarrels between me and Captn Werngren. This was my thanks for doing a charitable action. This was a most trying voyage to me in every respect. I had no friend or person on board to consult, or in whom I could put the least confidence. In a weak state of Health exposed to the attacks of Merciless Savages, and the Season fast advancing which would render the main object of my voyage a failure, my feelings and distress of mind, can be easier imagined than described.

On account of the determined hostility of the Natives, and having been told by an English boy (found living on shore amongst the Natives, and who had deserted from some Sandal Wood vessel 3 months previous to our arrival) that plenty of large Sandal Wood could be got at the Britannia Islands,26 I made up my mind to leave this place, & proceed there taking the boy Charles Bridget with me as interpreter,27 and accordingly weighed on the morning of the 5th of September and stood out of the Bay. We were ignorant of this boys being at Lifu until within 2 or 3 days of our departure. It appears he was living on the S.E. part of the Island, under the protection of King ‘Bulah’—who had sent him overland to our vessel—to caution us against the Treacherous disposition of the natives in the Bay, and to request us to go round with the vessel to his Village—but from his account of them—It appeared to me that they were equally bad all over the Island. The natives appeared very fond of this boy—and did not wish him to go away with us.28

26 Uvea—see note 7, this chapter.
27 Charles George Bridget of Bristol deserted from the Sydney sandalwooder Munford in May or June 1842. He is described by the Reverend George Turner who met him three years later in Turner 1861: 396-7.
28 Bridget was evidently considered as an ornament (a ‘shell’) of Bula’s court —J.G.
CHAPTER SEVEN


At 10 A.M. on the 5th Sept. We passed the reef in the entrance of the Bay and steered W.N.W. for the Britannia’s or Uea so called by the natives of Lifu. 2 P.M. Saw land Ahead and At 5 we were in a Bay on the East side of the Island looking for Anchorage—but not finding any we hauled our Wind and stood off and on for the night—while beating out of the Bay about Sundown we were surrounded by a large school of Humpback Whales, they were playing about and Jumping out of the Water like porpoises. We saw the appearance of a good boat Harbour on the N.E. part of the bay—where were several Native Houses, & Canoes were seen hauled up on the beach. Charles informed me this afternoon that he thought it probable we should find the Barque ‘Juno’ at the Britannia’s, as she had left Lifu before our arrival with a party of natives & canoes for the Britannia’s to cut Sandal Wood.
At daylight on the 6th we made sail, and stood to the Westward to pass round the North end of the Island—at 8 close to some small Islands connected to the Large Island by reefs—saw a passage between 2 of the small Islets Apparently safe—Hove to for a canoe which was seen coming off—at 9 The Canoe came alongside, and two of her crew came on board to act as Pilots for us—we then made sail and stood for the passage—when near it, The vessel was Hove to, and the Boat sent in to sound—a signal having been made that the channel was safe—We made sail & stood in—had 13 fathoms inside the channel then steered close hauled S.S.E. &E. & shoaled our Water gradually on that course during a run of fifteen Miles—by which time we were in 4 fms. after making a couple of Tacks, we anchored off the West side of the Island in 3 fathoms coral and Sand—and near the Barque Juno of Sydney laying here collecting Sandal Wood. The Juno's boat came on board shortly afterwards and told us the Natives were apparently friendly and that any quantity of Sandal Wood could be procured.

At 3 P.M. the King of Fitzaway's Son, came on board and requested to see me—on going on deck he presented me with the Kings Tappa as a token of friendship, and requested me to go on shore and see his father. The prince is named Joqui—about Sixteen years of age, tall and well made, with a very intelligent expression of countenance, and much less savage in Appearance than the Natives generally. several Canoes came alongside during the time the prince was on board, bringing Cocoa Nuts &c for barter, which we purchased for beads. I went on shore the same evening with Joqui taking Charles along with us as Interpreter, on landing we were received by Hundreds of Armed Natives who had all brought Sandal Wood for sale, many large piles of it were lying on the Beach, spread out in Lots containing from five to Ten Logs in each, of rather a large size and good quality.

The prince took me up to his fathers house inside the fort—where I found the King sitting on a mat in the Square, attended by a number of chiefs and Natives who were all sitting down—I was desired to be seated on the same Mat with the King—after explaining the Motive of my Visit—I made him a present—and invited him on board the Vessel next day. He told me that

1 Fayoué, the southern district.
2 Jokwie.
September 1842

neither him nor any of his Natives had ever seen a ship or White Man before the Arrival of the Juno & us—and that having come here as friends we should be always treated as such while he lived—as it was his wish to establish a friendly trade with Europeans—he said the Island produced abundance of Sandal Wood, that they did not use it for any purpose, and that all his natives would cut a sufficiency to fill both Vessels—and ended by requesting my acceptance of about a Ton of Sandal Wood which was laying near his house. I was much pleased with the whole of this Interview, And although the King was in the lowest grade of Savage Ignorance and a Cannibal—but there was something straightforward about him—which I had not before met with at any of the other Islands—and which led me to think he might be trusted. It was evident to me that he had great power over the Natives—and sufficiently able to protect any vessel that might visit his place. On my going on board he presented me with some Yams Bananas and Cocoanuts. The Prince went on board along with me, and slept on board the schooner. My observations on the Natives this Evening led me to the conclusion that although Cannibals, they were a much milder race generally—than either those of Lifu or the Isle of Pines. The Kings name is Whiningay— he is about 45 years of Age, nearly 6 feet high, well made with rather a Wild and Daring expression of countenance—has Elaphantiasis in his right Leg, and holds his present rank through having been a great Warrior. He has Six Brothers, who all live within the same fortification, and act as his Ministers & body guard—they are considered very high chiefs—but are not possessed of much property—they hold their influence over the people chiefly through being great Warriors, and are considered as brave men. They Command all War Expeditions.

The next chief in Rank to the King is named Koumah—a Half Brother of Whiningay he appears to have large tracts of land under cultivation—and can command about 200 fighting men, is of a mild disposition, inclined to be hospitable—but does not

3 Hwenegei.

4 Elephantiasis and other forms of filariasis are present in Uvea because of the marshes in the south. It is non-existent in Lifu and Mare but quite prevalent in New Caledonia—J.G.

5 Kauma, who was better off as regards land and had little reason to take part in Hwenegei's warrior quarrels with other chiefs. This attitude kept him reasonably autonomous—J.G.
appear to have much command over his natives although they will at all times obey his orders yet he is rather inclined to be easy & Indolent he seldom goes himself on any war expedition: and is not in much estimation as a warrior. The other chiefs hold their land during the King’s pleasure, and are obliged to pay tribute—in Mats, Yams, Bananas, Tarro, fish, Tappa, Cocoanuts—&c.

7th On the morning of this day the wind shifted round to the Westward—and towards Noon came on to blow hard with rain—setting a Heavy short Sea into the Bay, which raised much surf, and prevented us from getting any Sandal Wood brought off. We were employed on board clearing away the hold & piling the uncleaned Wood up amidships on deck to make room. We Hove a large quantity of the small Lifu wood overboard—finding we could get much larger and easier wood to clean here. I went on board the ‘Juno’ in the afternoon with Captain Banks, from whom I got a good deal of information. The Juno is 6 months out from Sydney—and when she came here about Six weeks ago, had only on board about Twenty Tons of Wood then. Her lower hold is now full of fine wood and in a fortnight hence she will have completed her Cargo. Captain Banks agrees with me in thinking that the Natives of this Island, are of a milder disposition, and much better disposed towards White’s than many of the others we have hitherto met with. Notwithstanding which, he thinks it would not be prudent to trust them too much—as their covetous dispositions which it is evident they are possessed of, might lead them to commit acts of Hostility for the sake of getting possession of property. It is impossible at present to form any correct Idea of their character, as all natives generally are civil (through fear) on their first Intercourse with Europeans—but as they get enlightened, and find we are not Gods, as they at first supposed, they become more daring and familiar—and treat us with as much contempt, as they formerly did with respect. I learned from Captain Banks that our pilot was the Head chief of the other tribe, and that he had gone away much displeased at our anchoring off Whiningays place. The two tribes are almost constantly at War—and extremely Jealous of each other. I was

6Juno, barque, 212 tons, Captain Banks, left Sydney on 15 March 1842 allegedly for the ‘Navigators’ (Samoa)—Sydney Gazette, 17 March 1842. In this early period of the trade, when the existence of sandalwood in these islands was not yet common knowledge, it became common practice for ships to give out a false destination. See Shineberg 1967: 29-32.
not aware that he was a chief, and consequently did not even ask him below or offer him any thing to eat. He told Banks before going away that if he ever caught me at his place he would eat me; He had acted as pilot, expecting the vessel would anchor off his Tribe, and was much disappointed to find he had been piloting her to his enemies place. His name is Nicolo, and he has fought his way up to his present rank. His tribe appears to be a Republic as there are a number of other chiefs besides him, all equal in rank and power. Nicolo is the fighting General of the Tribe.

On the morning of the 8th the Wind had hauled round to the Southward which enabled us to communicate with the shore. I went on shore after breakfast with two boats to purchase Sandal Wood, and succeeded in loading the boats in a very short time. The Juno's Launch was there trading at the same time & the natives gave them the pick of the Wood—as they had better trade than we did.

I purchased about four Tons of Sandal Wood this day—for which I paid 1 Cotton shawl 2 bars of Iron 2 lbs Beads—some old spike nails and 3 pocket knives and presented the King with 1 Shawl 1 Bar of Iron and some Beads. The natives were very civil, and carried the Wood down to the boats, after purchasing it from them. When on shore I observed some of the Natives painted white on the face and breast and of a very wild appearance—on asking Charles he told me they were natives of Mari, one of the Loyalty Islands, and that the white stuff on their Head and breast was Lime and Ashes mixed up (in a hole dug in a stone or rock) with water, and into which they dipped their head every morning. these were the first Natives I had seen painted in this manner—and it certainly gave them a most hideous appearance—they appeared rather of a smaller stature than the Natives of Lifu, and much more wild in appearance.

Charles gave me the following Account of the Massacre of the

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7 Nekelo, of northern Uvea, one of the chiefs of Wallis Island origin. His reaction is a classic instance of the desire to monopolise a white man as a kind of prestige item—J.G. It probably also relates to the desire for European property, and the jealousy aroused by the prospect of this going to his rival instead.

8 The presence of some Mare people would be a normal event in customary relations; they were probably from Wakone near the north-eastern tip of Mare—J.G.
‘Martha’’s Boats crew at Mari as told him by the Natives at Lifu. It appears the Captain, Supercargo and four seamen, had landed on a small sandy beach near the south end of the Island of Mari to trade for Sandal Wood; leaving the Brig standing off and on. They were all armed with Muskets, pistols and cutlasses—and had very foolishly it appears—grounded the Boat and gone on shore. The natives soon collected round them, and at first tried to get them to walk up to the Village, offering Women as an inducement—but finding that no Inducement could prevail on them to leave the boat they commenced bringing a few pieces of Sandal wood and selling it for Iron Hoop. about this time a native attempted to steal the Captains pocket Hankerchief but was prevented from doing so by the supercargo, who made a blow at the native with the butt end of his Musket. while this was taking place, another native struck the Captain from behind with his club, which felled him to the ground. they now fired on them, and killed several, but before they could either reload, or draw their pistols—the crowd rushed on them, and instantly killed the Captain and supercargo, the other four Seamen threw down their arms, and ran for the bush but were hotly pursued by the Natives, and ultimately driven over a high cliff—where they fell on some rocks below and were dashed to Atoms. On asking Charles what Motive they had for committing this bloody deed he said it was not the result of a preconcerted plot, but was conceived from the Time of the Boats landing to obtain possession of the Mens clothes and trade, and that it was customary among themselves to murder each other for the sake of their property. The bodies of these men were cooked and eaten. Natives say the flesh of White men tastes Salt.

9th Fresh S.E. Winds and cloudy. We did not purchase any wood from the Natives this day, but kept all hands employed cleaning. Shortly after breakfast The King, Queen and all the Royal family paid us a visit accompanied by the Kings Six brothers. they remained on board nearly four Hours, and after getting several presents, went away much pleased with what they had seen: they expressed great astonishment at the Big Guns, and it was amusing to see the curiosity excited among them all, when they were told the large guns were to be fired; when the firing took place they expressed great surprise and astonishment at the

9 For other accounts of the Martha massacre, see Shineberg 1967: 50-1.
Ball flying along tearing the water up; and on the firing of the second gun, begged that no more should be fired as the noise had almost distracted him, we hung some bottles up to the yard arms, & surprised them much by the precision with which we could fire with Muskets. The King went away fully satisfied with our superiority in respect of firearms, and appeared quite bewildered with the many strange sights he had seen. After getting on shore, he sent me off a large present of Yams, Tarro, and fowls, and Bula one of his brothers, came off about sunset with a small present from himself, and slept on board the vessel, he brought his club and spears with him, and said he had been sent by the King to keep a lookout that the Natives did not steal, but I rather think he told us this, in hopes of getting another present, as he appeared very covetous, and was always begging something.10

10th Light Variable Airs and fine pleasant Weather. All hands employed cleaning Wood—we purchased about two Tons of Wood in the Afternoon, a number of natives on board during the day with cocoanuts &c for barter. at sunset all natives left the vessel.

11th Light variable Winds and pleasant Weather. No work done this day, being the Sabbath—at 8 A.M. we fired a gun, and hoisted the colours to let the Natives know that the vessel was Taboo’d. and fired another Gun at sunset, on hauling the colours down I have always made a practice of doing this at every Island I have visited and found it to have the desired effect as no natives molested us on this day. A vessel trading at any of these Islands requires to draw the charges of her Guns at least once a week, and reload them afresh in case of Water having got to the cartridges, the vessel would be liable to get cut off, if this precaution was not taken. An immense number of fires were seen after dark for miles along the beach, on asking Charles the meaning of it, he told me the Natives were dancing and that it was usual for them to do so every fine night. I was on shore during the Afternoon, and was taken through their plantations by one of the Kings Brothers. they have some beautiful Tarro beds a little Inland from the Village, and which appear to be kept in good order. I also saw a number of Banana, and Sugar cane plantations. after visiting all the chiefs Houses in the Village, I returned on board at Sunset.

10 It is very probable that Bula was indeed sent by Hwenegi—J.G.
12th Easterly Winds and fine Weather throughout. All hands employed from daylight until dark cleaning Sandal Wood. We purchased one Launch load of Wood in the forenoon, for which we paid some pieces of Bar Iron, some Hankerchiefs and beads. A great number of Natives on board during the whole day, we found it impossible to keep them out of the vessel, having no boarding nettings to keep them off, and the vessel being so low in the Water rendered it quite easy for them to step on deck from their Canoes, after some trouble we got them all to go onshore at sunset, they kept hanging on apparently in expectation of being able to steal something; but through keeping a strict watch on them, we did not lose anything. One of the Kings brothers slept on board.

13th Fresh South East Winds and cloudy, Employed cleaning Sandal Wood, cutting Bar Iron for trade—and stowing the Hold. purchased three Tons of Wood in the morning on shore, and brought it on board in the Launch for which we paid one Bar of Iron, some old spikes and about 2 lbs Beads. A number of natives on board during the day with Yams, sweet potatoes and cocoa nuts for sale, which we purchased for small beads. The chief Koumah and family paid us a visit to day. he appears a quiet inoffensive man, about 40 years of age. he brought a present of fowls and vegetables on board and after getting a present in return, went on shore in the evening, much pleased with his reception.

14th South East Winds and fine Weather. At day light went on shore and purchased about Three Tons of Sandal Wood, busily employed during the day cleaning Wood. Our decks swarming with Natives during the day, and no possibility of keeping them out of the ship, they bring us daily a plentiful supply of cocoa nuts and yams, which they dispose of for mere trifles, our prices are as follows. One fowl for 1 glass bottle, or one piece of Iron Hoop—or one large fish hook—one cocoanut for 2 very small glass beads—1 yam for one large blue glass bead—or one small fishhook—one bunch of sweet potatoes for 1 large bead, one bunch of Bananas for one empty bottle, Sugar cane for small beads. In the Afternoon Two double canoes came from Nicolo's place with Sandal Wood, which they took on board the 'Juno'. On seeing them approaching all Whiningays canoes went on shore, and did not come off again until they had gone away. Nicolo's tribe is at war with Whiningay—and had our vessels not
been here there is not a doubt but they would have had a fight. Whiningay was on board our vessel at the time—and tried hard to get me to fire at the Canoes on passing round our stern; some Lifu natives were very troublesome while on board this afternoon—there are about one Hundred of them at the Britannia’s at present,¹¹ who have come here to cut Sandalwood and trade with the vessels, and are constantly annoying us when on shore buying Sandal Wood. They keep interfering—and persuading Whiningays natives to ask a greater price for their wood, they are great Scoundrels and have injured our trading much during our short stay: belonging to a different Island Whiningay cannot exercise any authority over them neither can he turn them away from his place. I went on board the ‘Juno’ in the evening, and was surprised to learn from Captn Banks that he had been invited on shore to a feast at Whiningays place previous to our arrival, where he had witnessed a Human banquet, and had been asked to partake of it, which being refused, appeared to incense the chief highly. He saw the operation of cutting up and dividing the body performed, and which was done without the least emotion or feeling of shame on their part. The natives were laughing and Joking during the whole time and appeared to eat it with as much relish as we would Beef or Mutton; this account confirmed my previous opinion of the natives, respecting their Cannibal propensities. The boy Charles during his short stay at Lifu, has frequently witnessed the Natives eating Human flesh, and tells me they cook them in ovens made by heating stones—when cooked the bodies are brought to the King—and divided among the chiefs by his directions.

¹⁵th Easterly Winds and fine Weather, purchased about three Tons of Sandal Wood at Koumahs place in the forenoon. We found Koumahs natives much more difficult to trade with, than those at Whiningays place, they did not appear to be kept under the same subjection,¹² and are altogether a lawless set of fellows, and much given to thieving.

¹⁶th Light Easterly winds and beautiful clear weather. After breakfast we went on shore to Whiningays place with 2 boats, and purchased about five Tons of Sandal Wood—which the

¹¹ The presence of Lifu people, probably from Gaica (Gaitcha), was quite normal in customary relations—J.G.

¹² The relative lack of authority of Kauma is still true—J.G.
natives assisted us to bring off in canoes. A great number of natives on board daily with cocoa nuts & yams for sale, our decks are so much crowded at times that we have hardly room to clean Wood; a person requires to be possessed of much patience to deal with these fellows, as they will neither get out of the way, nor leave the deck; and are a most stubborn set.

17th Light Easterly Winds and pleasant Weather. All hands cleaning wood—stowing the hold &c

About 10 A.M. a large double canoe came alongside with Sandal Wood, manned by Thirty Lifu Natives. the following incident which occurred while trading with them, exhibits their Roguery and cowardice in the strongest light. I was standing at the gangway with a cutlass in my hand, bargaining for their wood, which they had piled up in lots on the platform of the Canoe. Two lots had been paid for, and passed on deck. The third belonged to a savage looking old man who demanded one piece of bar Iron in exchange. Having receiv'd the Iron, he stowed it away in the bottom of the Canoe and refused to deliver up the Wood, unless another bar were given him. Finding that he would neither pass the Wood up nor return the Iron, I yielded to his second demand, expecting the immediate delivery of the Wood. In this however I was deceived; He sat down in the Canoe, and very deliberately commenced packing up the bar Iron in his Tappa, chuckling inwardly at the success of his roguery: Greatly incensed at the man’s effrontery, I again demanded the wood, which he again refused to deliver without the payment of a third piece of Iron and on my threatening him with violence, he saluted me with a volley of abuse telling me that he should like to eat me, and finally expressed his contempt by turning round, and placing himself in a most indecent posture before me. This last insult was more than I could bear irritated as I already was, by his previous villany. I jumped into the Canoe, Cutlass in hand, when (thanks to their Cowardice) the whole party, although armed with Clubs, jumped overboard, leaving me in quiet possession of the Canoe & Sandal Wood. Having passed the Wood on deck, I cut the Canoe adrift and heard the Savages upbraiding each other with their Cowardice in suffering one man to drive them all overboard.

18th Easterly Winds and fine clear Weather. No work going on, being Sunday, fired our morning and evening gun as usual, and examined all our Arms and reloaded them.

19th 20th 21st Employed as during the preceding days.
September 1842

22nd Fresh Easterly Winds and cloudy. A very serious Accident nearly happened this morning. In consequence of the Barque 'Juno' being loaded and about to sail for Sydney—I gave order to unshot our Guns at daylight, expecting she would salute us in passing. The charge of the Starboard foremost Gun could not be withdrawn, and the men stationed at it having got permission to fire it off did so, and without looking where the shot would strike. It appears the King and suite were on their way off to the 'Juno' and about 100 yards ahead of that Vessel at the time the Gun was fired. And through the Gun being pointed nearly in a direct line with the Canoe, the consequence was that the Grape and Cannister shot fell around and near her in all directions, fortunately without injuring any one. The 'Juno' sailed at 9 A.M., and saluted us on passing, which we returned with the same number of guns. The King called on board on his way on shore from the 'Juno' and demanded my reason for firing at him; on our explaining how it happened, he went away satisfied, that no Injury had been intended.

23rd Easterly Winds and fine clear Weather. All men employed cleaning Sandal Wood and stowing the hold. Captain Werngren and the greater part of his crew employed making new sails for the vessel. Our decks crowded with natives as usual, they bring large quantities of cocoanuts on board daily, and show themselves very sharp traders both in disposing of them and selling Sandal Wood on shore. They seldom adhere to the value they have set upon an article, after their first demand is agreed to, but ask a more exorbitant price, and show no disposition to comply with their engagements.

24th Moderate breeze from E.S.E. & fine clear weather. We purchased one Launch load of Sandal Wood at Whiningays place in the morning. All my people busily employed cleaning Sandal Wood—little or no assistance rendered me by the ships crew.

As all connexion with the boy Charles Bridget (of whom frequent mention has been made) terminated on this day, I will here relate the circumstances which induced me to part with him. Having for some few days suspected that he was not acting towards me with that integrity which I had been led to expect, and finding that he consumed more trade when sent on shore to purchase Sandal Wood, than I have been in the habit of using, I made enquiries among the boats crew respecting his conduct on shore, and found that he had frequently presented his Lifu friends with several articles of trade, (which had been sent on shore for the
express purpose of purchasing Sandal Wood), without my permission or even acquainting me that he had done so. In consequence of which I perceived a great falling off both in the quantity and quality of the wood during the last few days, and on enquiring the reason of this, the King informed me that Charles was giving the greater part of the trade to the Lifu natives, and did not pay his men near so much for their wood, as I had been in the habit of giving—and that unless I turned Charles away and came on shore myself as usual they should cut no more wood. Finding therefore that I derived much more Injury than benefit from his services, I immediately ordered him to leave the Vessel. It is difficult to believe that a man born in a Christian country, well educated—of respectable parents—and who (by his own account) had been a midshipman in the Company’s Service,\(^\text{13}\) should banish himself from the society of his own Countrymen, and voluntarily exchange the habits and customs of civilized life for those of the most degraded Savages. Such however was the case. And had I not been compelled by his own misconduct to discharge him, he would from choice have remained with the Natives.

25\textsuperscript{th} Light South East Winds and fine Weather, fired our usual Morning and Evening Gun, and examined and reloaded our Arms. No work going on being Sunday.

26\textsuperscript{th} Easterly Winds and fine weather. At daylight I went on shore to purchase Sandal Wood at the Kings place and found a number of Lots spread out on the beach which had been cut by the Lifu natives. I landed as usual leaving both boats afloat, and only took one man on shore with me, who carried the Trade bag. The King informed me that his people had no Wood ready, and desired me to purchase the Wood cut by the Lifu natives, on attempting to do so, they found fault with every article of Trade which was offered them, and refused to sell it, unless I paid them double the usual price, which I of course would not do. They then formed in a line between me and the boats, quivering their Spears, and shaking their clubs at me. The Lifu chief then challenged me to fight him as I would not purchase their wood. Things were now looking serious and I hardly knew how to act—when Whiningay the King made his appearance—took me by the hand—led me down to the waters edge, and desired me to embark as the Lifu natives were bent on mischief. Finding themselves unable to carry

\(^{13}\) i.e. the Honourable East India Company.
September 1842

their bad intentions into effect through the Kings arrival, and fearing at the same time that Whiningay would punish them for the threats which they had used towards me, they deemed it necessary to humble themselves—which was done by their chief's presenting the King with his Tappa, to be delivered to me as they were afraid to approach the boats, the crews of which were armed, they further requested me to come on shore, and buy their wood at my own price, to which I willingly assented. Two boat loads were then purchased without any difficulty, with which we went on board. Before leaving the shore, I was informed by the King, that Charles was the Instigator of the late outbreak, in revenge for having been turned out of the ship. There could not have been less than Six Hundred armed men on the beach during the above transaction.

27th Light Easterly Winds and fine. at 8 A.M. some natives came on board with a message from the King requesting me to come on shore with two boats, to receive a present of Yams &c which had been collected for me by the different chiefs. after breakfast I went on shore with two boats unarmed, and was met by the King on the beach who took me up to the council house inside the Fort, where I saw some two hundred heaps of yams, sweet potatoes cocoanuts, bananas, Sugar cane and a few fowls—lying on the ground, and not less than Seven hundred armed Natives sitting down around it. I was told this was a present for me from the different chiefs in this tribe. The boats crews were called up out of the boats, and desired to sit down near me. some of the Inferior chiefs then commenced making speeches to the crowd, which I of course did not understand—after some time they appeared to be disputing and quarrelling among themselves, when the King Jumped up with his War club, and commanded silence, he appeared to be in a great rage with the other chiefs, and after talking for some time and flourishing his club at them, took me by the hand and led me down to the boats, and made the natives load the boats with the Yams &c, then ordered me on board, and told me not to come on shore again unless he sent for me. I wondered at the time what could be up, but not understanding much of their Language at that time, of course I did not know, but I have learned since that it was a conspiracy formed by the chiefs and natives (unknown to the King) to take the Schooner, and murder us all, but as soon as the King found it out, he put a stop to it, and would not allow me to pay them for the yams.
September-October 1842

They had spread these presents out under pretence of friendship, to get me and the boats crew up into the Fort, where they had intended to Murder us, and then go off in their war canoes and take the schooner, which they could have easily done, as we entertained no suspicion of their treachery. This was one of the many narrow escapes which I have had amongst the Islands in the pacific. Nothing but the hand of providence saved us. I have a strong suspicion that Charles Bridget was the Instigator of this intended Massacre; as his manner of living amongst the natives and former conduct, had proved him to be an abandoned character & utterly void of all moral worth. From this time until the 7\textsuperscript{th} of October noth\textsuperscript{8} particular occurred—our people were constantly employed cleaning Wood—and stowing the Hold. The Lifu natives left the Britannia's in their canoes taking Charles Bridget with them shortly after the above occurrence, and the Natives of this place conducted themselves with much more propriety after their departure. We continued to get small quantities of Wood daily, but the natives were evidently getting tired, and appeared anxious for us to leave. The King came on board on the evening of that day, and gave me to understand that I might expect a large quantity of Wood in about three days from that time, which would be the last he could give me at this time, as a great number of his people were sick—but that If I came back in a few weeks, he would be able to give me a plentiful supply. he invited me on shore the same evening, which I declined. Since the above affair of the feast, the natives have appeared more shy: and much altered in their Intercourse with us from what they were formerly—and their movements appeared to be attended with a suspicion of us.

At daylight on the 10\textsuperscript{th} we perceived a number of War Canoes lying off the beach at Whiningays place with Masts up, and an immense number of natives on the beach engaged piling up Sandal Wood in Lots. During our whole stay I had never witnessed so many Canoes collected together & this unusual appearance added to the late shyness of the natives, caused me to entertain suspicion that they meditated an attack on the vessel, and prevented me from going on shore at daylight to purchase wood as I had previously intended doing. At 7 A.M. one of the Kings brothers came off with a message from the King, requesting me to come immediately on shore with Trade and purchase the Sandal Wood then lying on the beach, on enquiring the reason
of so many canoes being at the landing place I was informed that they had brought Sandal Wood from different parts of the Island, and were anxious to get it disposed of, and go home. Although I had my suspicions that something was wrong, yet I ordered the two boats to be immediately manned, intending to go on shore unarmed, and trust entirely to the King for protection, but every man on board refused to go—alleging the natives were not to be trusted. Shortly afterwards a second messenger arrived, when the crew gave a similar answer. Hours passed away in this manner—at last the King came on board himself in a great rage—and asked me if I was a woman, that I was afraid to go on shore and purchase the Sandal Wood, or what other reason I had for not going. I told him I was not afraid, and having packed up some trade in a bag, I jumped into his canoe, and told him to shove off. he seemed much pleased to find that I put confidence in him; and when we were about half way from the vessel to the shore, the two boats were seen to leave the vessel, and pull after us—had the boats not come, I should have gone on shore purchased the wood, and sent it on board in canoes. On landing the King took me by the hand, which he continued to hold, during the whole time I was purchasing the Wood. On loading the boats, I sent them off, and remained on shore until their return, their next trip took all the Sandal Wood off. During the whole of this day, we were completely in the Natives power, of whom there were not less than Nine Hundred armed men.

11th Easterly Winds and fair Weather. employed putting all the Sandal Wood below and preparing for Sea. The King and chiefs came on board in the afternoon and received their presents.

12th South East Winds and fine clear weather at daylight we weighed and made sail, and at 8 A.M. got clear out to Sea, and stood to the Westward for New Caledonia. At Noon passed near to Beaupre's Islands and reefs. These Islands are small, covered with cocoa nut trees and inhabited by some of Nicolo's tribe. They are surrounded by a reef.

The Britannia Islands14 named Uea by the natives consist of one large Island Thirty Miles in length in a N.N.E. and S.S.W. direction, and a number of smaller ones to the westward of it.

14 The substance of the following description of Uvea and its people was used in Cheyne 1852: 19-27.
Plan of Uvea - the Britannia Island
Andrew Bryon.
1842.

A Beaulieu Islands  K Bull's Head.
B Hinegea's Tribe C Nobile Tribe.
D Island of Freese. My home & Hingatiai.
E The Bull's entrance F. Sunet's entrance.
H Bull Track's I Niua track.
N High Rocky cliffs.

Map of Uvea
connected by coral reefs Joining on to Uea—with three good ship passages leading in to a large and beautiful bay, having regular Soundings all over it. Its formation is similar to some of the Lagoon Islands near the Equator. The South Eastern part of Uea presents an Iron bound shore, with perpendicular cliffs and no soundings within 100 yards of the breakers—from that round the N.E. and North part of the Island the shore is generally rocky—boats may land in some places on the North and N.E. parts in fine Weather. The west side of the Island fronting the Anchorage is low land thickly studded with Cocoa nut trees, and a white Sandy beach runs along its whole margin, giving the shore a beautiful appearance from the Lagoon. The Juno’s entrance marked F on the plan is ½ of a mile wide & has not less than 6 fms Water in any part of it. The Bull’s Entrance E. is rather wider, and has Twelve fathoms Water in Midchannel—this entrance may easily be known to a stranger by the Island forming the east side of the entrance having a clump of tall pine trees on it—this is the only Island near the passage which has any timber on it—the others being merely low rocky Islets covered with grass and brush Wood. I should decidedly prefer entering by the Bulls channel. If bound to Whiningays place a direct course should be steered for it, if the Wind will allow, taking care not to come under 5 fathoms until near the place you intend to anchor, as many sunken rocks exist inshore of that line of Soundings, which cannot be discerned even from the mast head—when they can be seen, they appear to have a dark brown colour. the natives generally have fish pots set alongside the Rocks, with small black buoys on them, about the size of a cocoa nut; by keeping a good lookout for those buoys—the rocks can mostly always be avoided. The course from the Bull’s entrance to the anchorage off Whiningays place at Fitzaway is S.E. by S. by compass, this course will take a vessel clear of all dangers and when she shoals her water to 4 fathoms, she will then be abreast of the Kings Village, and about 1½ miles from the shore, where she may anchor. The palisades of the fort will be seen about 100 yards from the Sandy beach, and in front of a large grove of cocoanut trees, to the left of that will be seen the fortification around Koumah’s village near the beach, and fronting the cocoa nut trees; the two Villages are about

125
one mile apart with few or no Cocoa nut trees betwixt them. From Whiningays place to the South point of Uea is about 5 miles—a boat harbour is formed between this point and the next Island to it, fronting the small Island of Wassau, lately purchased by me, and on which there is a weather boarded cottage and flagstaff this Island has about 2000 cocoanut trees on it and a beautiful plantation of Bananas, Yams and Sugar Cane near the house. The next Island to the Westward of Wassau is of large extent, and inhabited, by a Chief and his dependents, who in consequence of being married to a daughter of the King has much power over the natives—and ranks next to Koumah. This chief is named ‘Boumulli’. All the other Islands of this Group have no permanent inhabitants, but are merely visited occasion­ally by the Natives when they go on fishing excursions.

The best entrance in to the Lagoon is on the West part of the Group. This passage is four Miles Wide and clear of all hidden dangers. The land cannot be seen until a vessel gets some miles to the Eastward of the entrance. I did not try for soundings when beating in this channel in the Brig Naiad, but I rather think no Soundings are to be got in the Lagoon until the land of Uea is visible from the deck. A vessel may anchor in any part of the Lagoon within sight of land, as the Soundings are very regular on a bottom of fine white Sand. With westerly Winds a short sea sets into the Lagoon, which renders it difficult to communicate with the shore, but those winds are of short duration, and only happen from October till April. A vessel anchoring here in these months should ride with a long scope of Cable, as the Holding ground is not very good.

The Island of Uea is of coral formation, elevated on the S.E. part about 250 feet & quite level on the Top: the other parts of the Island are not quite so high, and the whole of it is thickly wooded. From the east side to the centre of the Island the ground is rocky and destitute of soil, but on the west side, around and a little inland from the villages, the soil is good and capable of producing every variety of tropical fruits and vegetables, and is well cultivated. These plantations produce beautiful Tarro, sweet potatoes, Bananas and Sugar Cane, but yams are not much cultivated. Fresh Water can be got in several places near the

17 Pumali, of Tongan origin. Dumay has since taken over the chieftainship, the Pumali clan having died out—J.G.
beach by digging wells in the Sand, but there are neither running streams nor Springs on the Island.

The prevailing Winds are from S.E. but from October until April westerly Winds are frequently experienced and Gales of Wind happen some years in these months. They generally commence at N.E. haul round to North and N.W. from whence they blow hardest, then round to South West and moderate. Very little Rain falls here during the year. I made our Position when at Anchor off The Kings Village to be in Latitude 20° 32’ S., Longitude 166° 34’ E. The Native name of Whiningays Village is Fitzaway, and that of his tribe Gay.

It is High Water on full and change of the Moon at 6 Hours, greatest rise and fall of the tide 6 feet. At Neaps, there is only one tide in 24 Hours, and which is generally in the night. The water does not rise then above two feet.

The climate of these Islands is Salubrious, and well adapted to a European constitution. The warmest Months are in the summer season from October till March and during the other months the weather is cool and agreeable. Earthquakes are frequently experienced in these Islands during the summer months, some of them are sufficiently severe to shake a stone house down, but the shock seldom lasts more than two minutes, and the natives exhibit no fear on account of them.

The Natives appear to be tolerably free from diseases and those which came under my personal observation were colds, elephantiasis, Hydrocele and Rheumatism, the latter disease appears to be the most prevalent, and attacks them in the bones of the legs, which they relieve by making an incision in to the bone with a shell, over the part affected.

The Uea natives are generally above the middle size and display much variety of figure. The chiefs are well formed, tall and muscular, while the lower classes exhibit the meagerness arising from laborious employment and poor nourishment. Their complexion lies between that of the black and copper coloured races, although instances of both extremes are met with, which would lead one to suppose that some of them are descended from two different stocks. They are much fairer than the Isle of pine natives and less Savage in appearance. These natives are apparently milder in their disposition, and less prone to fighting than either those of Lifu or the Isle of pines but like all savages are treacherous and cruel to the last degree they are much
addicted to thieving and covet every thing they see. Notwithstanding these bad qualities, they are the best that I have yet met with among these dark coloured races. There can be little doubt that if left to themselves the natives of Uea would prove quite as treacherous as their neighbours, but being complete slaves to the will of their King, they have no means of displaying their evil propensities. This chief is decidedly the best specimen of the savage tribe that I have hitherto met with, being the only one in whom I ever trusted without being deceived. Both sexes have the lobe of the ear bored, which operation is performed at the age of puberty: The men distend the holes to a large size, by inserting rolls of Tappa, pieces of Wood, and bunches of leaves, which completely alters the original shape of the ear, and gives it a most unnatural appearance. Their hair is frizzled, and they take great pains in dressing it, with a comb made of two long and slender wooden pins or prickers, and when dressed has a large bushy appearance similar to a mop. Many of the boys and girls whiten their hair with lime, which when they are grown up gives it a brown appearance, similar to the colour of their skin. The hair pricker or pin is worn as an indication of rank. The King wears it in the front of his hair. The chiefs, a little on one side, while the lower classes have it tied round the neck, and hanging down the back. The operation of shaving was performed previous to our arrival, by means of small cockle shells used as tweezers for pulling the hair out by the roots, but since the introduction of glass bottles by us, they have adopted the practice of shaving by means of pieces of broken glass. These natives are seldom seen painted unless when going to War, at which time they use a sort of lamp black or soot to blacken the face and breast. The tappa is only worn when at war, and is similar to that used by the Lifu natives, it is passed from one to a dozen times around the head. They pay great respect to the King and chiefs and never attempt to pass them, without stooping and lowering their clubs. The men go entirely naked, and are not circumcised; the Women when married wear a fringe around the body about 6 Inches in breadth which has a more decent appearance than that worn by the females of the other Islands. This dress covers their nakedness. The unmarried females go entirely naked. The daughters of chiefs are usually betrothed to chief’s sons, by the parents of both parties, several years before they are marriageable. At this island strict chastity is observed among both sexes before marriage and
promiscuous intercourse expressly forbidden. It is difficult to account for this difference in the morals of the inhabitants of two islands so near to each other as this and Lifu. There, neither men nor women are under any restraint in this respect before marriage;\(^\text{18}\) The natives of Uea speak a different Language, have finer features, and some of them are evidently descended from a different race; perhaps from the Feejee Islands. Their Houses are similar to those of the Isle of pines, with the exception of the council house at Fitaway, which is 90 feet in Length 20 feet in breadth, and nearly as much in height. The roof has a double pitch, falling on each side of the ridge to eaves about 4 feet from the ground, well thatched with long grass, and perfectly tight, the greater part of the side fronting the sea is open but the whole of the back and ends are thatched. All strangers and visitors sleep in this house. The Canoes although of a similar construction to those of the Isle of pines, are not near so well put together. They are built double, the smaller ones serving as an outrigger to the large, connected together by beams—on which a platform of boards is laid. They have two Masts and two Sails—their mode of Tacking is similar to that of the Isle of pines. They are clumsy in appearance, and although they voyage backwards and forwards to Lifu and New Caledonia in them, yet they are very poor sea boats—leak much in a seaway, and do not sail fast on a wind. They steer with a very large paddle, and when the sails are not set, have a peculiar method of sculling them to windward with pieces of wood about 6 feet in length and 6 In. broad, which they shove down through round holes in the platform, and working it from side to side propel the canoe, similar to sculling a boat.\(^\text{19}\)

Their Arms consist of clubs, Spears, Slings and stones—and since our arrival Tomahawks. The stones are of an oval shape, and when at war carried in a bag tied round the waist. The spear is thrown by the Sip. Tomahawks are used as battle axes, and preferred to any other weapon. Their Wars are sometimes carried on in open fight, but stratagem is more generally resorted to. They frequently

\(^{18}\) The difference is explained by the fact that Hwenegei and his principal people came from New Caledonia, where the traditions with regard to pre-marital relations were less relaxed—J.G.

\(^{19}\) Sculling is also a technique originating from the New Caledonian lagoon, valid in the Uvea lagoon, but less so in the open sea—J.G.
prowl about in small parties near the enemies tribe, and ly in ambush for stragglers, whom they massacre without regard to age or sex. When one party is desirous of peace, some neutral person is sent to the other tribe with the Kings tappa, which, if accepted, ends the war for a time. But upon such frivolous pretences, are these treaties sometimes broken, that the chiefs seldom visit each other even after peace is declared.

The religious ceremonies of these Islanders, are similar to those before described. When on shore one day, I observed the King with two wooden images before him, representing a Male &

20 It is doubtful whether stragglers of either sex were murdered, and there are strong indications that women were usually left in peace—J.G.
female, about 9 Inches in length—to whom he appeared to be addressing his devotions. These images (which appear to be common amongst these islands,) are however very slightly esteemed—as the natives will readily barter them for any European article which may take their fancy. The ornaments worn by these people are beads made of Jade stone—and strung on a thick string made from the down of the vampire bat, or flying fox. these strings are also worn by the chiefs around the Knees and waist. Shell armlets are worn by some of the chiefs and their children. These shells are held in much estimation and are only to be found in New Caledonia. Since their intercourse with us, glass beads form their chief ornaments. The large blue beads are the most highly esteemed. Although otherwise cruel these people are kind and affectionate to their children, and seldom punish them even for the most insolent or passionate behaviour. The Natives of Uea are Cannibals, and invariably eat the bodies of their enemies slain in battle with as much relish and satisfaction as any of their neighbours. When at war, Women are often cut off (by small parties of the enemy) when fishing on the reefs, and their bodies carried home to administer to their cannibal appetites. They prefer the flesh of women to men. Polygamy is practised on a small scale at this Island. The King has four wives—Koumah and Boumulli two each—the other chiefs and land holders have seldom more than one apiece. The women are kept under much subjection, and have to carry burdens, and do the greater part of the work, the men seldom assist them unless when planting yams. Before and during war the men abstain from the company of women and I remember an instance related to me where this abstinence had continued for years.

These natives are very regular in their habits. they rise with the Sun, bathe and take their morning meal then go to their different occupations, at which they are employed until about 1 P.M. when they come home—they then take another slight meal, and spend the afternoon in chatting and lounging about—at Sunset they have their principal meal served, and when not dancing retire to rest about 9 P.M.

Their food consists of Yams, sweet potatoes, Tarro, cocoanuts,

21 The wooden images were probably twins, not male and female. There are no devotions to them—J.G.
bananas, Ti root, and fish, which they prepare and cook in a variety of ways. They consider a large wood maggot which is found on the trees to be the most delicious food they have—I have frequently seen them pick them up and eat them alive.

In regard to the population of this Island, I found it difficult to obtain correct information, but I should estimate it to be about Four Thousand souls.

### Vocabulary of the Uea Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Uea</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iu</td>
<td>Come here</td>
<td>Watah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tawanthan</td>
<td>A Chief</td>
<td>Chilock</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baga</td>
<td>A Man</td>
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<tr>
<td>O’Boga</td>
<td>Men</td>
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<td>Dah</td>
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<td>Momo</td>
<td>A Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>Een</td>
<td>A Girl</td>
<td>Kuyheen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>A ship</td>
<td>Eynee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baleaway</td>
<td>A Canoe</td>
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<td>Kiwa</td>
<td>A calabash</td>
<td>Abah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uuma</td>
<td>A House</td>
<td>Ä</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mä</td>
<td>Reef or Rock</td>
<td>Thoy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yean</td>
<td>What Name</td>
<td>Abah thoy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hongeam</td>
<td>Give me</td>
<td>Ang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hädäh</td>
<td>Go away</td>
<td>Esso Withang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guh</td>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Otherbut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toki</td>
<td>Iron Hoop</td>
<td>Usellat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Häläe</td>
<td>A Knife</td>
<td>Labah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mächänän</td>
<td>By &amp; By</td>
<td>Todah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mäitch</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Eenah</td>
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<td>Amakuth</td>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>Coto</td>
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<td>Makinani</td>
<td>Sick</td>
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<td>Good</td>
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<td>Akung</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Ietch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nabuth</td>
<td>Let go</td>
<td>Makech</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sodue</td>
<td>No more</td>
<td>Amagae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boedäläh</td>
<td>Red cloth</td>
<td>Veneu</td>
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This is a Iai (from Uvea) vocabulary for the most part, but contains Dehu (from Lifu) words, probably reflecting the fact that he had an interpreter more familiar with the Lifu language (that is, Bridget). The numerals from eleven to twenty are nearer the Dehu forms than the Iai, and are sometimes an odd mixture of both—D.T. See also Tryon 1968a: 59 and 1968b: 67.
At daylight on the 13th October we discovered breakers on the Starboard bow which on passing appeared to be a dangerous coral reef about one mile in extent. At Noon Calm. Made the reef in Latitude 19° 55' S., Longitude 165° 25' E. pr chronometer. I supposed it to be the reef on which the 'Lucinda' whaler was lost in 1838. This danger is not laid down on any of Norie's charts.

It was my intention when I left Sydney to proceed to these Islands and procure 100 Tons of Wood with all despatch—then proceed through Torres Straits touching at the different Islands and reefs contiguous to the passage to procure Tortoise Shell, curiosities and coral fragments; And when through to search the North coast of New Holland from the Gulph of the Carpentaria to Port Essington for Biche de Mar and from thence to China, calling at the Arroo Islands and others near the West end of New Guinea, to trade for Biche de Mar, Birds Nests, Bees Wax, Ambergris, Pearls, and Pearl shells. But through having experienced more difficulty in procuring Sandal Wood than I had
anticipated—and the season being too far advanced to proceed through Torres straits, rendered it impossible for me to carry out my former intentions with respect to the Voyage—and induced me to visit New Caledonia in hopes of finding the natives peaceable, and of being able to establish a Biche de Mar fishery at that place. When leaving Uea at this time the vessel's hold was nearly filled with Sandal Wood and through little or no assistance being rendered by Captain Werngren's crew we had little more than one half of it cleaned.

On inspecting our stock of water this day, I was surprised to find only 450 gallons on board, instead of 1500 as represented by Captain Werngren. The vessel had Six months water on board on leaving Sydney, and it is evident they must have started a quantity of it overboard—(during my absence on shore trading for Wood), for the sole purpose of prolonging the Vessel's charter. At the commencement of the voyage I repeatedly told the Captain that no water could be got at these islands and requested him to take particular care of the stock on board. Should we fail in getting water at New Caledonia the principal object of the voyage will in all probability be lost—as we shall then be obliged to proceed to Norfolk Island to obtain a supply of that necessary article, and the loss of time attending it, will render it impossible for me to make any further search after Biche de Mar on our return from that place—and will force me to fill the vessel up with Sandal Wood, and proceed at once to China—As Mr Burn expects me to complete the voyage in 6 months from the time the vessel was chartered.

14th Light Variable Airs and calms, A few hands cleaning Sandal—Others employed making Ball Cartridges and cleaning Small Arms &c. P.M. saw New Caledonia.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Arrive at New Caledonia—Hostile appearance of the Natives—They attack the Schooner—The Battle—Beat them off—Get safe out to Sea—Arrive at the Isle of Pines—Hostility of the natives—The Brig ‘Star’ cut off and her crew massacred—departure from the Isle of Pines—Norfolk Island—Arrival at the Britannia’s—Witness a human banquet—‘Bull’ loaded—Sail for China—The passage—The Island of Ascension.

15th October, Fresh North West winds and fine. Working up along the reefs for the entrance to Balade Harbour. At Noon several double canoes were seen coming towards the ship, but with great caution. The Topsail was backed to allow them to come up—which they did until within about 300 yards of the ship, where they stopped—and no inducement could prevail on them to come alongside—during the time they remained near us, they kept shouting, making many gestures, and waving pieces of Tappa; We exhibited many articles of Trade and waved white Hankerchiefs in return, but this had no effect—as the moment the schooners head was put towards the canoes, they made sail, and stood for the shore.1 The Canoes were all double, similar in their construction to those of Uea, and rigged exactly after the same manner, having two sails each. The colour and features of these people were similar to those of the Islands we had hitherto visited. All the men were circumcised, and dressed similar to the Isle of Pine natives.

1 This response was remarkably similar to that experienced by the d’Entre- casteaux expedition at Balade in April 1793—La Billardiére 1800: II, 191.

135
16th2 Fresh North West Winds and fine clear weather. At 8 A.M. Stood in for the reefs, and lay by till noon for the meridian Altitude. At 30' P.M.3 we entered the reefs in Latitude 20°11' S., through a good clear passage ¼ of a mile wide, and when inside steered South and Southeast for Balade Harbour. We passed through amongst many coral patches, and about 3 P.M. came to an anchor off a village named Paceapo in 30 fathoms. We had run past Balade Harbour—as it did not appear safe to approach it, until examined with the boat—the Water appearing shallow in many places—shortly after we anchored several double canoes were seen coming off, the natives in them appeared very shy, and afraid apparently to come alongside. I wanted if possible to gain their confidence by kindness, and to convince them that we had come as friends, and not for the purpose of fighting. After a display of white cloth and pocket hankerchiefs on our side, and waving of Tappa’s on theirs, they were at last prevailed on to come alongside—and by dint of Iron hoop presents, we soon got a number of them to come on board, and amongst whom were two or three chiefs. Their excitement appeared to be so great on coming on deck—and viewing the numerous novel things around them—that it appeared difficult for them to continue still for a moment. After getting a little over their excitement, they enquired for the Aliki; and on my being pointed out to the chiefs as that person, they immediately presented me with their tappa’s as a token of friendship, which I accepted, and in return presented them with sundry pieces of Iron hoops, Beads &c and a piece of white cloth as a token of friendship on my part. Seeing no warlike preparations going on, on board, nor any of our people armed, they soon appeared to gain confidence, and commenced coming on board in great numbers, each chief presenting me with his Tappa as above and receiving a present in return.

About 5 P.M. we must have had not less than 200 natives on deck. The head chief appeared to be labouring under great excitement, and having ordered all the natives (who were making a prodigious clamour) to sit down and be silent, Jumped up and made a long speech to them, uttered, with a powerful voice and excessive volubility—during which time his whole frame

2 The entry for this and the following day (pp. 136-42) are quoted in Cheyne 1852: 43-51. The published version is, however, edited and abridged.

3 i.e. thirty minutes past noon.
October 1842

appeared to be agitated. When this speech was ended, I showed them a sample of Biche de Mar, and tried to make them understand that I wanted them to build me a large curing house on shore, and to collect it for me, for which I would pay them, at the same time showing them a sample of our trade. They were graciously pleased to smile on inspecting the sample of goods but shook their heads when they looked at the Biche de Mar, and seemed determined not to understand me, although I spoke to them in the Uea language which they can nearly all speak. They appeared very anxious to get the vessel removed to Balade Harbour which I intended to do, after examining it with the boat in the morning. The houses of Balade were about one mile to the Northwest of where we were lying, and the principal chief appeared to belong to that village.

I again tried to call their attention to the Biche de Mar but to no purpose. They had got a sight of our trade and were now busy inspecting the vessel, and counting our number of men. After ascertaining our complement of men, number of large Guns &c The chiefs again ordered the natives to sit down on deck, and made some more speeches to them, which they listened to with great attention. The head chief made me sit down near him on the Quarter deck; he appeared much interested in me, and kindly patting me on the shoulder pointed me out to his brother Savages, he also pointed occasionally to the crew during his speech, but they did not appear to interest him near so much as myself. It was now getting dark—and I became anxious that they should leave the ship, as it was evident that they were planning to take her. I therefore tried to make the chiefs understand that I wished them to go on shore, and that they might come on board again in the morning. They explained by signs, that they perfectly understood me, but that they wished to sleep on board. This of course could not be allowed, but as my only chance of getting Biche de Mar was by keeping on friendly terms with them, I was determined not to be the first aggressor. I therefore gave the chiefs some more presents, and after a great deal of persuasion they all left the ship, with the exception of Thirteen who seemed determined to sleep on board. I allowed them to remain till about nine O’clock at night, when I again tried to persuade them to leave, but to no purpose. They commenced flourishing their clubs over their heads, in a threatening manner, but on some Muskets being brought up, they Jumped overboard
and swam on shore. About midnight we observed the natives making a number of large fires on shore, which were answered along the coast from hill to hill.

October 17th At daylight (being calm) we got the Whale boat out in order to sound the passage leading to Balade harbour, with a view to moving the schooner there. But before the boat could be got ready, I observed Hundreds of natives swimming off to us, and four War Canoes full of men approaching the vessel. Within a few minutes they were alongside and several natives came on board unarmed. They brought nothing for barter and at that time appeared peaceable, and anxious to get the schooner removed to Balade Harbour. The chiefs formed a circle round me on the Quarter deck and endeavoured to withdraw my attention from their countrymen, who were swimming off and boarding the vessel in every direction. At this time there could not have been less than between two and Three hundred men on deck.

At half past Six fifteen Large War Canoes hove in sight round a point of land, full of men, and coming towards us under sail. There were also some thousands on the fringe reef, about 300 yards from the schooner, all armed. On looking over the side, I saw a number of men in the water, each having a club and a bundle of spears, which they were passing up to the natives on deck. Four war canoes were also stationed round the ship, at 20 yards distance, one at each gangway, one ahead and one astern, and all full of armed men. It is now evident that they had come off to take the vessel, and were only waiting for the fifteen canoes to come up. In order to sound their intentions, I offered to purchase some of their clubs and spears, but they refused to sell them, which confirmed me in my suspicions. About a quarter to seven the decks were crowded with armed men, who were passing every thing overboard which they could find — viz. — Oars, handspikes, windlass levers, and part of a new sail, which the men had been at work upon. At this time they had got some native fife's and drums on the poop, and were singing and dancing their war dance.

At Seven O'clock the Canoes lowered their sails and commenced paddling up. At that time I was on the quarter deck, surrounded by the chiefs; and the crew were standing by the half deck hatch abaft the mainmast. We were then all unarmed. As our only chance of saving our lives was by getting down into the Cabin where the arms were kept, the crew were naturally impatient to get there, this however I was obliged to prevent, for had they
October 1842

done so, the chiefs would have immediately killed me. I knew that they were delaying the attack until the other canoes came up; and therefore cautioned my men, not to go down, until I could get clear of the crowd, and when I gave them the signal, to slip quietly down one at a time, and wait for me, so that the natives might not think we had any suspicion of their intentions. The men having received directions to go below—slipped down one by one unnoticed by the natives, whom I kept in play the best way I could, by laughing and joking with them in order to avert their attention. I then told the chiefs, that I would go and bring them some axes, beads &c, and tried to appear as unsuspicious as possible of their evil intentions. They appeared at first to sanction my going below, and allowed me to advance a few steps when they again surrounded me, and commenced disputing among themselves apparently respecting their mode of attack. I was at this time near the half deck hatch, and knowing I had not a moment to lose I made a rush and got down safe. Seeing that I had escaped their clutches, they gave a horrible yell, or rather war whoop, which I cannot describe, but which I shall never forget. It made my blood thrill through every vein in my body.

I found all the men below in the half deck, and having mustered them (Twenty two in number including myself) I took them into the fore cabin, and armed each man with a musket & bayonet—Pistol, cutlass and Cartouch Box. I then explained to them the danger of our situation, the necessity of our retaking the ship without loss of time, as the natives would in all probability cut away the masts to get at the sails and rigging, and after stripping her of every thing on deck, might set fire to, or otherwise disable her so that, (although they would be afraid to attack us in the cabin) it would be impossible for us to get her out to sea, and that they would be sure to take the boats. I also told them that we had every prospect of defeating the natives could we only get a footing on deck, and forming back to back across the deck, charge on them with the bayonets, as they could not throw their spears until the decks were cleared without wounding their own men.

We then made a rush up the half deck ladder and had to clear a footing on the deck with our bayonets: the crowd being so great at that time, that they had not room to strike with their clubs. As the men got up, they formed back to back across the
October 1842

deck in two divisions, one facing forward, and the other aft. At first the crowd fell back, but being pressed forward by those in the rear, and led on by the chiefs, they made a furious rush upon us, yelling like fiends, and tried to strike the bayonets off our muskets with their clubs, but without making any impression. Our men stood firm with their Muskets at the charge, and received them on the point of the bayonet. In the mean time, blood flowed fast, and the groans of those who fell, began to mingle with the yells of the combatants. At times indeed, the natives obtained a momentary superiority, which was almost immediately lost by a corresponding exertion on our part. After a desperate resistance in which they had many killed and wounded, we managed to clear the quarter deck, and leaving a few men to guard it, we joined the others, and commenced charging the natives at the gangways, amidst showers of spears and clubs thrown at us from all directions. The natives amidships retreated forward, and rallied about the windlass, where they fought desperately for some time, and until the greater part were annihilated. One of our men got surrounded on the Larboard side of the forecastle and fought bravely among the crowd. He had lost his musket and pistol, and had only his cutlass to defend himself with—which was at last broken, by warding off the blows from their clubs. They instantly knocked him down when we rushed to his assistance, and I shot one fellow through the heart as he was aiming a blow at the fallen man. He had killed five men and wounded several others with his cutlass, before it broke. We at last succeeded in clearing the forecastle, and got possession of the ship. During the whole of the above time they kept up a continual shower of spears, clubs and stones from the Canoes. After getting the decks cleared we got under shelter of the bulwarks, and kept up a steady fire of Musketry, which soon made them haul off to about 100 yards distance where they remained until we got the schooner under weigh. Our big guns were secured fore and aft, and not even loaded—so that we had nothing to trust to but our small arms. After the canoes hauled off, we ceased firing. Got our guns run out and loaded. Set the wounded men to work to make Cartridges (our ammunition being all expended) and commenced heaving short, we then set the sails, and a few minutes afterwards a light breeze springing up—enabled us to get away from these blood thirsty savages. The canoes remained about 100 yds from us while we were getting the vessel under weigh, but did not again offer to molest us. They appeared to be busy trans-
October 1842

porting their wounded on shore on pieces of boards &c. Had they made a second attack upon us while getting underway—They would in all probability have overpowered us, as we were quite exhausted.

The morning was excessively hot. Our small crew fought gallantly and our loss was but trifling considering the disadvantages we laboured under. We had only one man dangerously wounded—He had received a dreadful fracture in his skull, which confined him below for many days afterwards. The natives must have lost a great number of men. There were eight Kings or rather high chiefs on the quarter deck when they commenced, seven of whom got killed on the quarter deck and the other on the forecastle when trying to make his escape. I allowed him to pass me without injuring him, but the crew surrounded him on the forecastle and cut him in pieces with their cutlasses. He paid dearly for his treachery. It would have been a charity on my part to have shot him, before he got forward, as I only allowed him to escape, to undergo a more painful death.

It was about 8 A.M. when we got underway, but in consequence of light and contrary winds, did not get out clear of the reefs until 4 P.M. I was at the mast head during the whole day working the ship amongst dangerous coral patches, exposed to a burning sun, and felt sick and quite exhausted when I came down—but truly thankful to God for our miraculous escape. This unfortunate and unexpected affair, put an end to all my hopes of either getting Biche de Mar or water at New Caledonia. In the evening we shaped our course to the Southward for the Isle of Pines.

During this fight, we witnessed what many would not be inclined to believe, the expertness with which the natives dodged the balls at the flash of the muskets, and which in many instances they did most effectually.1

I cannot look back to this affair with any degree of satisfaction respecting my own conduct on the occasion. It will appear evident that I had sufficient warning on the evening we anchored.

—Wilkes 1845: III, 277.
that the natives were not to be trusted—and yet that I again should allow them to fill the decks at daylight next morning without even loading the Guns, or making any preparations whatever for defence (and this so contrary to my usual custom) is a thing I cannot account for. On the morning of the fight, and while the natives were filling the decks, my crew came to me repeatedly and requested permission to get armed, as they said they were confident the natives intended taking the ship—but I treated their warning with ridicule, and would not at first allow them to bring any arms up.

The only reason I can give for acting as I did, was, that the Uea natives had been accustomed to come on board in great numbers, and always armed, without attempting any thing, and their King Whiningay had told me that the New Caledonians might be allowed on board, and were to be trusted; and I was so anxious to form a Biche de Mar fishery that I forgot the risk I was running through my over anxiety and zeal for the success of the voyage. My experience among Savages since has taught me a different lesson, and the more I know of them and their character and habits, the less I am inclined to trust them. Natives ought never to be suffered to come on deck, but should be kept in their canoes, and away from the vessels side, especially when any work is going on, or when getting the vessel underweigh. The best way is to make them keep under the stern. Those who have the most experience of savages, invariably trust them the least, and are always on their guard against treachery.

October 18th Light Northerly winds and Gloomy. Four of my men sick, the others cleaning Sandal Wood.

At 8 A.M. on the 19th We saw the Isle of pines bearing S.S.W. distant 20 miles, and at Noon came to an anchor in Victoria Harbour, intending to try for water at this place. A small canoe with two men came alongside, to ascertain what vessel it was, and on recognising me, went immediately on shore to report us to the King. As soon as we had furled sails and had dinner, we got some water casks on deck, and commenced coopering them, ready for watering in the morning, while the remainder of our people were set to work to clean Sandal Wood. At 3 P.M. I got the boat out, intending to go on shore and walk up to the village to visit the King; but seeing two Canoes coming off, I resolved to wait a little, thinking the King or his Son might be in one of them. They shortly afterwards came alongside and were allowed on deck at
Sketch of Balade Harbour showing the schooner's position at anchor off Paceapo* during the attack by the natives.

*This name or variations of it appeared subsequently as an alternative for Pouébo. It seems Cheyne may have mistaken his position in relation to Balade. Information supplied by Mrs Bronwen Douglas of Canberra.

Once, only eight men came off in both canoes and they brought a woman with them. This was a very unusual thing, as the women seldom came on board during my former visits. Added to this the men were all armed with new bright English Axes, neatly handled and carefully wrapt up in Tappa. These unusual appearances made me conclude that something was wrong, and although earnestly pressed by the natives to go on shore and see the King, yet I was on my guard and declined going. (How fortunate that I
had not left the vessel for the shore before the canoes came.) The woman would not come on deck, but remained in the canoe, wishing me to purchase a piece of tortoise shell which she had, but she would accept of no offers which I made for it, and declined parting with it unless for a knife.

The natives on walking round the decks, soon observed the splashes of blood on the bulwarks, more particularly forward and around the heel of the bowsprit: where it had the appearance as if we had been slaughtering bullocks. On the day of the fight at New Caledonia the sun had dried the blood so that we had been unable to wash it off. They also saw points of spears broken off in the bulwarks, and at once came to the conclusion that we had been fighting at New Caledonia. This discovery made them more shy than they otherwise would have been, and on being questioned declined giving any information respecting the vessels which had been here during our absence.

About half past four o’clock three more canoes were observed coming off with Six or eight men in each, and on their coming alongside, I observed each man to be armed with a new bright axe similar to the others. They at once attempted to get on deck; but were prevented: which caused them to abuse me, and utter threats that they would come off in the night with more canoes and take the vessel. During this time the eight natives on deck wanted our men to give them their axes to clean Sandal Wood: but as I saw clearly what they were up to, I strictly forbade them to do so, and cautioned our people to be on their guard.

They then came aft, and followed me up and down the quarter deck for some time: leaning their axes on their right shoulders, ready for striking. I tried all I could to get them to go into their canoes and go onshore, but to no purpose. They would not leave the deck. And as they were rather an unpleasant body guard to have so near me—(not knowing the moment they might cut me down with their axes) I deemed it necessary to resort to a more summary way of getting rid of them, and got some arms on deck, when they went into their canoes and left the ship: abusing us and placing themselves in very indecent postures by way of derision. Indeed it required a person possessed of much patience to put up with their insults.

Shortly after the canoes had shoved off I learned from one of our men, that a Lifu native who had been on board, had told him that the Isle of pine natives had cut off a Sydney vessel in the South
October 1842

East harbour, a few days previous to our arrival—murdered all the crew, and burnt her. He also told him to tell me not to go on shore as the natives were planning to take our vessel. On hearing this we immediately put all our empty Water casks below, cleared all the Sandal Wood off the deck; loaded the Guns & run them out, Hoisted the boat in, and got all our small arms loaded and every thing ready in case of an attack during the night. I forgot to mention that we found no native teachers here on our arrival at this time. The natives told us they had gone to Sydney with Captain Ebrill.

About Sunset we observed a number of natives on the beach in front of our old trade house, busily employed clearing the War Canoes of the old Cocoanuts—with which they appeared to be loaded—we observed them pitching the cocoanuts overboard in all directions, and passing bundles of clubs and spears into each canoe when cleared. These occupations engaged them until the darkness put an end to our further observations.

Having four of our small crew sick off duty, and no boarding nettings, we did not consider it advisable to remain at our present anchorage during the night, as it was evident to us the natives meditated an attack, and as they were all armed with English battle axes, the chances would decidedly be against us in a hand to hand conflict. We therefore hove our anchor up, and run out to the westward amongst the reefs about two miles. We certainly ran a great risk of getting on shore; but as I knew the place well, no accident occurred, although the night was very dark.

As I did not again visit the Isle of Pines, in any of my future

5 This is a mystery. It could not have been the Star massacre, as he thought, for at this time (19 October) the Star was in Sydney harbour. She set out for her last fatal visit to the Isle of Pines the following day, 20 October. What the Lifuan may have said was that they had planned to take the Star, but the plan had been frustrated by Ebrill’s leaving the island sooner than expected, for this appears in the version received by the Rarotongan teacher, Ta’unga—Crocombe 1968: 51.

The London Missionary Society delegation also warned that they heard on their last visit in October 1842 that the natives were preparing to take a ship—Sydney Morning Herald, 24 December 1842.

6 This was quite true. The teachers had become afraid for their lives and had asked him to take them back to Samoa. He agreed and took them aboard. They arrived at Sydney on 7 October 1842, but the captain apparently decided to touch again at the island on the way back to Samoa. They were killed there on or about 1 November.
voyages, and consequently will not again refer to it, I shall before proceeding any farther, give an account of the Capture of the Brig ‘Star’, and massacre of her whole crew at this place, as told to me afterwards by the natives of Lifu who were present at the time, through their interpreter the boy Charles Bridget.

The following is a true account of this melancholy affair. I have already mentioned that the Brig’s ‘Star’ and Lunar, and the Barque ‘Magnet’ were lying in Victoria Harbour when I sailed for Lifu in Aug last. These three vessels sailed for Sydney a few days after our departure; Captn Ebrill of the ‘Star’ having with him the Native teachers, whom the King had threatened with death if they remained. The ‘Star’ having taken in a fresh supply of provisions at Sydney, returned to the Isle of pines, (having the native teachers still on board) where she arrived a few days previous to us. She anchored in the South East Harbour, and found the natives to all appearance amicably disposed. On the day after her arrival, the King’s son with about Thirty men went on board in a War canoe accompanied by another canoe loaded with Sandal Wood for the ostensible purpose of trade. On coming on board they requested Captain Ebrill to supply them with axes (as had been customary) to take on shore and cut Sandal Wood with. So completely was Captain Ebrill taken off his guard by the apparent friendliness of the natives, and so completely were his suspicions lulled by the anxiety which they expressed to trade with him, that he supplied each man, with a new axe, having obtained which they immediately went forward and sharpened them on the grindstone. This being an usual practice on board Sandal Wood ships, excited no suspicion; and Captn Ebrill without the slightest suspicion of danger immediately commenced trading for their Sandal Wood. The natives having sharpened their axes, mixed with the crew; whilst two of them stationed themselves behind the Captain, who was holding out a Red shirt to the natives in the canoe, and offering it as payment for a lot of Sandal Wood. Suddenly and without a moments warning the unfortunate Captain was cut down by a blow from behind, his skull being actually divided by the force of the axe. This was a signal for a
general Massacre, and the whole crew were at once slaughtered with the exception of the mate and two of the seamen, who made their escape into the cabin. The natives then ordered the Missionaries (who had been below during the slaughter) together with the mate and two seamen to come on deck, and compelled them to assist in hauling the vessel on shore, and dismantling her, this having been effected they killed the whole of these unfortunate men and set fire to the vessel. The above unfortunate transaction affords one proof out of many which might be adduced, of the folly of placing the least confidence in the friendly professions of savages. Captain Ebrill had formerly held the situation of British Consul at Tahiti, for many years had been engaged in the South Sea Island trade, and bore an excellent character for kindness and humanity to the natives. He was highly respected by all who knew him, and has left a wife and family in Tahiti, to regret his untimely end. Mr William Henderson was mate with him, and lost his life as before related. The bodies of the slain were all eaten.

Early on the morning of the 20th the King came on board in a War canoe, attended by about Thirty armed ferocious homicides, reeking with the blood of our countrymen, with whose mangled flesh, their unhallowed maws had most probably but recently been gorged. He wanted me to go onshore, but finding I was not disposed to do so, he helped himself to sundry articles which he found in the cabin, and then left the ship. We immediately weighed, and stood out to sea. At 4 P.M. the peak of the Island bore South-west 15 miles; shaped a course for Norfolk Island.

21st N.N.E. Winds and Gloomy, steering to the Southward—four men sick off duty, the others cleaning Sandal Wood.

22nd Strong Westerly Winds with a heavy sea running. Not able to clean wood on account of the Weather.

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10 For other versions of the Star massacre, see Shineberg 1967: 43-4, 207-8; Sydney Morning Herald, 20 April 1843 (report of the Juno) and 28 September 1843 (report of the Elizabeth).

11 Ebrill was never actually British Consul at Tahiti, but he did deputise for Pritchard from time to time. Cheyne is also in error about the ‘wife and family in Tahiti’. In 1825 Ebrill had married a sister of Samuel Henry, South Seas trader and son of the missionary William Henry, by whom he had a daughter; but his wife predeceased him by a year, having died in Sydney in July 1841. So far as I know, the reputation for ‘kindness and humanity’ was justified.

12 This piece of purple prose is gratuitous, for it is unlikely that any Europeans had yet been killed by the Isle of Pines natives. See Introduction, p. 28.
October 1842

23rd Fresh Southwest Gales and cloudy, with a high sea running. Steering S.S.E.

24th Fresh Southwest Winds and gloomy. 8 A.M. saw Norfolk Island bearing S.W. 15 miles. Working up for the Island during the day. At 4 P.M. down boat and landed on the North side of the Island. Found the Governor Captain Maconochie R.N. at the landing place. I showed him my charter party, and requested a supply of water, (being in distress) with which he kindly promised to supply me. He invited me to dine and spend the night at Government house, which kind invitation was gladly accepted. I got a nice drive in his carriage across the Island, and had a grand view of the beautiful scenery of this place. The dinner party consisted of Capt'n Maconochies family, some Ladies, and Military officers. We spent a very agreeable evening, which ended by witnessing a performance at an amateur Theatre. I have never before or after met with so much kindness or attention as I did at this Gentlemans house during our short stay at the island.

25th Moderate Winds from the Southward. After breakfast I went across the Island to the Cascade, & found a number of convicts filling our Water Casks, & bringing them down in drays when full. We were obliged to have our boats armed, and kept afloat out of reach of the convicts, there being no guard of Soldiers on this side of the Island. Some of the Military officers & Captn Maconochies Sons went on board with me, and obtained some curiosities from the crew. They were rather astonished to see the Vessel's bulwarks pierced with Spears, and were satisfied by the vessel's appearance alone that we had had a hard fight at New Caledonia. At Sunset we got the last of our water on board having laid in a sufficiency for 3½ months. I purchased a few pigs, fowls, and vegetables at a moderate price, and sent off instructions for

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13 Alexander Maconochie (1787-1860), not 'Governor' but Superintendent of the penal settlement at Norfolk Island from March 1840 to February 1844. Captain Maconochie held remarkably advanced views on the treatment of prisoners and his treatise *Crime and Punishment, the Mark System, ...* (1846) had an important influence on the history of penal reform. At Norfolk Island he carried out his humane principles with notable success, but his so-called 'soft' policy towards convicts brought him great unpopularity in the colonies, and he was recalled by the Colonial Office after only four years in charge of the settlement. It is pleasing to have Cheyne's tribute to his disinterested kindness to him at a time when the Superintendent was an object of obloquy in the colonial press.
October-November 1842

the vessel to proceed round to the South side of the Island, ready to embark me in the morning.

The Governor's Carriage being in waiting for me, I drove across to the settlement, and dined at the Mess this evening. After dinner, a number of the officers adjourned to the Doctors quarters where they remained until a late hour.

26th Light Northerly Winds with a heavy Surf on. At 9 A.M. I took leave of the Governor, and officers of the Garrison, and was put on board in one of the large island boats. The Governor would not charge any thing for the water, and kindly presented me with some of his dairy productions. I sent him a few pieces of Sandal Wood—and gave the convicts a quantity of Tobacco. At 4 P.M. we made sail and stood off from the Island to the Northward.

27th Fresh Northerly Winds with a head sea on. Employed cleaning small arms. Four of my men sick. Lat. 28°17'S.

28th Fresh Northeast winds with rain, No Sandal wood cleaned on account of the bad weather. Sick list as before. Employed cleaning and overhauling small arms and ammunition, making musket ball cartridges, and casting bullets, Lat. 26°30'S.

29th Variable winds with squalls and rain throughout. Employed as yesterday. Lat. obs. 25°3'S. Three men sick.

30th Variable winds with squalls throughout. No work done being Sunday. Lat. obs. 24°30'S.

31st Southerly winds with squalls of rain at times. Some hands cleaning sandal wood. Two men sick off duty. 4 P.M. saw Walpole's Island bearing N.N.W. 6 P.M. Hove too till daylight as it was my intention to examine the Island in the morning. Employed during this day, scraping and cleaning the large guns, fitting new Gun tackles and breechings, making round and grommet Wads,14 Gun matches, and large Gun Cartridge bags. Some hands cleaning small arms, casting bullets, and making musket ball cartridges. At sunset finished all the Guns and small arms, every thing being now in fighting condition.

November 1st Variable airs with squalls of rain. Daylight made sail and stood in for Walpole's Island. Noon the Island bore North one mile distant. It is a small high Island level on the top about one and a half mile's in length and half a mile in breadth, with high perpendicular cliffs on the west side. It is covered with

14 'Grommet' or 'grummet' wads were for keeping the shot steady in the bore when firing at a depression.
November 1842

brushwood; and in fine weather a landing might be effected on some parts of the east side. Its position is in Latitude 22°40'S, Longitude 169°15'E. During the afternoon standing to the westward for the Britannia's. My men employed cleaning wood. No assistance rendered me by the crew of the vessel.

2nd Light Southerly winds and gloomy. Employed cleaning Sandal wood. 6 P.M. saw the Island of Mari bearing N. by W. 20 miles distant.

3rd Southerly winds and fine, Running along the west side of Lifu for the Britannia's. My men employed cleaning Sandal wood. 8 P.M. saw the Britannia Islands bearing N.W. Kept the vessel standing off and on for the night.

4th Easterly Winds and fine. Daylight made sail, and stood to the westward along the North shore of the Britannia's or Uea. 8 A.M. entered the passage and stood to the Southward in the Lagoon. At Noon we came to an anchor in 3½ fathoms off the kings village at Fitzaway. furled sails, loaded the Guns, and got the boats out. At 1 P.M. The King, prince & royal family came on board. They appeared very glad to see us, and promised to fill the vessel with Sandal Wood in a few days. They had no suspicion that we had been at Caledonia or the Isle of pines and we took care during our stay not to tell them.

5th Light Variable airs and fine. Employed cleaning Wood clearing away the hold, and cutting up bar Iron for trade. Our decks full of natives as usual.

6th Mostly calm throughout. No work going on being Sunday. Fired our morning and evening Gun, and examined and reloaded our Great Guns and small arms as usual.

7th Fresh S.E. Winds and fine. Employed cleaning wood, five of the crew assisting. I went on shore to day to visit Whiningay and Koumah, and met with a very friendly reception. No vessel had been here during our absence, and the King appeared equally as friendly as he had been formerly. Very few men were seen in the Villages. I was told they were all away in the bush cutting Sandal Wood for us, which I afterwards found to be the case. I received a good many presents of fruit and fowls from the chiefs and returned on board about 2 p.m. These presents are generally to be compared to "baiting a sprat to catch a Mackerel". They

15 Quite a fair description of Walpole. It is about 2½ miles long by less than a mile wide, with vertical cliffs about 230 feet high. His location is very close to modern reckoning—22° 38'S, 168° 55'E.
November 1842

expect more than double the value of them in return. But a person trading amongst these Islands, can well afford to give the chiefs presents, provided they are sure of getting a cargo. The chiefs have great power, and the success of a voyage depends greatly on how they are treated. I always make it a rule to make much of the chiefs and have always found myself a gainer by it. I never allow any of my people to take any thing whatever from the natives without paying them for it; more especially where they are in a state of savage Ignorance.

8th Easterly winds and fine. At daylight observed the natives bringing Sandal wood down in large quantities, and laying it out in lots on the beach for sale. 9 A.M. went on shore with two boats and purchased a large quantity of fine wood for which we paid pieces of bar Iron, old spike nails, beads, fishing hooks, and red calico. The natives assisted us to take it off in their Canoes. We got about four Launch loads to day—busily employed on board cleaning wood.

9th Easterly Winds and fine weather. All hands employed cleaning Sandal wood, and stowing the hold. The natives away in the bush cutting and bringing down wood.

10th Easterly Winds and fine. Purchased four launch loads of Large wood, for bars of Iron, beads, spikes, and fish hooks. all hands employed cleaning Wood and stowing the hold. Hove a quantity of the small Lifu wood overboard, as it required too much time to clean it. A number of natives on deck during the day.

11th Easterly winds and fine. All hands employed cleaning Sandal wood, and stowing the hold. Our decks full of natives. At 9 A.M. the king and prince came on board. A canoe was laying alongside with some natives in her, who either did not perceive the king coming or would not move out of the way when told by him. However he came on board in a great rage, seized some billets of Sandal Wood, and hove them at the fellows in the Canoe, who speedily Jumped overboard to save their lives. I believe he would have given orders to his body guard to kill them, had I not managed to pacify him. Shortly after the king came on board, a very serious affray nearly took place between him and one of my men. The king and Prince went forward where the men were cleaning Sandal wood to grind some new axes which I had given them; when it appears that one of our men threw a chip of wood at the Prince, not knowing he was the King's son, and at the same time ordered him to desist from grinding on the stone. This being
contrary to the permission granted them by me, and the greatest insult which could possibly be shown to a chief. The king resented it, and struck the man with his hand under the ear. The man immediately jumped up and threatened the King with his axe. During this scuffle I was below in the main hold, having some natives with me stowing Sandal wood. On hearing the noise I jumped on deck, and was fortunately in time to prevent any fatal consequences taking place. This occurrence shows how carefully the crew must be watched, so as to prevent them from insulting the chiefs. Our decks were full of natives at the time, the greater part of whom were armed with clubs, and nothing could have been easier for them to have rushed on us, and made a general massacre. This they certainly would have done at some Islands, had any of our people acted in a similar manner. People trading with these Islanders have to submit to many insults and must be particularly careful not to strike or offend the chiefs; for so sure as they do so, the consequences will lead to bloodshed the Ruin of the voyage, and perhaps a general massacre of all on board.

12th Light Winds and fine weather throughout. At 9 A.M. I went on shore and purchased two boat loads of wood. The boats being loaded I received a polite invitation from the King to dine with him, which I accepted, little imagining the nature of the banquet which was provided for me. Shortly after we were seated I observed Six men carrying something rolled up in leaves, and which I supposed from its appearance to be a shark. Having placed it before the chief, what was my horror, when (the leaves having been removed) I discovered a human body, hot from the oven!!

The feeling of horror and disgust with which I was seized at this moment, I will not attempt to describe. Suffice it to say, I pleaded sickness as my excuse, which I really felt, and escaped to the boats: through fear however, of offending his Majesty, I requested him to reserve my portion of the banquet, until my return. He seemed highly incensed at my abrupt departure, and assured me by way of recommendation that it was the body of an enemy. This assurance however, was no whet to my appetite, and I left him to enjoy his dinner, to which he no doubt did ample Justice.

13th Easterly winds and fine. No work going on being Sunday. Fired our morning and evening gun. Examined and reloaded our big guns, and small arms. No liberty allowed to the crew. Crews of trading vessels should never be allowed liberty on shore, no
matter how friendly the natives may appear, as there is always more or less danger attending it. Although a run on shore would conduce much to the health of the crew, yet it must be dispensed with at these Islands.

14th Variable winds and fine, purchased two launch loads of Sandal Wood. The natives are bringing the wood down very fast, and appear to have enough cut to fill the vessel. The natives appear to be collecting from all quarters with Sandal wood, and as I am anxious to get away from them as soon as possible, we are now stowing the wood below uncleaned. Our decks crowded with natives.

15th Variable airs and pleasant weather. Purchased three launch loads of Wood. All hands employed sawing and stowing away the Sandal wood.

16th Variable winds and fine. Purchased two launch loads of Sandal wood. All hands cleaning and stowing.

17th Easterly winds and fine. Purchased two launch loads of wood. All hands employed cleaning and stowing.

18th Easterly winds and fine. Went on shore after breakfast and picked out two boat loads of the best wood on the beach, which completes our cargo. At 2 P.M. filled up the hold fore and aft, hoisted the boats in, and got all ready for sea. We were obliged to leave a quantity of fine wood on the beach which we had no room for. Posted extra sentries round the vessel during the night, and kept a sharp lookout. Trading vessels when loaded, or about to leave a place, ought to be more on their guard then than at any other time, as the natives may be induced to make an attack to obtain possession of the remains of trade, especially if they know there is any remaining on board. The chiefs should never be allowed to know what trade there is in the ship.

19th Fresh S.E. winds and fair weather. 5 A.M. hove short and loosed sails. At daylight The King and chiefs (attended by a numerous retinue) came on board for their presents.

To the King I gave one officers coat, two small pigs, one dog, one duck, one sheep, one frock coat, one pair of trousers, one hat, one musket and bayonet, six axes, six tomahawks, one cross cut saw, one cooking pot, some beads, a quantity of spike nails, calico, crockery ware &c &c.

To the prince and other chiefs I gave suitable presents, but of less value than those given to the King. I must do these natives the Justice to say, that they have behaved well during our stay.
The King requested me to come back with more vessels as there is still abundance of Sandal wood on the Island. Had I had suitable vessels and trade at this time I could easily have procured 500 Tons.

At 7 A.M. we weighed and made sail, when all the natives left the ship. We gave them three hearty cheers and fired a Salute at parting. The cheers they returned in imitation of our ‘Hurrah’! by shouting ‘Hewrerah’ several times. 9 A.M. got safe out to sea, and stood to the northward. Noon the Island bore S.S.E. dist 20’. We now bade adieu to these Islands, and shaped a course for China. Notwithstanding the many obstacles we had encountered during our traffic with the natives, it was most gratifying to reflect that we had succeeded in filling the vessel in rather less than four months, without any serious accident or loss of life having occurred. We had passed this time in one continued scene of excitement and danger, and we all felt much relief at finding ourselves safe on blue water again. During both our visits to Uea, we were completely in the power of the natives, our escape therefore must be attributed solely to providence. The plan which I had adopted of allowing the natives on board, although hazardous in the extreme, (and one which I would by no means recommend to others) was an act of policy, without which the object of my voyage would doubtless have been frustrated. Had we treated them with the least austerity, or endeavoured to prevent them boarding the vessel, they would in all probability, have refused to cut wood for us; and being determined at all hazards to procure a cargo, I adopted those conciliatory measures, which with God’s blessing have proved so successful.

There are few situations in life, in which firmness and presence of mind are more requisite than in trading with natives. The least appearance of timidity (where they are hostilely disposed) is sure to lead to destruction, whereas by facing them boldly, and assuming the appearance of courage and defiance, you will in all probability escape.

I have frequently prevented a spear from being thrown at me, by standing my ground, opening my breast, and desiring them to throw it, when they invariably lowered their weapons, and appeared struck with astonishment.

20th Fresh Easterly winds and fair weather. All possible sail set. No work done being Sunday. Noon Lat. obs. 17°00’S. Long. chr. 165°50’E. P.M. decreasing breeze, and cloudy.

154
November-December 1842

21st Light airs and calms. All hands employed refitting rigging, and making preparations to paint ship. Noon Lat. obs. 16°10'S. Long. pr. chr. 165°32'E.

22nd Light Variable Airs and calms. All hands employed refitting and painting ship. Lat. obs. 15°18'S. Long. 165°28'E.

23rd Light Southerly winds and fine. All hands employed as before. Noon Lat. obs. 13°28'S. Long. chr. 165°8'E.

24th Variable winds and fine. All hands employed refitting and painting ship. Noon Latitude observed 11°35'S. Long. chr. 164°27'E.

25th Light Airs and calms throughout. My men employed cleaning Sandal wood. Lat. obs. 9°58'S. Long. chr. 164°25'E.

26th Light Airs and calms throughout. Employed cleaning Sandal wood. Ships crew at private duty. Noon Lat. obs. 9°4'S. Long. chr. 164°40'E.

27th Light airs and calms throughout. Noon Lat. obs. 8°32'S. Long. chr. 164°52'E.

28th Light northerly airs and gloomy. My men employed cleaning Sandal wood. Crew at private duty. Noon Lat. obs. 8°25'S. Long. chr. 165°10'E.

29th Northerly winds with heavy squalls of rain. cleaned a small quantity of Sandal wood. Noon Lat. obs. 8°20'S. Long. chr. 165°40'E.

30th Variable winds and dark gloomy weather, cleaned a small quantity of wood. Noon Lat. obs. 7°40'S. Long. chr. 165°58'E.

December 1st Variable winds, chiefly from the South'd. with rain at times. Noon Lat. obs. 6°00'S. Long. chr. 166°7'E.

2nd Variable winds with rain at times. Employed cleaning Sandal wood, and stowing the hold. Noon Lat. obs. 3°50'S. Long. chr. 165°40'E.

3rd Variable winds with heavy rain at times. No wood cleaned on account of the bad weather. Noon Lat. obs. 2°53'S. Long. chr. 166°00'E.

4th Northwesterly winds with squalls of rain. Noon Lat. obs. 2°18'S. Long. chr. 167°00'E.

5th Northerly winds with rain at times. cleaning wood. Noon Lat. obs. 1°16'S. Long. chr. 166°45'E.

6th Northeast winds, with Squalls and rain at times. cleaned a small quantity of Sandal wood. Noon Lat. obs. 0°15'S. Long. chr. 165°45'E.

7th Fresh Easterly winds, with squalls of rain at intervals. My
December 1842

men employed cleaning Sandal wood. Noon Lat.obs. 00°35’N. Long. chr. 165°33’E.

8th Strong Easterly winds, with Squalls, and a heavy confused sea running. No wood cleaned. Noon Lat.obs. 2°25’N. Long. chr. 164°5’E.

9th Strong Easterly winds with heavy squalls and rain. a very confused sea on. No observations to day.

10th Variable winds with heavy squalls. At 2 P.M. saw the Island of Ascension16 bearing W. by S. distant 35 miles. 9 P.M. dark squally weather. Hove too for the night, intending to examine the Island in passing it in the morning.

11th Variable winds with heavy squalls and rain, a very heavy confused sea running. Stood in for the Island. at 4 P.M. a canoe came alongside, having a European man on board of her. We got much information from him relative to the productions of the Island and its inhabitants, and engaged him as pilot to take the vessel in to the lee harbour, where we were informed an American whale ship was lying recruiting. Stood off and on for the night.

12th A.M. Light Easterly winds and fine weather. running along the reef to the westward for the harbour.

At 2 P.M. came to an anchor in Roan Kiddi17 harbour in 8 fathoms mud. We found the american whale ship ‘Lymington and Liverpool Packet’ laying here. She is out twelve months and has only procured 200 Barrels sperm oil, and has been here three weeks refreshing. Captain Place of the whaler informed me that the natives are very friendly and honest: but that there are about 60 runaway white’s living amongst the natives on the Island, who are no better than pirates. They are in the habit of stealing from whale ships which put in here to refresh, and frequently entice their crews to run away, thereby distressing the ships. Were it not for these vagabonds, a great many more whale ships would call at this Island to refresh, as it is near their cruising grounds, and produces a sufficiency of Yams and vegetables to supply their wants, which they could purchase from the natives for mere trifles. But at present the whole trade is monopolized by these scoundrels —and they appear to have such power over the natives, as to prevent them from selling even a cocoanut to the ships. Plenty of

16 Ponape, later called ‘Bornabi’ by Cheyne.
17 Ronkiti, the south-western harbour of Ponape, the most popular port among the whalers.

156
good wood and water can be procured within a few hundred yards of the anchorage: but even the cutting of wood and filling of water is monopolized by the white’s. Captain Place further informed me, that a murder had been committed some time ago, by a party of the white men on one of their comrades, for the purpose of plundering him of his property. He also particularly cautioned me against one of them named Thomas Boyd, who had been in the habit of detaining ships boats and rafts of water in the river, until the captains of ships would send on shore the clothes and effects of the men whom he had enticed away from their vessels, threatening to fire on them if they did not comply with his unwarrantable demand. Some of these men came on board in the evening in canoes and in which they had all firearms. They came apparently for the purpose of thieving, and selling liquor to the crew, which they distill from the Toddy of the coco nut tree.

Several of them were intoxicated when they came on board, and I was under the necessity of putting them out of the vessel by force. They saluted me with a volley of abuse on going away, and threatened to take my life if ever they caught me on shore.

13<sup>th</sup> Light Airs and calms. From Captain Place I received much valuable information respecting the capabilities of this Island as a recruiting station for whalers. He acquainted me with the number of vessels which touch here annually, and assured me that could I but succeed in establishing myself here, and ridding the Island of this nest of runagates, or pirates with which it is infested (by representing the state of the Island to the authorities at china) a still greater number of ships would call here to refresh. He further recommended my establishing a store for the supply of whalers—As many ships would come here then, which have now to go to Oahu and Sydney for supplies, and purchasing the land around the harbour from the chiefs, would place the whole trade of this place in my own hands. I also learnt that the reefs produced Becho de Mar, and that Tortoise shell was to be procured at certain seasons. This last information, coupled with what I had before learnt, at once fixed my determination—a splendid prospect was opened to me, and I resolved to remain here for a few months, having a sufficiency of trade and provisions left to commence with, and to send the vessel on to china at once with the Sandal wood.

In accordance with this resolution, I went on shore to visit the Prime Minister; who is chief of Roan Kiddi, and owns the land near the harbour. I took our pilot with me as interpreter, and
having landed a little way up the river, near the council house, we went inland to the chief's house, which is situated on elevated ground about half a mile from the landing place. We found the chief sitting in front of his house, surrounded by his family, and after shaking hands, we were requested to sit down and had food placed before us. I was much pleased with the appearance of these natives, their appearance was very prepossessing, all were cheerful and happy, and exceedingly well behaved.

Our kind reception, on this first intercourse with these Islanders, led me to form a favourable opinion of them, which their subsequent behaviour tended to confirm. They appeared mild and gentle in their manners, and afforded a pleasing contrast to the Savages with whom I had hitherto been acquainted.

I explained to the chief my motive for wishing to remain on shore, and requested him to sell me a piece of ground, on the banks of the River, and to erect a house on it for me.

He appeared delighted with my proposal: at once granted me a piece of land, sufficiently large for all I required, and said his natives should immediately be set to work.

He made sad complaints to me respecting the European reprobates living on the Island, and wished much that I would send an account of their depredations to the authorities at China, and request the commander in chief to send a ship of War down, to take all these bad characters off the Island.¹⁸

The majority of them, is made up of runaway convicts from New South Wales, and Norfolk Island, and deserters from Whale ships. These men, the outcasts and refuse of every Maritime nation, are addicted to every description of vice and would be a pest even in a civilized community. It may easily be conceived what an Injurious influence such a band of Vagabonds, without trade or occupation by which they can support themselves, guilty of every species of profanity and crime, must exert upon the morals of the natives, and what a barrier they must oppose to their improvement in morals and civilization. These white men act in a manner which is likely to lower Europeans in the estimation of the natives, and to excite a feeling of animosity against white men in general. Convicts are seldom brave, but are always unprincipled, designing, and cunning: can one then wonder that the natives of

¹⁸ A request that perhaps suited the captain's own plans too conveniently? For other comments on the Ponape beachcombers see Simpson 1844 and Blake 1839.
some of the South Sea Islands should take an aversion to white people, if their only acquaintance with them has been through such characters.

The chief said I should be under his protection while I remained there, that he would render me every assistance in protecting the Whale ships visiting this place, and do his utmost to prevent desertion amongst their crews, but that he much feared no effectual stop could be put to desertion, while these lawless white men were allowed to remain on the Island.

The chief's daughters appeared to be in their Gala dresses. They were decorated with beautiful necklaces, manufactured of beads &c which produced many variegated colours; besides having long black hair decorated with beautiful sweet scented wreaths of flowers. Their light complexion—pleasing features—brown eyes—well formed limbs—white teeth, and neat dress, dyed yellow with Turmeric, and which formed a very agreeable contrast with the colour of their skin, gave them a very handsome appearance. They were naked from the waist upwards: their dress consisting of a wrapper of calico, which goes round the body, tucked in at one side, and reaching to the knee.

They are very handsomely tattooed on the arms and legs—are exceedingly cleanly in their persons, and bathe twice or thrice daily. Having arranged every thing in a satisfactory manner, I returned on board, but being caught in a heavy squall of rain when going down the river, we got pretty well soaked before we got there. I found a European on board named John Gibson, who resides near the harbour. He produced several good references from Masters of Whalers, and as he had been previously recommended to me by Captain Place, I agreed to employ him as my interpreter during my stay on the Island. I found him very useful, and got much information from him.

14th Light airs and fine weather. At 9 A.M. I went on shore with a boats crew, and commenced clearing away a spot of ground on the East bank of the river as a site for the house. A number of Natives employed making thatch of palm leaves: the leaves are doubled over, and sewed to, a small cane or reed about 6 or 7 feet in length, and form a sort of mats, which answer admirably as thatch for houses.

15th Light Airs and fine. A boat's crew employed on shore clearing away for the house. The natives still employed making thatch. Captain Place informed me this forenoon, that Thomas
Boyd, (of whom I have already made mention) intended to prevent me from building the house, and had threatened to shoot me if I attempted to form any establishment at this place. The master of the whale ship advised me strongly not to go on shore without firearms; as not only Boyd, but many of the other vagabonds were decidedly opposed to my establishing myself on shore. This however did not alter my determination. The chief was evidently my friend, and having purchased the ground from its lawful owner, I was determined that none of these vagabonds should prevent me from building a house on it, and as to remaining on shore, I had as much right there as they had, and although the majority of them, were evidently hostile to me, yet I resolved to remain at all hazards; and to do all I possibly could to enlighten the natives, and weaken the power of these reprobates.

This was the commencement of a series of persecutions which not only continued during my stay on this Island, and rendered abortive my attempts to form an establishment, but was kept up during every subsequent attempt which I made to form a Biche de Mar fishery at this place: and as will be hereafter seen, were the chief means of causing the utter ruin of my speculations in the Pacific. These runagates were determined that I should not obtain a footing on the Island, and did all they possibly could, by inventing every species of falsehood, to excite the natives against me, even to the taking away of my life. The only reason I can give, for this rascally conduct, was the fear entertained by them of losing the ascendancy which they had long held over the natives; and of having their crimes reported to the authorities at Sydney or China. John Gibson showed me a letter this day, addressed to all Masters of ships which might visit Ascension, dated February 1842, and signed—Champlin, Master of the American Whale ship 'Magnet.' The contents of which were as follows.

He commenced by saying that having put in here to recruit, and obtain a supply of Wood and Water, before going to Japan, he begs to caution all shipmasters, who may hereafter call here against a runagate on shore named Thomas Boyd, and who is an Irishman. That the said Boyd enticed his 3rd mate and several of his crew to desert; and shortly after their desertion, whilst two boats crews were filling a raft of Water in the river, Boyd came down with 400 natives armed with Muskets, seized the boats, and raft of casks, and kept them by armed force until the clothes and effects of these deserters had been delivered up by the Captain to
him. That the said Boyd about this time, or shortly before, had formed a conspiracy with sixteen of the other runagates, to murder all the other whites, to establish themselves in a body at Roan Kiddi Harbour, and to levy harbour dues, and other unlawful demands on the whale ships, which dues, if not paid, the ships were to be seized and detainted until their demands were complied with, and that they were to assume the sole Government of the Island over the natives.

16th Northeast Winds and fine weather. A boats crew employed on shore at the house. The natives busy making Thatch, and squaring timber for the wall plates and frame.

Nannikan the chief, gave me an outline of Thomas Boyd’s predatory habits, since he has been on this Island. He said Boyd had been in the habit of digging up their Yams, and selling them to Whale ships, without paying him for them, that he ill treated the natives, and prevented the chiefs from going on board the Whale ships to receive their customary present; telling them that if they did so, they would be put in irons & taken off the island, and that he frequently put the chiefs in bodily fear, by carrying loaded firearms, and threatening to shoot them if they did not instantly comply with every unlawful demand which he thought proper to make. Nannikan entreated me to take him off the Island, but this I told him I had no power to do. John Gibson informed me that Boyd and another vagabond named Butcher, had forced an entrance into his house in the night, some time previous to this, and had robbed him of every thing he possessed. I questioned several of the Europeans whom I met on board the whale ship, respecting Boyd, and they all agreed, in their statements, with what I had been previously told by Capt Place and the chiefs, that he is a desperate character, and has done much Injury to shipping.

17th Light Winds and fine weather. An armed boats crew employed on shore at the house. The natives employed as before. The whale ship ‘Lymington and Liverpool Packet’ Captain Place, sailed this afternoon for the Whaling grounds.

18th Light Variable airs, with frequent calms. At 9 A.M. I went on shore with an armed boats crew, to see how the natives were getting on with the house. I landed at the council house and found them all at work. A few minutes after our arrival I heard a

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19 Ponape titles run in two series, and Nahnken (Nannikan) is the highest one in the second series, in all of the five tribes—S.R.
December 1842

musket discharged down the river, and was told by the natives that it was Thomas Boyd coming to shoot the chief, and prevent my house from being built. He soon made his appearance with a loaded musket in his hand, which was cocked. He walked up within Ten yards of the chief, and commenced abusing him for building the house—swearing he would tear the station down root and branch, and shoot me, or any one who attempted to stop him. He then demanded his woman from the chief, whom he refused to deliver up; Boyd having when drunk given her a severe beating, by which she had been seriously injured. Enraged at this refusal, Boyd swore that he would murder the chief; and suitting the action to the word, levelled his musket at him, and snapped it three times; luckily however it missed fire, and on his hammering the flint it went off, and the bullets lodged in a cocoanut tree which stood near them. I was standing within four yards of him at the time, having a brace of loaded pistols in my hands; my boats crew were also near me, each armed with a loaded musket & bayonet. I had no intention at the moment of securing Boyd, but on looking round I perceived John Gibson strike him on the back of the neck with a stone, which felled him to the ground; and knowing from his violent temper that bloodshed would follow his getting up, I immediately ordered my boats crew to secure him, which they did assisted by the natives; we then took him on board the vessel, and handcuffed him round the chain cable, where he was kept for about half an hour, until a place was cleared for him in the after hold.

The moment he was knocked down by Gibson, Nannikan’s son rushed upon, and disarmed him, and Jumping into his canoe proceeded to Boyd’s house, and seized the whole of his clothes and effects. Secured Boyd below in the half deck during the night and placed a sentry over him.

On the following morning I had Boyd brought on deck and questioned him as to his motives for opposing my forming an establishment at this place. He replied, that having settled on the Island before me, and having hitherto enjoyed the whole trade of the place, he was determined to allow no opposition, and that If I persisted in remaining he would certainly take my life. He further swore that if he were on shore for one hour, he would murder the chief and all who had assisted in securing him. Feeling convinced from the character of the man, that he would execute his threats, had he the power of doing so, I should have considered
myself accessory to all the bloodshed, that would have ensued, had I again placed him at liberty. Influenced by this consideration and by the repeated entreaties of the chiefs to remove him from the Island, I came to the determination of sending him in the vessel to China, together with a statement of the various causes which had led me to adopt this measure. In accordance with this resolution, I went on shore in the evening and demanded his clothes and effects from the Chief, representing that as I had undertaken to remove him from the Island I was responsible for his property. This the Chief refused to comply with, stating that the property detained by him would by no means compensate him for the depredations committed by Boyd upon his property. Well knowing the Chief's statement to be correct, and allowing the Justness of his claim, I urged the matter no further.

20th Northeast winds and fine weather. A boats crew employed on shore at the house. The natives got the whole frame up by sunset. Boyd still handcuffed in the half deck.

21st Northerly Winds with showers of rain at times. 9 A.M. the natives commenced thatching the house, and finished it about 3 P.M. In thatching they commence at the eaves—placing the mats of palm leaves lengthways, and overlap them until they reach the ridge, keeping each mat about one inch above the other, something similar to shingling or slating a house. This makes an excellent roof, which is perfectly water proof, and will last for several years.

22nd Northeast winds and fine weather. Employed on shore at the house. The natives closing in the sides and ends with small cane or reeds; the canes are seized closed together and crossed, forming square wicker work. This style of building is peculiarly adapted to the climate; the interstices between the canes admitting a free current of air, renders these houses both cool and refreshing, and although devoid of ornament, have a neat and even elegant appearance.

23rd Light Northerly Winds and fine. The natives employed fitting cane sides and ends to the house, and filling up under the floor beams with round stones taken out of the river.

The following occurrence which took place a day or two ago will show the character of the two persons I had brought with me from Sydney—The one as Doctor, the other purely out of charity as a passenger. While packing up some pieces of long cloths, I asked them whether they required any Calico to barter with the
natives for curiosities. They replied that they did not, and in the afternoon I went on shore, leaving a piece of long cloth containing 30 yards on my bed; on my return on board I found only about 10 yards of the piece remaining, and asked my steward what had become of the remainder. He said that Captain Crew and the Doctor had taken it, and traded it away to a chief (who was then on board) for native belts. On going below, I asked Crew and the Doctor how much Calico they had used, as I wanted to mark it down in my expenditure book. They (to my astonishment) indignantly denied having taken any, and commenced abusing me for accusing them of stealing. Upon this I went on deck, and asked the chief who had given him the Calico, when he immediately pointed out Crew and the Doctor, and said he had paid them for it in native belts.

This was proof positive of their guilt, and convinced me, of what I had long suspected, that they were consummate scoundrels. Previous to going on shore the next day, I left out a bottle of Gin for their use—on my return to the vessel at sunset, I sat down to dinner, and intending to take some spirits and water, I took up the bottle in which about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) glasses remained. To my utter astonishment, on removing the cork, I discovered a white powder all round the neck of the bottle, and on pouring out the spirits, found it mixed with some deleterious drug. There could not be a doubt that this was the work of these two men, for the purpose of poisoning me. Although I had shown them every kindness, they treated me with the basest ingratitude, and were the occasion of many quarrels between Capt'n Werngren and myself. My situation was indeed most pitiable, for I had not a single person on board in whom I could place the slightest confidence. This Capt'n Crew had been out of employment in Sydney for about twelve months. Pitying his situation I gave him £12 (which I could ill afford) to purchase clothes and pay his debts, and instead of rendering me the slightest assistance during the voyage, which he had promised to do, he was in every way an annoyance.

We were employed during this day packing up the remains of trade and stores, and making arrangements for removing my things to the house. Thomson the pilot informed me that he was building a small vessel of about 20 Tons burthen, and requested me to supply him with bolts, Nails, pitch, oakum, old sails &c to enable him to finish and fit her out, and for which he promised to pay me in Tortoise shell and Biche de Mar. I purchased from
December 1842

Capt'n Werngren articles of the above description to the amount of £20 which I supplied him with, deducting from this amount 20 dollars (his charge for Pilotage) and debiting him with the remaining £16. Several of the Europeans were on board the schooner to day, and after they had left, I missed my new great coat which had been spread over the main boom to dry; this had been stolen by some of them, as also two copper boilers from the Cook's Galley.

24th On the afternoon of this day the natives completed my house, I removed thither the remains of my trade and stores, and slept on shore. I took the following men on shore with me from the schooner as a shore party. viz. George Millidge, John Morecroft, Christian Eskelson, William Thomson and George Moxon. These men had sailed with me on my previous voyage in the Brig Diana and during both voyages had proved themselves to be trustworthy.

I employed myself this evening until a late hour in writing to China, and in drawing up a statement relative to the conduct of the white men on this Island, who had been carrying on a system of robbery and piracy for years, together with an account of our proceedings during the voyage, and the causes which had induced me to send Boyd to China as a prisoner.

I also forwarded my Journal for the Admiral's inspection, and requested my employers to use their influence with him to send a Man of War to remove these troublesome characters from the Island, and to establish laws for the protection of vessels visiting it. I further requested them to send a vessel down to me as soon as possible, with a supply of proper trade for procuring another cargo of Sandal Wood in case my attempt to form an establishment at this place should fail.

25th The wind being light & vble, we were unable to get the vessel out to sea this day.

26th Northeast winds and fine. At 7 A.M. The schooner weighed, and at 8, she got clear out to Sea, when I left her and returned to shore.
CHAPTER NINE


The Island of Ascension, called Bornabi by the natives, is Eighty Miles in circumference. The land is high, of Volcanic formation, and may be seen in clear weather Forty Miles from a ships deck. The Island is surrounded by coral reefs, between which and the main land are many Islands. Some of these are small, and of coral formation. They are situated near the margin of the reefs, elevated a few feet only above the water, and are mostly covered with cocoanut trees and other timber. Others are of a larger size, moderately elevated, thickly wooded, and inhabited. The Island of Bornabi has several good harbours, the two principal of which are named Matalanien and Roan Kiddi.

1 Pakin atoll; 7°04'N, 157°48'E.
2 Metalanim (or Madolenihmw in a modern system of orthography), the eastern harbour (but hardly north-eastern, as he says in the next sentence), and Ronkiti (Rohnkiti) in the south-west. See Map 3.
The former is situated on the N.E. side of the Island, and the other on the South side. Both these harbours are safe, and are resorted to by Whalers: but from December until April the preference is always given to the South harbour, on account of the Strong N.E. Winds which prevail during these Months; and which render it impracticable for vessels to beat out of the one on the N.E. side of the Island. The other Harbours are situated as follows. One at Lord on the East side, which though small has lately been resorted to by American Whalers. The next is at Joquoits. This

3 Lot (Lohd), at the south-eastern corner.
4 Jokaj (Sokehs), at the north-western end.
harbour was visited by me in the Brig Naiad in December 1844, and I remained there nearly two months fishing for Biche de Mar. From Decr to April the anchorage is safe, but it would not be prudent to anchor here during the other months, especially in September and October, when strong westerly winds frequently prevail.

The water is very deep, as I was obliged to anchor in 30 fms muddy bottom within ¼ of a mile of the shore, and under the high perpendicular cliff which terminates the Island of Joquoits to the Westward. I would by no means recommend this harbour to Whalers, as a ship could not fetch the Anchorage without tacking, unless the Trade wind hangs far to the Northward, and a large vessel would hardly have room to tack, unless well inside. There is another opening in the reef near the Island of Mant, on the N.N.W. part of the Island, and which leads to a good harbour inside; but this place has never been resorted to by any Whaler. There are one or two other passages in the reefs with anchorage inside, but they offer no inducement to vessels to visit them. The Ant Islands, marked on the charts Frazer’s Island, lie in a S.W. direction from Roan Kiddi harbour, and are distant from it about Twelve Miles. They form a Group of four low coral Islands covered with Cocoanut and Bread fruit trees, and surrounded by a Coral reef, forming a Lagoon inside, with a passage leading in to it, between the two large Islands on the East side of the Group. The Group is about 8 or 10 Miles in diameter in a N.E. and S.W. direction, and about 7 miles in a N.W. and S.E. direction. These Islands belong to the chiefs near Roan Kiddi harbour. They have no permanent inhabitants, but are resorted to from May till September for the Hawk’s Bill Turtle fishery. They are also visited at other times to procure supplies of cocoanuts and Bread fruit. The N.E. part of this Group is situated in Lat 6°42’ N. Long. 158°00’ E. The only other Group near the Island of Bornabi is named Pakeen, the centre of this Group is situated in Lat 7°10’ N. Long. 157°40’ E. and bears about West from Joquoits distant 22 Miles. It is composed of Five small Islands, surrounded

5 Mant (Mwahnd) Passage is on the north-eastern side of Ponape, not the north-western. Nearly all the locations for this island are askew.
6 The Ant Islands are well placed by Cheyne. There are actually twelve small islands as well as the two large ones.
7 Cheyne’s location and description of Pakin are good. There is one entrance suitable for small boats.
by a coral reef, forming a Lagoon inside, in to which there is no passage. The westernmost Island is inhabited by a Bornabi chief, his family and servants; In all about Thirty Souls, and this chief claims sovereignty over the whole of this Group. The Islands are very low, of coral formation, and produce abundance of Cocoa Nuts and Bread fruit, and the Lagoon plenty of excellent Fish to supply the wants of the inhabitants. The Group is about Five Miles in Length from East to West, and about Three Miles in breadth from North to South.

This place is celebrated for its Canoe sails, which are Manufactured from the leaves of the Pandanus Tree, and which are eagerly sought after by the natives of Bornabi. Poultry are also plentiful at this Group. In fine Weather, they frequently visit Bornabi in their Canoes, for the purpose of obtaining Tobacco, and other foreign commodities.

The harbour of Roan Kiddi is situated in Latitude 6° 49' N. Longitude 158°11' E. This Longitude may be considered nearly correct—being the mean of many Chronometrical admeasurements from places whose positions have been well determined.

A vessel bound to this harbour from the Eastward, from Decr till April, should endeavour to get into the latitude of the Island as soon as possible after passing the Wellington's Isles, and continue running to the westward on the same parallel of Latitude, until the Island is sighted, as strong westerly currents prevail at times during these months, with much hazy weather, and a stranger would be liable to get set past the Island, if a proper allowance were not made for the current. After making the land continue steering to the Westward, until the reef is visible from the deck; at which time, if the Weather is moderate, it is presumed the pilot will be alongside. Should no Pilot, however, make his appearance, the entrance to Roan Kiddi harbour may be known from the following instructions. Stand boldly in, until within a quarter of a Mile of the reef, then steer to the Southwest, keeping along the edge of the reef at about the same distance.

When the centre of Bornabi bears about N.W. a vessel will then be abreast of two or three small Islets situated on the Margin of the reef; the reef will then be found to trend more to the Westward, and shortly after passing these Islets, the course along the reef will be found to be about W. by S. or W. Two small Islands will then

8 Mokil; 6°39'N, 159°53'E.
be seen ahead, or a little on the Starboard bow, which are called by
the natives Naalap; they bound the entrance to the harbour to the
westward, and a sand bank with a few bushes upon it, situated on
the edge of the reef, and bearing about E.N.E. ¼ of a mile from
Naalap, forms the eastern boundary of the channel; the entrance to
the harbour being between Naalap and the Sand bank. On passing
the Sand bank, give it a berth of about a Cable’s length, then haul
more up and keep the reef on the Starboard hand (which will be
seen from the Mast head) close aboard on running in. The channel
now becomes contracted by two sunken rocks, which must be
left on the Larboard hand. The course from the Sand bank, to
pass between these rocks and the reef on the Starboard side, is
about N.W. by W.½ W. The narrowest part of the passage is on
passing the inner rock, the channel at that place, being only forty
yards wide. This forms the entrance to the basin or harbour; and a
vessel must now haul her wind and steer N. by W.½ W., which is the
midchannel course from the inner rock to the anchorage near the
head of the basin. The best anchorage is in about 7 or 8 fathoms
muddy bottom; where a vessel will lie completely landlocked, and
perfectly safe from all winds. Roan Kiddi river is about ¼ mile from
the anchorage from whence a plentiful supply of good fresh water
can always be procured, and an abundance of firewood can be
easily obtained on the low land at the mouth of the river. It is high
water at this place on Full and Change of the Moon at 4 Hours—
rise and fall 5½ feet. A stranger before attempting to enter this
Harbour, will require to send a boat in, and place buoys on the
rocks, and East side of the channel. By having a careful officer at
the Mast head when running in, all dangers can be seen and
avoided on a clear day. The best time to enter this harbour, is on
the first of the flood, as, should a vessel unfortunately get on shore,
through a sudden shift of wind, while passing the narrows, she will
stand a much better chance of getting off without Injury, than at
any other time. The anchorage at Matailanien harbour is situated
in Longitude 158°17’ E. and is perfectly safe, and sheltered from all
winds. This harbour has a wide entrance on the north side of the
Island of Naa, and the only hidden danger to be avoided when
running in is a sunken rock, some distance within the entrance,
and which lies nearly in midchannel. The sea sometimes breaks
on it, but it can always be avoided by keeping the Starboard side

9 Naalap (Nahlap).
of the channel close aboard. The barrier reef at this place extends a long distance from the Main land, and between which are many coral flats, with deep water channels amongst them in some places. The harbour is formed by the Main land; and is similar in shape to a Horse Shoe; and the channel through the reefs which leads to it, run nearly in a direct line from the entrance in the barrier reef to the heads of the harbour. This harbour may be easily known to vessels standing in from Sea, by a remarkable peaked hill, resembling a Spire or Sugar loaf, which is situated on the North shore within the harbour. The channel leading to this harbour lies in a Southwest and Northeast direction. An abundant supply of firewood, and excellent fresh Water, can always be obtained at this place.

Strong N.E. Winds prevail from December till April with much hazy weather, and frequent squalls attended with rain. During these months strong westerly currents are frequently experienced. From March to August the winds are generally light and variable, but chiefly from the Eastward, with much fine weather. In September, October and November, strong westerly Winds, with severe squalls and rain may be expected, and strong Easterly Currents are frequently found during these months.

On the whole the climate must be considered very moist, as scarcely a day passes without rain, especially in the Winter Months. These continual showers produce rapid vegetation, and keeps up a constant run of fresh water from the Mountains, through the chasms and rivulets between the hills.

The Island of Bornabi is Mountainous in the centre, and more or less hilly from the Mountains to the shore throughout. The whole Island is thickly wooded, and produces many varieties of good timber, fit for house, ship building, and other purposes. The shores are fronted with Mangrove trees growing in the Salt Water; which form an impenetrable barrier to boats landing; except in the rivers, and other small canals or channels formed amongst them by nature. Many of these are so narrow as scarcely to admit of oars being used. They answer every purpose however, as all the houses situated near the shore, have generally one of these channels leading to them. The soil is composed of a rich red and black Loam; and would, if properly cultivated produce every variety of Tropical fruits and esculent roots; together with Coffee, Arrow root, and Sugar Cane. The trees do not branch out until near the top. The trunks of many of them are covered with
climbing plants and vines, and the lower part of the trunks enveloped with ferns—of which there are many varieties. These give the whole ground a matted or woven appearance. The woods throughout the Island are very thick, and often composed of large and fine trees: among them are tree ferns, Banyan, Pandanus, and several species of palms. The Sassafras tree is also found here.

Many beautiful sweet scented white and yellow flowers are to be found; these are much esteemed by the natives, and are strung into wreaths, which both sexes wear round their hair at feasts, and on other occasions. These wreaths are exceedingly pretty.

The Bread fruit tree is very abundant, and grows here to a large size. The cocoa nut and wild orange are also found in great numbers. A small species of cane or bamboo is very common and is used for making floor and side wicker work for the houses.

Wild Ginger and arrow root also abounds. The cultivated plants and trees are, bread fruit (of which they have many varieties), cocoa-nut, ti root, tarro, bananas, tacca, from which Arrow-root is made; Sugar cane, which is used only for chewing; Yams; Tobacco in small quantities; a species of sweet potatoe. Pumpkins, and Kava, (Piper mythisticum); the latter is cultivated to a large extent throughout the Island, and daily used at their feasts.

They pay very little attention to the cultivation of Arrow-root, yet what I have seen made from the root, appeared to be of a very superior quality. Yams are plentiful all over the Island but Whalers get their supplies chiefly from the North side where they are cultivated to a much greater extent, than at any other place. They are however, of rather a small size, and of an indifferent quality through not being properly cultivated.

The cultivated grounds do not extend far from the coasts, near which all the villages are situated. There are no inhabitants Inland, and few of the natives have ever visited the centre of the Island. There are no traces of any native quadruped except rats. The flying fox or Vampire bat is plentiful, and very destructive to the bread-fruit. Wild pigeons abound all over the Island; they appear to be in best condition and most plentiful from December till April. A vessel recruiting here may obtain a daily supply of them for all hands, by giving a couple of native boys fowling pieces with Ammunition; these youths are excellent shots and in half a day will procure a sufficiency for a whale ship's crew. No fear need be entertained of their stealing the fowling pieces as I have never heard an instance of it, during my
many visits to this Island. A fig of Tobacco each will sufficiently remunerate them for their labour; and numbers will be found daily volunteering their services. Poultry is plentiful all over the Island. The usual price of one dozen fowls is 24 figs Negrohead Tobacco, or two fathoms of cheap Calico. Yams can be purchased from the natives for 10 figs of Tob° pr hundred. Breadfruit 10 figs pr hundred; Cocoanuts the same—Bananas 2 figs pr bunch, and all other productions of the Island at an equally low rate.

Fish are taken on the reefs in great abundance and variety. Mullets are very numerous, and are frequently seen leaping from the water in immense shoals; the small fish are chiefly caught in hand nets, & the others in various other modes.

These Islands furnish abundant supplies for the refreshment of whalers, but as yet there are few articles which can be made available in commerce. The Islands produce about 500 lbs of Tortoise shell annually; the whole of which is purchased from the natives at a very low rate, by the Europeans living on the island, and sold by them to Whale ships at an advance of 500 pr cent! They take their payment chiefly in Spirits Tob° Muskets & powder. The introduction of these articles, and their abuse by the vagabonds on shore, have tended much to demoralize the natives.

This is the only article of Merchandize which can be at present procured (except Biche de Mar, which is plentiful on the reefs) beyond the immediate wants of the visitors. Ginger, Arrow root, Sassafras, many species of excellent timber, coffee and sugar, might however be easily added to the list of exports. Whalers procure annually about 50 Tons of Yams, and abundance of bananas, bread fruit and poultry. Pigs are only to be obtained from the Europeans. The natives reared them formerly, but through being too lazy to fence in their plantations, they ultimately killed them all; and have substituted dogs as an article of diet instead.

The description of goods which are most sought after by the natives, as returns for what these Islands furnish; are red serge or camlets, of which they are passionately fond, Muskets, Gunpowder, Lead, flints, Cartouch boxes, Cutlasses, broad axes, Tomahawks, fish hooks, butchers knives, Adzes, chisels, plane Irons, hand saws, Gouges, Gimlets, bullet moulds, Calico, drill, Gaudy cotton

10 This could suggest that pigs were aboriginal, but they were not. They could not have been introduced before 1832 or 1833. Dogs were aboriginal and had always been eaten—S.R.
hankerchiefs, Negrohead and Cavendish Tobacco, Tobacco pipes, files, Serge and cotton shirts, Trousers, Beads, of all sorts, Jews harps, straw hats, blankets, small boxes or chests with locks and hinges, Iron cooking pots, fowling pieces and small shot, needles and thread.

Near Matalanien harbour are some interesting ruins, which are, however involved in obscurity: the oldest inhabitants being ignorant of their origin, and have no tradition bearing any reference to their history. That a fortified town once stood upon this spot and not built by savages, cannot be doubted, the style of the ruins giving strong proof of civilization. Some of the stones measure 8 to 10 feet in length, are squared on six sides, and have evidently been brought thither from some civilized country, there being no stones on the Island similar to it. Streets are formed in several places, and the whole town appears to have been a succession of fortified houses. Several artificial Caves were also discovered within fortifications. This town was doubtless at one time, the stronghold of pirates, and as the natives can give no account of it, it seems probable that it was built by Spanish buccaneers, some two or three Centuries ago. This supposition is confirmed by the fact, that about 3 or 4 years ago, a small brass cannon, was found on one of the Mountains, and taken away by H.M.S. 'Larne.' Several clear places are also to be seen a little Inland at different parts of the Island; some of which are many acres in extent, clear of timber and perfectly level. Upon one of these plains, called K-par, near Roan Kiddi Harbour (which I have frequently visited) is a large Mound, about 20 feet wide, 8 feet high, and a quarter of a mile in length. This must evidently have been thrown up for defence, or as a burial place for the dead after some great battle. Similar ruins are to be found at Strong's Island, of which the natives can give no account.

11 These are the famous ruins of Nanmatol (Nan Madol) and, although the natives were very reticent about them (Cheyne is only one of many to say that the people were ignorant of their origin), there are in fact many traditions concerning them. The stones are not squared, but are naturally formed basalt prisms and do occur on Ponape, scaling off the cliff faces. The buccaneer theory Cheyne offers is one often repeated, but there is no doubt that the structures were built by the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants—S.R.

12 On her visit in 1839, see Introduction, p. 12.

13 Kipar.

14 Kusaie (also known as Ualan); 5°20'N, 163°00'E approximately. It is the most easterly of the Carolines.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edjeatum</th>
<th>What Name</th>
<th>Mejiwate</th>
<th>Bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Togata Met</td>
<td>What is that</td>
<td>Mamou</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>called</td>
<td>Kachalel</td>
<td>Handsome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koto</td>
<td>To Come</td>
<td>Maryry</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tong-atá</td>
<td>To Come</td>
<td>Muttamut</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyto</td>
<td>Come here</td>
<td>Ma-dig'idig</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugowy</td>
<td>You go away</td>
<td>Ma-Lout</td>
<td>Large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gola</td>
<td>To go</td>
<td>Ma-toto</td>
<td>Plenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gogola nan chap</td>
<td>Go on shore</td>
<td>Karu’chia</td>
<td>All, or every one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broto</td>
<td>Come back</td>
<td>Aramas’</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutu</td>
<td>To bathe</td>
<td>U’lyn</td>
<td>A Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>Where</td>
<td>But’a but</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>What</td>
<td>Tontol</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotawy</td>
<td>Go up</td>
<td>Joby’ti</td>
<td>A chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotiwy</td>
<td>Go down</td>
<td>Lap’pilap</td>
<td>Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monti</td>
<td>Sit down</td>
<td>Jyrrimaun’</td>
<td>A boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huta</td>
<td>Rise up</td>
<td>Jyrripeyn’</td>
<td>A Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenti</td>
<td>Lie down</td>
<td>Li</td>
<td>A Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merila</td>
<td>To sleep</td>
<td>Bout</td>
<td>A Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Määm</td>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Piil</td>
<td>Fresh Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menika</td>
<td>Biche de Mar</td>
<td>Nanjyt’</td>
<td>Salt Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaji’nibut</td>
<td>Tortoise Shell</td>
<td>Koa’ba</td>
<td>A Trunk or box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahi</td>
<td>Bread fruit</td>
<td>box</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peyn</td>
<td>Cocoa Nuts</td>
<td>Mung’ah</td>
<td>Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oot</td>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 At the end of the vocabulary Cheyne supplies his own note to his system of orthography. I am indebted to Dr J. L. Fischer of Tulane University, New Orleans, and Dr Saul Riesenberg of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, for the annotations to this vocabulary. Dr Fischer sees as one of its most interesting features the early appearance in it of a sort of Ponapean pidgin, which is still today spoken with foreigners. These words, and any misunderstandings on Cheyne’s part, are recorded in subsequent notes. When allowance is made for his limited system for representing the sounds, the vocabulary does the author much credit.

16 Actually, ‘what is your name’—S.R.

17 Impolite; literally ‘run hither’—J.L.F.

18 Impolite; literally ‘go away quickly’—J.L.F.

19 In fact not limited to bêche-de-mer, but a general term for shellfish, crustaceans, and other sea animals distinguished from fish—J.L.F.

20 Possibly pahini, meaning coconut frond, not coconut—J.L.F.

21 Also means husband—S.R.
| Nam'minam | To eat | Mejila'ar | Dead |
| Tuur | A native belt | Kumme'lah | To Kill |
| Likou | Calico | Loach | A sleeping mat |
| Likouti | A Woman's dress | E-Ting | To write or Tattoo |
| Wyta'ta | Red | | |
| Kall | A man's dress | Men'ta | What do you mean |
| E. Jug | A water Jug. | Pukita | What for |
| War | A Canoe | Ari | Enough. |
| Nan-iim | A house | Huti mas | That I do |
| Oach | Thatch for a house | | Stop a little, |
| Pyn | Payment or price | Chywy or Kywy | Wait |
| Ta ban pyn | What is the price | Ka jini eye | Fire |
| Ghob, or Jhob | A ship | Jownabung | The Sun |
| Wa'ta | To bring | Uchu | The stars |
| Kow'a | You | Pa'ba | Father |
| Ny | Me | No'no | Mother |
| Kowa gola wata ny war | You go fetch my Canoe | Ri eye | Brother |
| Num | Your | Ri eye' li | Sister |
| Katchyn | A little | Jher'ryk | A Mat sail |
| Kowa gola wata katchyn piil | You go bring a little fresh water | Shaal | A Rope |
| Kiang | To give | Tack'y | A stone |
| Kowa Kiang | You give | Cha'ap | Which, or who |
| Wawy | Take it | Kiam | A Reef |
| Tui or tuka | Timber | Me'lell | Land |
| Jou mou | Sick | Cho | It is true. |

22 Actually cloth in general; it was the name for indigenous bark-cloth—S.R.
23 From the English 'buy'—S.R. Ungrammatical 'pidgin Ponapean'—J.L.F.
24 From the English 'ship'—S.R.
25 Again ungrammatical 'pidgin Ponapean'. Normal speech would omit the kowé (kowa) and use the first person possessive suffix -ei on wahr (war). Wahda (wata) is dubious; it should probably be wahdo—J.L.F.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yey</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Kar’a Kar’a</th>
<th>Hot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>choła’ar</td>
<td>Is there no more</td>
<td>Hon’i</td>
<td>A departed spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allatcher’</td>
<td>There is no more</td>
<td>Bit a bit</td>
<td>Quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka’put</td>
<td>A knife</td>
<td>Ny’ eye’riraniki</td>
<td>I know or understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bui bui</td>
<td>A Fool</td>
<td>Nit’ Ty’raniki</td>
<td>I don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rach a Rach</td>
<td>A Saw</td>
<td>Tuk’a pomou’²⁹</td>
<td>Sandal Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chila</td>
<td>A chisel</td>
<td>Katchyn chou</td>
<td>Sugar Cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chila’a bang’a</td>
<td>An axe</td>
<td>Ma’jock</td>
<td>Afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bang’a</td>
<td>A axe</td>
<td>Kajinjio</td>
<td>Turmeric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kojak</td>
<td>A Musket</td>
<td>Ulyn wy</td>
<td>A White man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lappilap</td>
<td>A Cannon</td>
<td>Nan’ amareki</td>
<td>A King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal’yk</td>
<td>A domestic fowl</td>
<td>Nannikan</td>
<td>A prime minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mur’i</td>
<td>A pidgeon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We’a²⁶</td>
<td>A Hawk’s bill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra’an</td>
<td>Morning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bung</td>
<td>Night</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni’bung²⁷</td>
<td>This night</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra’an’ a wyt</td>
<td>To day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lockup’</td>
<td>Tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye’o</td>
<td>Yesterday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke’lan eye’o</td>
<td>A long time ago</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loky’a</td>
<td>To speak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka’ap</td>
<td>Yams</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack’o</td>
<td>Kava. or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack’o in wy</td>
<td>English Grog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabakkyr²⁸</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 Wehi (wea) is the generic form for turtles, not specific to the hawksbill—S.R.
27 Better rendered ‘at night”—J.L.F.
28 Adaptation of English.
29 Literally ‘tree (or wood) smelling good”—S.R.
30 Actually means seeds, flowers, fruit; possibly seeds were used as beads—J.L.F.
31 Literally ‘pieces of metal’. Mata is an adaptation of the English ‘metal”—J.L.F.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Creole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To fight with the fists</td>
<td>Kolet’ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you want</td>
<td>Lakum’pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who are you</td>
<td>Py</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reeds or small bamboo</td>
<td>Meni’ka wytata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bottle</td>
<td>Lekapasin’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder</td>
<td>Pen a pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>Mata’p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coral</td>
<td>Meyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A book</td>
<td>Long’en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old cocoanuts</td>
<td>Ounapel’la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bow</td>
<td>Kap’pen ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An arrow</td>
<td>kara kara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Tobo pipe</td>
<td>War ma lout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A spear</td>
<td>War ma digidig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Hat</td>
<td>‘Iron pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A musical instrument</td>
<td>Katou ban Koto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(To) smoke</td>
<td>The rain is coming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tobacco)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t like</td>
<td>Katerpin ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like</td>
<td>kara kara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To like</td>
<td>Piil Kara kara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wind</td>
<td>Boiling Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you mean</td>
<td>(this name is usually given to hot Tea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Numerals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creole</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>A’at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>A’ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

32 Actually to fight in any physical sense—J.L.F.
33 Literally ‘what did you come to do?’, somewhat obsolete—J.L.F.
34 Actually ‘smoke’ the noun, not verb—J.L.F.
35 Actually to be sorry for, to love.
36 Literally ‘what sort of a thing’, ‘what is it’—J.L.F.
37 Literally ‘[that is] a lie’—J.L.F.
38 The first ten numerals are those used in counting or enumerating; they are not used in specifying quantity—J.L.F. There are seven or eight other sets of numerals—S.R.
Ech’iir Three
Ab’ang Four
Eliim Five
Eo’an Six
E’ech Seven
Ewal Eight
Atuu Nine
Katingoul’ Ten
or E Jack Do
Ri e Jack Twenty
chiil e Jack Thirty
Pa e Jack Forty
Liim e Jack Fifty
Oan e Jack Sixty
E’ech e Jack Seventy
Ewal e Jack Eighty
Atuu e Jack Ninety
A Buk’i One hundred
Ri a buki Two hundred
chiil a buki Three hundred
Pa a buki Four hundred
Liim a buki Five hundred
O-an a buki Six hundred
E’ech a buki Seven hundred
Ewal a buki Eight hundred
Atuu a buki Nine hundred
Ket One Thousand
Ri a ket Two Thousand
chiil a Ket Three Thousand
Pa a ket Four Thousand
Liim a ket Five Thousand
O-an a ket Six Thousand
E’ech a ket Seven Thousand
Ewal a ket Eight Thousand
Atuu a ket Nine thousand
Nun Ten Thousand

Note. Throughout this vocabulary the vowels have the following sound—a to be sounded as in Hat, e as in Ever, i as in Equity, u as in Supple, and y is sounded as i or similar to the way they are pronounced on the continent of Europe.

The complexion of these natives is of a light copper colour. The average height of the men is about 5 feet 8 In. and the majority of them would be called small. The women are much smaller in...
proportion than the men—with delicate features, and slight figures. Many of the chiefs sons are exceedingly well formed; they are also of a much lighter colour, than the generality of the natives, owing to their not being so much exposed to the sun, and would be considered fine looking men in any part of the world. Their features are in general well formed. The nose is slightly aquiline, but a little broad at the base—the mouth rather large with full lips and beautiful white teeth. The lobes of the ears are perforated in both sexes but are seldom distended to any size. Both sexes (especially the females) wear handsome ornaments, composed of small beads &c attached to the ears; they have also handsome necklaces made of the same materials. Both men and women have beautiful long straight hair, and very black; and which they take no little pains in dressing, with a variety of perfumes mixed with Cocoa nut oil. They also anoint their bodies (especially the females) with Turmeric, in order to give them a whiter appearance, and which it undoubtedly does. They consider that this adds much to their beauty. The Chiefs and their families, ornament their heads with beautiful wreaths of sweet scented flowers, at feasts and on other occasions. The men wear neither whiskers nor beard; they extract the hairs, as soon as they make their appearance, by means of tweezers made either of a small piece of Tortoise shell bent double, or a pair of small cockle shells. The generality of the Women are handsome; but as they marry at an early age, they soon lose all claim to beauty.

The complexion of the young girls is much lighter than that of the men, and similar to a South American brunette. This is owing to the use of Turmeric before alluded to, and to their wearing an upper article of dress, formed by a cotton handkerchief as a shelter from the sun, which covers their breasts and shoulders, and which has a slit in the centre to allow a passage for the head. Many of these natives especially the lower classes and fishermen, have their skins disfigured, in a singular manner, by a sort of scurvy disease similar to the ringworm, or rather to a person whose skin was peeling off from the effects of the sun. They do not appear to experience any inconvenience from this complaint & for which I cannot account, unless it be attributable to raw fish, which they eat in large quantities. This complaint prevails more or less over all the Islands near the Equator, and I have also met with it at the Pallou Islands. I had a Bornabi boy at sea with me in the 'Naiad' for 4 Months whose skin was completely covered with this
disease, but who lost all traces of it, after living a short time on Salt provisions.\textsuperscript{39}

With regard to the general character of this people, the most favourable feature is the affection which both sexes bear towards their offspring, and the respect which is paid to age—Two qualities in which the other Islanders\textsuperscript{40} I have visited are sadly deficient. They are also good humoured, desirous of pleasing, and exceedingly hospitable; as a proof of which, I may mention, that upon every occasion of my visiting the King, or a chief of high rank, I was treated with the most marked distinction: a feast was prepared for me, and on one occasion, one hundred roots of Kava were laid at my feet, besides heaps of Yams, bread fruit &\textsuperscript{c}. As a shade upon this picture, it must be admitted that they are indolent, covetous and deceitful, and but little confidence can be placed in their professions. I must not forget however, that I am writing of Savages; and so much that is praiseworthy appeared in their conduct, and such capabilities of improvement by civilization, as must rank them far above all other savages, with whom I have had intercourse. During the whole period of my stay at this Island, and subsequent visits, I never experienced an instance of theft on their part, unless when instigated so to do, by the white reprobates who are domesticated with them. In short, unless when prompted by these vagabonds, I have found them strictly honest in their dealings; paying me punctually for any goods I may have advanced them. Owing however to the influence which the Europeans have obtained over the natives, by speaking their language fluently—by teaching them to distil spirits from the cocoa nut toddy, and assimilating themselves as far as possible to their habits; the character of the Latter has become greatly deteriorated; they have already become adepts in lying, and will soon (unless these fellows are removed from the Island) become habituated to every species of vice and immorality. The Island of

\textsuperscript{39} The skin disease \textit{tinea umbricata} best fits Cheyne's description. Moreover, modern medicine agrees with Cheyne that it can be occasioned by poor hygiene and diet. Ponapeans refer to it as \textit{kilen wai}, literally 'the skin of foreigners'. As this implies, they believe that the disease is of foreign origin—information supplied by Father W. McGarry, S.J., Catholic Mission, Ponape. Scherzer, of the \textit{Novara} expedition, calls this disease \textit{Ichthyosis}. He repeats Cheyne's opinion that a diet of raw fish could be the cause—Scherzer 1862: 573.

\textsuperscript{40} Altered later to 'most of the other Islanders'.
Bornabi is divided into five tribes, independent of each other, and each having a sovereign of its own. These tribes are named as follows—Roan Kiddi, or Womah—Matalanien—Joquoits—Nut—and Awack—The two first being far more powerful, and of much greater extent than the others. Each King has his prime minister, whose power nearly equals that of the Sovereign; his title is Nannikan. Next in rank to the King are the Nobles, whose titles are as follows; Talk—Wajy—Noach—Nanaby—Shou Shabert—Gro en Wane, and many others, being chiefs of inferior rank, who are not of noble birth, but who have been made chiefs and obtained land by acts of bravery, or the favour of the Nobles. On the demise of the Sovereign the noble who holds the rank of Talk, succeeds to the throne; and the other chiefs rise a step. The prime Minister holds office either for life, or during the King’s pleasure, and although possessed of much power, is inferior in rank to the Nobles. The Government is carried on in the most simple form; the King contenting himself with receiving the tribute due him, and rarely interfering in the administration of affairs, unless in matters of serious importance. Each chief has absolute power over his own dependents, except in cases of importance, when the decision is made, and the punishment ordered in council. There is in every village a large council house, with a raised platform in the centre, for the accommodation of the chiefs when discussing the affairs of the tribe. These meetings are always attended with feasting and Kava drinking at the expense of the chief in whose village the meeting is held. Along each side of the house, each family of rank has a sleeping berth formed by wicker work bulkheads, similar to the state rooms of a vessel’s poop. The space from the platform to the end of the house, is occupied by the slaves, who are busily employed during these

41 The five tribes listed are not quite correct. ‘Roan Kiddi’ (Ronkiti or Rohnkitii) is only a section of Kiti, the tribe referred to; ‘Womah’ (Wene) is the eastern half of Kiti. ‘Matalanien’ (Metalanim or Madolenihmw), ‘Joquoits’ (Jokaj or Sokhs) and ‘Nut’ (Net) are correct, but ‘Awack’ (Awak) is the western part of Uh. The five are, then, running clockwise round the island from the north, Uh, Metalanim, Kiti, Jokaj, and Net—S.R. See also Riesenberg 1968: 8.

42 Nahnken.

43 ‘Talk’ (Dauk), ‘Wajy’ (Wasai), ‘Noach’ (Noahs), ‘Nanaby’ (Nahnipei) and ‘Gro en Wane’ (Kirou en Wene—literally ‘husbander of Wene’). ‘Shou Shabert’ cannot be identified—S.R. See also p. 161n.
meetings in preparing Kava and food for the visitors. When a meeting is deemed necessary, Messengers are sent to the different chiefs to request their attendance. This, in cases of emergency, is done by blowing conchs. The chiefs having assembled, the object of the meeting is laid before them by the King or head chief, and every one is at liberty to give his opinion. These discussions are at times very animated, especially when they have indulged freely in Kava; and on several of these occasions, I have witnessed violent quarrels between different speakers, which were only prevented from terminating in blows by the interference of the other chiefs. The opinion of the majority upon the subject under consideration having been ascertained, the discussion is terminated.

On the death of a chief, the King has power to give his land to whoever he pleases; he generally however, bestows it upon his Sons, or failing them, to the chief next in rank to the deceased. The power possessed by each King, over his dependents (though rarely taken advantage of) is in every respect unlimited; the lives and property of his subjects being completely at his disposal. To shed blood within the precincts of the Palace is certain death, and the most abject homage is paid to him by all classes, not even the nobles being allowed to stand upright in his presence. As soon as the bread fruit season sets in, the nobles send the first fruits as a present to the King. Whenever a chief has a new Turtle or fishing Nets made, the produce of his fishery must be sent to the King for a certain number of days, before he can appropriate any of the fish to his own use. Another mark of respect shown to the King, as well as by all classes of inferior rank to their superiors, is, that the former on meeting the latter in their Canoes invariably sit down, until they are passed, and present the side of the Canoe opposite the outrigger towards them when passing, in case they should wish to board them. With regard to the population of Bornabi, although I have visited all parts of the Island, I have had no correct means of ascertaining the number; but from personal observation I should take it to be about Eight Thousand.

44 The description of the council house may be misleading. It is U-shaped and the three sides are walls with platforms running along them. Partially enclosed by the walls is a ground-level area ‘occupied by the slaves’, as Cheyne says (though they were low-ranking commoners rather than slaves). The rear platform is higher than those on either side and must be what Cheyne means by a ‘raised platform in the centre’; it is, as he says, the place where the higher chiefs sit, facing the open entrance to the enclosure—S.R.
Their Houses are decidedly better constructed than any that I have hitherto met with at the Islands. They all form an oblong square and are built as follows. A foundation of stone work is raised to the height of from 3 to 6 feet above the ground and upon which the frame of the house rests. In the centre of the foundation, a space of about 4 feet square, and 2 in depth is left for a fire place, and the remainder of the floor is covered with wicker work, which gives it a neat and clean appearance. The sides are about 4 feet high, and are also covered in with wicker work, having several open spaces for windows, and for which they have shutters also of wicker work. The whole frame of the house is made of squared timber, and the uprights are all morticed into the wall plates. The rafters are formed of small straight tickers, about 2 feet apart, which reach from the ridge pole to the Wall plates on each side, and are seized to both with small Sennet. The thatch is made of pandanus leaves, sewed to a reed, and forms a long and narrow mat about 6 feet in length, and one foot in breadth. In thatching they commence at the eaves, placing the mats lengthways, keeping each mat about an inch above the other, and seizing them to the rafters as they proceed. When they have reached the ridge, they again commence at the eaves with another length of mats, over-lapping the ends where the two lengths Join, and keeping each mat about an inch above the other, as before mentioned, and so on, until the thatching is completed. A house so constructed will last for many years, and are exceedingly clean and comfortable dwellings even for an European to live in.45

The Canoes of this Island are hollowed out of a large tree, and are very neatly made. The outrigger is attached to the canoe by many projecting pieces of light wood neatly squared and painted. They have a platform in the centre for the chiefs to sit on. These canoes are painted red, look exceedingly handsome, and are furnished with a mast and triangular sail. The largest of them will not carry more than Ten or Twelve men.

Their manufactures consist of loaches,46 or sleeping mats, belts, dresses, neck and head ornaments, baskets, and canoe sails, also blankets or bed covers, and small rope or sennit. The Loaches are made chiefly at Joquoits, Nut and Awack; and are manufactured

45 A good description of the house construction, but the thatch (at least nowa­
days) is of ivory nut palm leaf—S.R.

46 Los.
of pandanus leaves, sewed together. These are about six feet in length, and of various breadths, the end of the mat rolled up forms a pillow. These mats are spread upon the floor of the houses to make a bed; several being placed one above another to make it soft. Their blanket or bed cover is made of tappa, which is often thrummed with some soft thread similar to wool. Belts are wove on hand looms and are made of the fibres of the banana tree, dyed red & yellow. They form many variegated figures, and about six feet in length, five or six inches in breadth, and exceedingly pretty. The men’s Kall or dress is made of the young leaves of the Cocoa-nut, bleached, and slit into narrow strips, and fastened at one end with a string, it is about two feet in length, and reaches from the hip to the knee. A man when well dressed, has about six of these tied round him. This dress is light and elegant, and yields to any motion of the body. The belts also form a part of the mens dress. They are worn similar to the Maro of the other Islanders. The upper edge of the belt reaches above the navel. The women’s dress consists of the Likou, being a fathom of Calico wrapt round the loins, tucked in at one side, and reaching to the knee. They always dye the white Calico with Turmeric, which gives it a yellow appearance. Their upper dress is generally composed of a Handkerchief as before described. The natives are very fond of ornamenting themselves, especially the females. They manufacture beautiful head bands of various coloured beads; also necklaces of the same description, intermixed with small round beads made of shell and cocoa nut wood, about the size of a small shirt button or mould; this and their ear ornaments are decorated with threads of Scarlet Cloth made up into tassels. The food of the natives consists of breadfruit, yams, wild Tarro, cocoa-nuts, bananas, Sugar cane, dogs, pidgeons &c, also fish, turtle, biche de mar, and many species of shell fish. Of the breadfruit tree they have various kinds, distinguished by fruits of different sizes; the largest of which is the sweetest and most agreeable to the taste. Nature seems to have been very bountiful in her supply of this fruit, for the different varieties follow each other throughout the year. They have a peculiar method of preserving the breadfruit, of which the following description may give some idea. When the fruit is ripe, it is prepared by paring off the outer rind, and cutting it up into small pieces; holes are then dug in the ground.

\[47\] Kol.
to the depth of three feet; these are thickly lined with banana leaves, in order to prevent the water from penetrating into the holes. The holes are then filled to within a few Inches of the top with the sliced bread-fruit, thatched over with the same description of leaves, and covered with stones to press it down. This renders the holes both air and water tight. After a while, fermentation takes place, and it subsides into a mass, similar to the consistency of new cheese. Their chief reason for preserving the bread-fruit in this manner, is to provide against famine, as they have a tradition that a violent hurricane took place at the Island about a century ago, which blew the trees down and caused a famine. It is said that it will keep in these holes for several years, and although it emits a sour and most offensive odour when taken out of the holes, yet the natives consider it an agreeable and nutritious article of diet, equally palatable as when in its fresh state. This is principally used at their feasts, and is consumed in large quantities. When taken out of the pits, it is well kneaded, wrapt up in banana leaves and baked in ovens of hot stones. When cooked it has a sour taste. The leaves of the bread-fruit tree are used to serve their victuals on, and as fans to keep off the flies.

The following description may give some idea of their mode of cooking. A fire is made of wood and covered with small stones. When the wood is all consumed, they rake the ashes out, and place a layer of the heated stones on the ground, on which they place their food well wrapped up in banana and wild tarro leaves to prevent it from burning; the remainder of the heated stones are then laid on the top of the leaves containing the food, when that is done the whole is then closely covered up with leaves, mats &c so as to prevent the steam from escaping. In a couple of hours the food will be sufficiently done. Whole pigs, turtle, dogs, yams and breadfruit are cooked in this way, and persons unacquainted with this South Sea mode of cooking would be rather surprised to find the food so well done. I consider this to be a superior mode of cooking yams and breadfruit to any with which we are acquainted.

Breadfruit being the chief food of these natives, they have, from the little time occupied in cultivating their vegetable productions, a great deal of leisure. It is true that yams are cultivated to a considerable extent, but the process of planting requires but very little time. They have no regular plantations, but small spots of ground here and there are cleared, in which the yams are planted. They merely make a small hole in the ground sufficiently large
to admit the seed, and do not even loosen the earth around it to allow the yam to grow to any size; the consequence is that they are of a very small size and many of them of an indifferent quality. They generally have them planted near trees and have strings fastened to the branches for the vines to entwine round. At other islands small reeds are generally stuck in the ground by each seed for the vine to run up; but these islanders with respect to their cultivation, are far behind others who are in a much greater state of savage ignorance; consequently, their time being much less occupied, amusements and feasting occupy a great part of it. Their feasts generally claim priority to every thing else. The King makes an annual visit to every village in the tribe, at which time the greatest festivities take place, the chiefs then vying with each other who shall entertain him the best. Immense quantities of breadfruit and yams are cooked at these feasts, and Kava drinking is also carried to excess. These feasts commence in the morning and continue until near sunset, at which time the greater part of the chiefs are quite insensible with Kava. It appears to act on them similar to opium, without its bad effects. The young people then commence dancing and continue it until Midnight, at which time they all retire to rest. These festivities last for two days at each village during the King's annual visit; but feasting on a smaller scale is of daily occurrence. No chief visits another without a feast being prepared for the reception of the guest. The visitor of course returns the compliment whenever his friend may visit him. Kava is universally drank at their feasts.

The Bornabi drum is made of a piece of wood, hollowed out, and covered over the ends with shark skins and is similar in shape to an hour glass; they beat it with the fingers of the right hand, the drum resting on the left knee; it sounds something like the Tom-Tom of the Hindoos. The drummer sits cross legged and accompany's it with singing.

Their dances are by no means indecorous, and are unaccompanied by those lascivious gestures generally witnessed at other islands.

The dancers consist of the unmarried men and girls who stand in a row. They keep time with their feet to the song, and accompany it with graceful movements of the arms and body resembling the evolutions of soldiers drilling. At times the arms are thrown out from the body, when they give a rapid quivering motion to the fingers, clap their hands together, and rock the body to and fro.
Every movement is made in perfect unison, and at the same moment, by the whole party.

The only musical instrument they have is a small flute, made of bamboo. The sound is produced by inserting one end in the nose —breathing through it gently, and varying the notes by the fingers.

The tattooing of these natives may be said to form a part of their dress. It is performed by old women, who make it a regular profession. The age at which it is performed, is about twelve or fourteen in both sexes. The colouring matter is obtained from the kernel of some nut, and the operation is performed by an instrument made of bone, sharp like the teeth of a comb and which is made to enter the skin by a slight blow of a stick. Both sexes are tattooed from the loins to the ankles, and from the elbows to the knuckles.

The natives of Bornabi are very regular in their habits. They rise at daylight—bathe in fresh water, then take their morning meal, and afterwards anoint their bodies with turmeric and cocoa-nut oil. They then proceed to their occupations for the day, and continue at it until about noon, when they return home, again bathe and take another meal. The remainder of the day is either spent in feasting or visiting. At sunset they take their evening meal, and wash themselves for the third time. They have no torches or any other means of lighting their houses, and unless when dancing or fishing, retire early to rest.

Much respect and attention is awarded to the females at this island, and they are not made to do any work but what rightfully belongs to them. All the out door labour is chiefly performed by the men, whose employment consists in building houses and canoes, planting yams, fishing, and bringing home the produce of their plantations, also planting Kava and cooking. The women seldom assist at any out door employment, except it may be fishing and weeding the ground, but employ their time chiefly in manufacturing head dresses, weaving belts, sewing mats, making baskets, taking care of the house and children &c. The work of both sexes is however very light, and much of their time is spent in pastimes, of which idleness forms the chief part.

Chastity is not regarded as a virtue among these natives nor is it considered as any recommendation in the choice of a wife. Promiscuous intercourse before marriage is quite common, and is practised without the least feeling of shame by either the parties.
themselves or their relations, and a father or brother will openly offer his daughter or sister for prostitution on board any vessel which may touch at the island; but after marriage, the women are obliged to be more guarded in their conduct; as a want of duty in this respect would be severely punished by the husband.

These natives, especially the females are exceedingly given to prattling, or have rather a tattling disposition; for they cannot keep even their own secrets, and a crime is divulged, nearly as soon as committed.

The introduction of European likou's,48 Tobacco, Jews harps, and beads, have no little influence in perpetuating licentiousness among the females, to whom foreign finery is a great temptation.

Pretty shades for the face, are made of cocoanut leaves, (they cannot be called hats, as they encircle and project from, without covering the head) this head dress is chiefly worn by the fishermen to keep the sun off their face.

The mothers are exceedingly Jealous of their daughter's husbands going astray with other women, and when caught, the woman, (if of lower rank) will get dreadfully beaten by the daughter's Mother and relations, and often severely hacked with knives.

The courtesies of life with these people are few, and are usually confined to the simple inquiry on meeting of, 'Where are you going'? or, 'Where do you come from'? they do not appear to have any words in their language for, 'How do you do' or, 'Good-bye', but merely say when parting 'I am going', 'Are you going to stop'? The rubbing of noses is not practised at this island, but on meeting a chief, the other natives either crouch or squat down (according to his rank) until he passes.

With respect to their marriages, I never had an opportunity of witnessing one, and know little respecting the ceremony. I have been told that when a native wishes to get a wife, he makes the girl's father a present, and that his suit is considered as accepted if he accepts of it. A feast is then prepared, and on its termination, the bridegroom takes his wife home. In the event of the wife dying, the widower takes the sister in law for his second wife; and on the death of the husband, his brother, (if he has any) becomes his widow's husband. First cousin's are not allowed to marry at this island.

48 Cloth; see note 22, this chapter.
A man is at liberty to put his wife away, and marry another on certain conditions, but the woman cannot leave her husband without his consent unless she is of higher rank. In that case she can do as she pleases. The chiefs generally have a plurality of wives, and polygamy is allowed to any extent, and only limited by the ability of the person to support his wives.

Their funeral ceremonies appear to have undergone some change since their intercourse with Europeans. Formerly the bodies of their dead were wrapped in Mats, and kept in their houses for a considerable time; but latterly they have adopted our custom of burying their dead in the ground.

On the death of a chief or any person of note, the female friends of the deceased congregate together for a certain number of days, and express their grief by loud and melancholy wailings during the day and dancing by night. All the relations of the deceased cut their hair off as a token of mourning. Whatever property may have belonged to the deceased person, is immediately carried off by those who can first obtain possession of it, and this custom is so universal, that things so obtained are considered lawful prize.

The weapons of these islanders consist chiefly of muskets and spears. The spears are made of hard wood—about 6 feet in length—pointed with the bone of the stingray, and thrown by the hand; but they are now very little used, as there is scarcely a man of any note on the island, who has not a musket, and many of the chiefs have 3 or 4 each, together with plenty of ammunition. I should suppose that the natives of Bornabi have fully 1500 stand of arms amongst them.

They have procured them chiefly from American Whalers as payment for yams and tortoise shell, and since their introduction the tribes have seldom been at war. They are now well aware of the deadly effects of firearms, and live more harmoniously in consequence. The tribes of Matalanien and Awack were at war in the year 1843, but the dread of firearms kept them generally out of Musket reach, and they shortly afterwards made peace.49

It is only able bodied men who form the war party, and they act pretty honourably, as they seldom kill women or children.

49 A member of the *Novara* expedition, which visited Ponape in 1858, records that ‘the Awnaks [Awak] and Tchokoits [Jokaj] had, at the period of our visit, been at war with each other for six months, and it is significant of the ferocity and courage of both parties, that not a single combatant has thus far been wounded on either side!’—Scherzer 1862: 576.
When one party is desirous of peace, some roots of Kava are sent to the king of the other tribe by some neutral person, which if received, ends the war, and a succession of friendly visits are then interchanged betwixt the chiefs of the two tribes, attended with great feasting and kava drinking.

The kava is not chewed at this island, but the roots are pounded on a large stone, and after being moistened with water, the juice is squeezed out into small cups, (made of cocoa-nut shells) which are passed round by the attendants to the chiefs. The first cup is presented to the highest chief, or chief priest, if present, who mutters some prayer over it, before drinking.

Their prayers are usually addressed to the spirit of some deceased chief, petitioning it to grant them success in fishing, an abundant crop of bread-fruit and yams; and praying for the arrival of ships, and a bountiful supply of the good things of this life. The priests pretend to foretell future events, and the people put much faith in their predictions. They believe that the priest gets inspired by the spirit of some deceased chief, and that whatever he says, while labouring under the agitation into which they work themselves is dictated by the spirit, and that such prophecies will be sure to come to pass. Should any of their predictions however, not happen to correspond, they will cunningly pretend that some other spirit has interfered, and prevented it.

The religion of these people is very simple. They have neither images nor temples, and although they believe in a future state, yet they do not appear to have any religious observances. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and that their Elysium is surrounded by a wall, having a bottomless ditch around it. The gate is guarded by an old woman, whom the spirit has to encounter on jumping across the ditch, and who attempts to throw it into this dark abyss. Should it, however, master the woman, and gain an entrance through the gate, it is forever happy; but should the woman succeed in throwing it down the ditch, it sinks into an abyss of eternal misery.

Their diseases when grown up appear to be but few, except the cutaneous or scurfy disorder before alluded to, which prevails more or less all over the island, and affects the females as well as the men. This disease produces a most disgusting appearance, but it does not appear to affect the general health of those subject to it.

The children are almost all subject to a disease in infancy
(resembling the yaws) called *kench* but which generally leaves them when about 4 or 5 years of age. The sores when healed leave marks on the skin similar to those caused by vaccination. Declines are of frequent occurrence. The dysentery made its appearance at this island in 1843, and carried off a great number of the natives, and in 1845, the Influenza prevailed in some districts, but with no great violence. Notwithstanding the licentious disposition of the females, the venereal disease is seldom met with. I have been told by the Europeans residing on shore, that the natives, when they do get infected from the crews of the whale ships, cure themselves in a very short time, by drinking an Infusion of the Kava several times a day for Gonorrhaea; and a decoction of the root of the Mangrove tree for the more virulent kind.

These natives are not cannibals, nor ever have been as far as I can ascertain; but look upon cannibalism with as much abhorence as we do.

Having now given a brief description of the manners and customs of these islanders, as far as came under my personal observation, I shall before concluding these remarks give a short outline of the character of the Europeans and other foreigners, who are at present domesticated with them, together with a brief account of their first intercourse with Europeans.

The first white men who settled on this island were two runaway sailors from an English whale ship, about the year 1828. Those two men were treated with the greatest kindness by the natives, who built houses for them, gave them land and wives, and supplied them with abundance of food, and treated them with as much

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50 *Kens.* This term is used by Ponapeans to refer to any ulcerous sore which is difficult or impossible to cure. It is ordinarily yaws, but the description here does not quite fit yaws, as Cheyne realised. There is a common skin disease on Ponape which answers the requirements of afflicting mainly children and of leaving scars; it is *ecthyma* (or *rihp* in local parlance), but the Ponapeans seem never to refer to it as *kens*—information from Father W. McGarry, S.J., Catholic Mission, Ponape.

51 This is a reference to two men who went under the names of James O'Connell and George Keenan and who were supposed to have been survivors of the wreck of the whaler *John Bull*, cast ashore at Ponape about this time. O'Connell published an account of his adventures in 1836 under the title *A residence of eleven years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands*. The account of his early life and his arrival at Ponape is probably fictional, but there can be little doubt that he lived on the island for some time before 1832, when he was picked up by an American whaler. His description of island life and society appears authentic—Riesenberg 1968b.
respect as their own chiefs. They were so fond of them in fact, that they offered them their choice of any thing the island produced. Shortly after this occurrence, several whalers visited the island for obtaining supplies of wood and water, yams, and other refreshments; and finding the natives hospitable, and eager to get Europeans to reside amongst them, induced many of the most worthless characters to desert from their vessels, especially those who preferred a life of ease and licentiousness, to that of earning an honest livelihood. The natives being in a complete state of ignorance, with respect to the character of Europeans, enabled those worthless characters to gain a great ascendancy over them, and soon impressed them with the belief that they were all European chiefs, who preferred a life of adventure, to that of remaining at home. As the advantages to be derived from recruiting at this place became better known, the number of visitors continued to increase, and all the worthless characters they had on board generally deserted. The majority of those men were runaway convicts, who had been picked up at other islands in the Pacific, having made their escape thither from some of the Penal settlements of New Holland. The number of this class of residents still continued to increase until the year 1843 at which time there were sixty Europeans on the island, scattered about amongst the different tribes and living under the protection of their different chiefs. At this time the natives began to get a little more enlightened, having learned from the masters of vessels, that those men were not chiefs but scoundrels, who preferred the life of a savage to that of a Christian. This made the natives treat them with much less respect, and from that time until 1846, (when I last visited the island) many of them shipped on board the whalers, in the room of others who had deserted, so that their numbers were much about the same at that time.

Such is a brief outline of the history of these men, and I shall treat more fully of their character, and pernicious influence over the natives, as I happen to fall in with them, in the course of my narrative.

In concluding these remarks, I may here observe that were a company formed at home, consisting of one hundred share holders of £100 each—making a capital of £10,000, to send out a party of trustworthy men in two vessels built expressly for the South Sea trade, that a fine thing could be made by establishing Coffee and sugar plantations on Strong's Island, Bornabi, and the Pallou
Islands. But some sort of protection would be required from the home government in the way of appointing the superintendent to act as consular agent, which power would enable him to preserve order amongst the reprobates on Bornabi. At Strong’s Island no reprobate white men are allowed to live on shore; and in consequence of Bornabi being infested with these blackguards, the greater portion of the whale ships now go to Strong’s Island to recruit. Strong’s Island is about the same size as Bornabi, possessed of good harbours, and its natives and productions are similar in every respect, except language, to Bornabi.

If such a company were formed at home, the vessels could go direct there (having obtained the sanction of the home government) and purchase the unoccupied lands around the different harbours from the chiefs, and by entering into a commercial treaty with them, secure the whole trade of the place.

Strong’s Island is now the suitable place to form an establishment for supplying whalers; and were such an establishment once formed, and proper laws enacted to prevent their crews from deserting, I am confident, from what I have heard American whaling Captains say, that the greater part of their fleet, would give Strong’s Island the preference for recruiting, and repairing their ships, at that place; as it is on their cruising grounds, and would cause much less loss of time, than by going to Sydney or Oahu to refit.

On the other hand, the vessels after forming the establishments, would be employed trading amongst the other islands, for Biche de Mer, Sandal-wood, tortoise-shell, pearl shells &c, but it would require a person experienced in the trade to conduct this department, as the Biche de mer must be properly cured, otherwise it will not be marketable. At the same time the shore parties should commence planting coffee and Sugarcane. The islands abound with wild ginger, which if transplanted, and properly cultivated would be saleable. Native labour can always be got to manage the plantations.

The Biche de mer alone, if successful, would in three years refund the capital laid out.

As my chief object in remaining on shore at Bornabi, and subsequent voyages amongst the islands in the western Pacific, were for the purpose of forming Biche de mer establishments, and curing the slug, I shall now give a description of the different species of Biche de mer, together with remarks on collecting and
curing it, being the result of five years experience in that particular branch of trade.

There are many kinds of Biche de mer found on coral reefs in the Pacific, but only ten of these varieties are marketable in China, each distinguished by well known names. As they vary in price from 6 to 40 Spanish dollars pr picul (133\(\frac{1}{3}\) lbs), it becomes a matter of great importance to obtain the superior qualities. The slug when cured presents quite a different appearance, to what it does when caught, and no person, but one well acquainted in the trade, would be able to ascertain which were the first quality, by comparing the raw slug with a cured one. Again, the success of a voyage depends entirely on the knowledge possessed by the person in charge, of the localities in which the superior sorts are to be found, together with much experience in the mode of fishing, and curing them.

The superior qualities are known by the following names in the Sooloo and Manila market.

N°. 1. Bankolungan.—N°. 2. Keeskeesan.—N°. 3. Talepan. and N°. 4. Munang,—each presenting a different appearance and found in various depths of water on the reefs.

Bankolungan, when caught is about 12 or 15 inches in length, of an oval shape, brown on the back, and the belly white and crusted with lime, with a row of tits on each side the belly. It is hard, rigid, and scarcely possesses any power of locomotion. It has however, the power of expanding, and contracting itself at pleasure. This quality is found on the inner edge of coral reefs, in from 2 to 10 fathoms water, and on a bottom of coral and sand. It is only to be procured by diving.

Keeskeesan, is from 6 to 12 inches in length, of an oval shape, quite black, and smooth on the back, with a dark greyish belly, and one row of tits on each side. When contracted, it is similar in shape to a land tortoise. This quality is found in very shallow water, on the top of coral reefs, and on a bottom of coral and sand. Bankolungan, and Keeskeesan fetch about the same price; and the latter being the most plentiful, and easiest caught, ought of course to be the kind most sought after.

Talepan, varies in length from 9 inches to 2 feet, and presents the most remarkable appearance of any of the species of Biche de mer. It is found on all parts of the reef, but chiefly in from 2 to 3 fathoms of water. It is of a dark red colour, and narrower in proportion than the beforementioned kinds. The whole back is
covered with large red prickles, which render it easily distinguishable from any of the other kinds. It is much softer than the black, and more difficult to cure.

Munang, is of a small size, seldom exceeding 8 inches in length, of an oval shape, quite black and smooth, has no tits, or other excrescences, and is found in shallow water on the coral flats, and often among turtle grass near the shore.

These four varieties form the superior qualities of the slug; and the following are the middling, and inferior sorts. N° 5, called, Sapatos China, is of a brown colour, about the same size as the Munang, presents a wrinkled surface, and is found adhering to the coral rocks on the top of the reefs. N° 6, called Lowlowan, is of various lengths, black, wrinkled and narrow, it is found on various parts of the reefs. N° 7, Balati blanco, is about 9 inches in length, of an oval shape, and a white and orange colour, and may be easily known by its voiding a white adhesive substance, which adheres to the fingers, when it is handled. It is found generally on the inner edge of reefs, and on a sandy bottom; moonlight nights are the best time for catching this species, as they generally bury themselves in the sand during the day. N° 8, Matan, is of the same species as N° 7, and only differs from it in colour, which is grey, brown, and white speckled. N° 9, Hangenan, is generally about a foot in length, of a grey or greenish colour, wrinkled, and is found on the lagoon side of coral reefs. N° 10, Sapatos grande, colour brown and white, wrinkled, a foot in length, and very inferior.

A vessel fitting out for a Biche de mer voyage, requires to have large boilers on board similar to whalers try pots, skimmers, ladles, fire rakes, shovels, buckets and tubs, together with a number of axes and cross-cut saws for cutting firewood.

The first thing to be done after arrival at an island where the slug is plentiful, is to erect a large curing house about 100 feet in length, 30 feet wide, and ten feet high. These houses are generally built of island materials, and thatched with mats made of coconuts leaves; but the thatch must be well put on, so as to prevent the rain from penetrating. The sides are likewise covered in with these mats, and a small door left in each end. One side of the house is then fitted up with two platforms, for drying the Biche de mer on; the platforms run the whole length of the house, and should be about 8 feet in breadth, the lower one about breast high from the ground and the upper, three feet above that. The frames are made
of cocoa-nut or pandanus tree, and covered with split bamboo, or reeds, seized close together, so as to form a sort of net work for the fish to lie on. Much care and skill is required in the construction of these batters or platforms, so as to prevent the fish from burning; which it would be liable to, were it not properly constructed.

A trench, about 2 feet in depth, and 6 feet in breadth, is then dug, the whole way under the batters, for the fires. These curing houses consume a great quantity of firewood. Tubs are placed at short distances along the fires, filled with water, and a good supply of buckets kept in readiness, to prevent the fires from blazing up, and burning the fish, and to enable the watch to keep up an equal degree of heat under the batters.

The process of curing, is this. The Biche de mer is first gutted, then boiled in those large pots, and, after being well washed in fresh water, carried into the curing house, in tubs or baskets, and emptied on the lower batter, where it is spread out about 5 Inches thick to dry; the fires are then lighted, and the drying process commences. The fires must be kept constantly going night and day, with a careful officer, and regular watch to attend to it. On the following day, the fires are put out for a short time, and the fish shifted to the upper batter, having been first examined, and splints of wood put into those which may not be drying properly. (The fish on the lower batter must be turned several times during the night.) The lower batter is again filled from the pots, the fires immediately lighted, and the drying process continued as before. On the second day, the fish on the upper batter, are shifted close over to one end, to make room for those on the lower batter again, and so on, for the two following days, by which time the first days fish will be properly cured. It is then taken off the batter, carefully picked, and those not dry put up again for another day. The quantity cured is then sent on board the vessel, and stowed away in bags; but should the ship be long in getting a cargo, it will require to be dried over again every three months in the sun, on platforms erected over the decks, as it soon gets damp, unless when packed in air tight casks.

If the Biche de mer is plentiful, thirty or forty natives will be required to perform the work of a house of this size, and the pots will each require two men to attend them.

I shall now conclude with a few remarks on boiling Biche de
mer, being the result of a number of experiments made by me at different times.

Bangkolungang, and Keeskeesan, will require to be boiled about five minutes, or more, for a pot nearly full; they require to be well stirred, and should be taken out when thoroughly heated through, by which time they will feel quite hard and elastic. The cut part of the fish when well boiled should represent a blue and amber colour, and feel firm like Indian rubber.

If the pot is only half full, they will require to boil fully ten minutes, before the cut part represents the blue and amber colour.

It appears to me that there are two ways of boiling them equally good. The first is, to take them out when boiled about a minute, or as soon as ever they shrink and feel hard. The other method is to boil them as before stated, but in boiling either way the fish ought to dry like a boiled egg, immediately on being taken out of the pot, if properly boiled.

If curing a large quantity, I should prefer boiling them slightly at first, and when half dry, I would boil them over again. This method I have tried, and find it makes the Biche de mer look much smoother and better, although they require a little more time in drying, but I am convinced they would sell better.

Biche de mer dried in the sun, fetches a higher price than those dried over a wood fire; but this method would not answer in curing a ships cargo, as they require fully twenty days to dry; whereas by smoking them, they are well cured in four days.

The Talepan, and Munang, require to be boiled fully ten minutes. The Munang dries very quickly, but the Talepan is very difficult to cure, and will often require two boilings before they will dry.

The Sapatos china require to be boiled about ten minutes, or more; if properly boiled, they will dry very quickly.

The Balati blanco, and Matan, require very little boiling, say two or three minutes, and should be taken out when thoroughly heated through.

The Hangenan, will require to be boiled fully a quarter of an hour. This sort must be very carefully handled when raw, as it is sure to break in pieces if held any time in the hand.

When Biche de mer is cured, and stowed away, great care should be taken to prevent it from getting wet, as one damp fish will speedily spoil a whole bag.

Much skill is required in drying Biche de mer, as well as in
boiling it; as too great a heat will cause it to blister, and get porous like sponge; whereas too little heat, again, will make it spoil, and stink within 24 hours, after being boiled. There is likewise great care, and method required in conducting the gutting, for if this is not properly attended to, by keeping it in the salt water, and from exposure to the sun, it will when raw, soon subside into a blubbery mass, and stink in a very short time after being caught.

In conclusion, I may say, that the process of curing the slug properly, is so difficult, and requires so much experience, that none but those who have been for years engaged in the trade, would ever succeed in doing it.
CHAPTER TEN

Erect a fortification—mount guns—build a boat jetty—natives build a Biche de mer house—visitors from Tawbak—A visit from Barham—natives feasting—engage Charles Dunn—fit up B. de mer house—arrival of a whaler—purchase a canoe—visit Matalanien—sleep at Lewis Coggat's house—his opinion of the whites—return home—green turtle fishery—natives bring biche de mer—men discharged from the whaler—learn more respecting the character of the whites—the whaler sails—receive a visit from the king—salute him—great feasting—a confession of a murder—discover wild ginger—commence collecting ginger—another whaler arrives—a conspiracy formed to shoot me—arrival of a schooner from Oahu—a report of a French squadron coming to take possession of Bornabi—discover another conspiracy—purchase the whole land of Wonah tribe—my life threatened by the whites—the natives resolve to fight the French—arrival of another whaler—more arrivals—purchase land at Matalanien—schooner 'Wave' arrives from China—prepare for leaving the island—get a 'coup de soleil'—sail for China—The passage—second mate dies of dysentery—arrive at Hongkong.

I have already mentioned, that the schooner 'Bull', sailed for China, on the morning of the 26th Dec having the prisoner Thomas Boyd on board. Before leaving the vessel, I requested Capt n Werngren to release him from irons, but he declined doing so, alleging it was not safe to allow such a desperado to be at liberty on board of his vessel.

1 Tapak (Dehpehk).
2 Param (Parem).
Chapter X.

The fortifications mount guard, - sail a tartan jacket, native ship, a Red Head canoe, - visit from Batavia - native paste - engage various duties - get up to do more - arrive of a whaler - purchase a name - visit Batavia - sleep at Lewis' Cogges house - the opinion of the whaler, return home, green turtle fishing, native crew, deuce de mer, men discharged from the whaler, learn more respecting the character of the whaler - the whaler sails - receive a visit from the king - salute him - great feasting - a confession of a murderer - discover wild ginger - one - mance collecting ginger - another whaler arrives - a conspiracy foamed to shoot me - arrival of a schooner from Tahiti - a report of a French squadron coming to take possession of Batavia - discover another conspiracy - purchase the whole land of Molokai - my life threatened by the whaler - the native resolve to fight - the French - arrival of another whaler - more arrivals - purchase land at Batavia - schooner have arrived from China - prepare for leaving the island - get a camp to settle - sail for China - the passage - second note dies of appetite - arrive at Hongkong.

I have already mentioned, that the schooner "Bell," sailed for China, on the morning of the 26th. Next, having the prisoner Thomas Boyd on board. Before leaving the vessel, I requested Capt. Wriker to release him from iron, but he declined doing so, alleging it was not safe to allow such a des - female to be at liberty on board of his vessel.

I then left the schooner, having seen her
I then left the schooner, having seen her safe out to sea, and returned on shore. I was occupied during the remainder of that day, in paying the chief and natives for building my house, and resolving as to my future arrangements.

On the following and two succeeding days, we were employed putting up a fence around the house, filling up inside with stones, and levelling it on the top for the guns; and one hand repairing and painting the whale boat.

On the 30th mounted 4 Guns around the house on the platform, two nine pounders, and the others four pounders, and cleaned and painted them. Some hands cleaning small arms, casting bullets, and making musket ball cartridges.

On the 31st Employed cleaning the small arms. Erected a flag-staff on one angle of the platform; finished painting the boat, and got all her sailing gear and oars put in order.

Sunday, January 1st 1843. Hoisted the union Jack on the flag-staff, and gave the men a day of rest.

2nd Commenced building a boat jetty, abreast of the house, on the east side of the river; and a number of natives employed collecting materials for building a small curing house for biche de mer. Entered into an agreement with Richard Reid to collect and cure biche de mer for me on the 7th lay; the curing expenses to be defrayed by him.

At the suggestion of 'Nannikan' the prime minister I sent one keg of gunpowder (28 lbs) and three muskets to a chief named Shou Shabert, by way of earnest for what tortoise shell he might collect at the Ant Islands during the ensuing season. He is the chief proprietor of those islands, and catches a considerable quantity of hawk's bill turtle there, during the summer months.

3rd Easterly winds, with rain. A number of natives employed making narrow mats of pandanus leaves for thatch. My men employed fitting up their house, and fixing cane bulk-heads in mine &c.

4th Easterly winds and fine. Natives putting up the frame of the curing house; and my men employed cutting firewood down the river.

5th Easterly winds and fair weather. The natives finished thatching the biche de mer house. About noon several canoes arrived from Tawbak with yams for sale. I purchased the whole

3 The 'lay' system of payment was by share of the cargo and was generally used in whaling, sandalwooding, and other maritime 'gathering' occupations. A '7th Lay' was a seventh share, reckoned at a fixed rate.
January 1843

for ten figs of negrohead Tob° pr hundred, and sent one keg of gunpowder and two muskets to the Tawbak chief to secure tortoise shell. My men employed cutting firewood &c.

6th Easterly winds and fine. I received a visit from the chief of Barham, and purchased some yams from him at the usual island price. At the request of 'Nannikan' I likewise gave him a keg of powder and two muskets, to be paid for in tortoise shell. The Barham chief was feasted by the chief of Roan Kiddi before his departure. My men employed cutting firewood down the river.

7th Easterly winds and fine. The natives drinking kava, and feasting. My men making wooden platforms for the large guns, and bringing firewood up in canoes to the biche de mer house.

8th Easterly winds and pleasant weather. No work done by my people being Sunday. The natives drinking kava, and feasting on yams & bread-fruit.

9th Easterly winds and fair weather. Engaged a Sunderland man, named Charles Dunn to cure the biche de mer for me. He has been residing on the Feejee Islands for a number of years, and has often been engaged curing biche de mer there, for the American trading vessels which frequent those Islands to procure cargoes of the slug. He was landed on this Island about 18 mos ago, and has been living along with the natives since. In the afternoon Dunn commenced fitting batters in the curing house, for drying the slug on. The natives still feasting, and drinking kava.

10th N.E. winds and fine. Employed cutting firewood and fitting up the Biche de mer house. The natives still pounding kava, and feasting.

11th Northerly winds and cloudy. Dunn still employed at the batters. My people cutting and bringing up firewood.

12th N.E. winds and fine. Employed as yesterday. At 4 P.M. The American whale ship 'Massachusetts' of Nantucket, Captain Seth Nickerson, out 16 months, arrived from the whaling grounds, having 800 barrels sperm oil on board. Captain Nickerson came on shore shortly afterwards, and spent the evening with me. He confirmed the opinion I had formed respecting the character of the white's on Bornabi, and thought my staying on shore, was rather a hazardous undertaking, having no vessel, or other means of making my escape from the island, should any conspiracy be formed against my life. He likewise said, that those white men who had boarded his ship outside the reef, were vowing vengeance against me, and were determined to use every effort, to prevent
me from forming any permanent establishment at this place. The only motive he could assign, for their hostility towards me, was a fear that I would enlighten the natives in respect to their true character, and thereby be the means of causing them to lose that ascendancy which they had so long held over them. The following occurrence, may give some idea, of the state of society, among the whites, on this island.

An American man of colour named Richard Reid made a sad complaint to me this evening, respecting a brutal assault committed by John Gibson on him the evening previous. It appeared from his statement, that he went to Gibson's house to enjoy himself, as he called it, (if getting drunk on the poisonous spirit distilled from the cocoa-nut toddy, can be called such) and after drinking with Gibson for some time, the latter, without any provocation, (as he says) kicked him out of his house—then tied his hands and feet and pelted him with stones; and had not the natives released him, and assisted him home, he believes he would have killed him.

13th N.E. Winds and fine. Employed finishing the biche de mer house, and cutting firewood.

14th N.E. winds and fair weather. Charles Dunn started for Joquoits in the morning, to purchase a large canoe for me, and returned in the evening, having succeeded in purchasing one. Employed cutting firewood &c

15th N.E. winds & cloudy. A number of the whalers men ashore on liberty. No work done.

16th Fresh N.E. winds. In the morning, I started in the whale boat for Matalanien in search of biche de mer, and arrived there about one O'Clock, in the afternoon, having pulled about 23 miles. I found two Malays, living there who had formerly been engaged curing biche de mer, at the Nicobar Islands.4 I made arrangements with them to cure the slug for me, and left George Millidge at their house with trade to pay the natives, and superintend the establishment. At 4 p.m. started for home, and reached Lord about sunset, where I found a Frenchman, named Lewis Coggat residing.5 I

4 In the Bay of Bengal, north of Sumatra.
5 Called 'Corgat' by Commander Blake of H.M.S. Larne (Blake 1839) and the Rev. L. H. Gulick in a letter to The Friend (December 1852). Louis Corgat (or Coggatt) was living on Mutok Island in March 1853 and Cheyne recommended him to the readers of his Sailing Directions as an 'experienced and trustworthy pilot'—Cheyne 1855: 137.
January 1843

remained at his house during the night—and was very hospitably entertained. I learned that he had been second mate of a Oahu vessel in 1835 commanded and owned by Capt'n Dudoit, a Frenchman, and that he left that vessel at his own request, and has been residing here since. He showed me several good testimonials from Masters of vessels, and appeared on the whole to be rather a superior person, as regards comparison with the other whites. Among other papers produced, I noticed one from an American whaling Captain, recommending him as a good pilot for Roan Kiddi harbour, and testifying to his sobriety, and general good conduct while on board his vessel as pilot and trading master, and recommending others to give him the preference. He gave me the history of John Brown, an English desperado, then living on the island of Tawbak, and produced some papers from masters of vessels, putting him on his guard, against this fellow, as he had threatened to take his life.

The character he depicted of the majority of the white's, was most disgusting to humanity. Murder, thieving, drinking, blasphemy and lying, formed the chief features in their character. As an instance of this, he gave me the following outline of two murders which were committed a short time previous, by some of the white's on their comrades.

An American named Townsend, residing in the Matalanien tribe, had purchased some tortoise shell from the chief's of Awack and Tawbak, and for which he had paid them honestly. Two Englishmen named George Salter and Edward Workman who were living in the Awack tribe, and the before mentioned John Brown, on hearing of this, were much annoyed at finding their chief's had sold their Tortoise shell, to a man living in another

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6 Jules Dudoit, who was at Ponape in 1836 as captain of the Avon, but quite possibly on earlier visits also. He was of French descent but, in fact, a British subject from Mauritius who had become a resident of Oahu. According to Commander Blake he played a discreditable part in the affair of the whaler Falcon at Ponape in 1836—Blake 1839. As commander of the Clementine he played a prominent role in the so-called Clementine affair in Hawaii in 1837, protesting the right of Catholic missionaries to work in the islands despite the opposition of the Protestant establishment. As a result of this action, he was authorised as French consular agent by Captain Laplace in 1838 and confirmed in the office by the Crown in 1839. Blake implies that Dudoit's assumption of consular status was nothing but a confidence trick (Blake 1839) but this, as we have seen, does him an injustice.

7 Mentioned by Blake (1839) as an informant and former crew member of the British whaler Falcon.
tribe, and were determined to be revenged on Townsend some way or other, for having the impudence, as they termed it, to purchase their shell. Accordingly, the trio met together at Salter’s house, and determined over their cups, that the man Townsend should die, but how to accomplish this so as to evade the law should it be discovered by English ship’s of war visiting the island, puzzled them for some time. At last it was proposed by John Brown, and unanimously agreed to by the other two, that some of the most depraved of the Tawbak natives should be bribed to commit the deed. John Brown soon produced a native who volunteered his services to shoot Townsend, provided those three men paid him a certain quantity of tortoise shell each for his trouble. This was at once agreed to, and a certain day appointed when Townsend was invited to join the three at dinner in Salter’s house. The native was stationed outside the door, with a loaded musket, and on a signal being given by the whites, he shot Townsend through the heart, and received his reward of tortoise shell from those men.

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[Georg]e M[ay]

dinner

similar

shall give a

[future] page, as con[session?]  

[Georg]e May.

17th N.E. winds and cloudy.

[C]oggat’s house and reached home at 2. Found the Biche de mer house finished and every thing ready for curing the slug. The natives brought me two green [turtle] in the evening which they had caught on the [flats] in a net. They have various mode[s] of catching them. The canoes go out with the nets about high water, and search over the flats, until they fall in with one. Two natives then jump overboard, having the end of the net in their hand, and surround the turtle with it. It is then easily caught, as the shallowness of the water, prevents the turtle from escaping from this enclosed space. Another mode, is, by surprizing them when asleep. An active native will jump on to the turtle’s back, and keep its head above water, until another makes a rope fast to the fore flippers, when it is easily hauled on board the canoe. They also catch them at night on the sandy beaches, when they come on shore to lay their eggs in the sand.

206
January 1843

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the canoes brought [biche de mer] & cutting firewood. Employed curing [biche de mer] & cutting firewood &c. Capt'n Nickerson

[ ]ishman named Freeman, and sent him on shore in the evening.

20th Easterly winds and fine. Employed at the Biche de mer. We got very few this day, as the greater part of the natives were on board the whaler.

21st Easterly winds and fine. Employed curing biche de mer.

22nd N.E. winds and fine. No work done being Sunday. The whalers men ashore on liberty.

23rd Easterly winds and fine. Got a few biche de mer. Employed cutting firewood. The curing house consumes a great quantity of wood. Capt'n Nickerson sent for me in the morning, to ask my advice, in regard to the legality of discharging his chief and third mate at this place. On hearing the case, it appeared that both these officers were incompetent to perform the duty they had shipped for, and that he wished to get quit of them in consequence. I told him

[Two whole pages missing here]

28th Variable winds and fine. The natives brought a few hundred biche de mer. Employed curing it and cutting firewood. The whaler sailed for a cruise.

29th Easterly winds and fine. No work done being Sunday. The chief of Roan Kiddi tribe arrived attended by a number of chiefs and dependents. Nannikan commenced feasting them immediately after their arrival.

30th Easterly winds with heavy rain at times. Great feasting and kava drinking going on in the council house. My men employed at the biche de mer. At noon his Majesty paid me a visit, and was received with a salute from the great guns, and much ceremony. Having received a handsome present, he returned to the feasting house, apparently much pleased with his reception. The murderer George May acted as interpreter.8

8 Described by both the medical missionary, L. H. Gulick and the writer of the log of H.M.S. Hazard as a Portuguese. Gulick accuses him of flogging to death a Frenchman, supercargo of the ship in which they were sailing at Kusaie (Strong's Island) about 1849 or 1850—manuscript papers of L. H. Gulick, American Board of Commissioners, Houghton Library, Harvard University (information supplied by Dr Saul Riesenberg). Cheyne mentions
31st Northerly winds with heavy rain. The natives feasting the king. Employed at the biche de mer. In the morning I was informed that George May wanted to see me, and on his being called in he said he wished to make a declaration of a murder to me, in which he had been concerned some years previous, and requested my advice as to how he should act, in the event of a ‘man of war’ visiting the island. I advised [him] to make a true confession of the whole affair [which I] would put in writing for him, and present [it] to the commanding officer of the first Ship of [War] which might visit the island.

The following is a copy of the declaration made by him in my presence.

‘About 4½ years ago, a man named John Mcfarlane,* a native of Scotland, deserted from a Oahu schooner at this island on account of some act of mutiny committed on board, during her passage from New Georgia to this place, by him and the crew, most of whom were Malays. They murdered the Captăn and chief mate, and the vessel was retaken, and brought here by the supercargo and second mate. Mcfarlane then went to live on the island of Naa (Matalanien tribe) and continued residing there, trading with whale ships, until about three years ago, when [t]his murder took place.

‘One night about 9 P.M. an Englishman named James Thomson came to my house, and told me a man named Edward Piggington residing at Matap near Matalanien harbour, had been shot that forenoon by John Mcfarlane.

‘It appeared that Piggington had purchased some Tortoise shell from Mcfarlane’s chiefs’ son the day previous; the same shell had been brought to Mcfarlane first, which he refused to purchase,

him again in connection with the murder by May of New Zealand Maoris (p. 287) and the murder by May of Cheyne’s supernumerary carpenter John Gill (p. 319). May was apprehended by the commanding officer of the Hazard at Ponape, on the charge of murdering John Gill, on 17 December 1845, this apparently being one of the objects of the Hazard’s voyage. He must later have been freed, however, for it appears that May himself was afterwards murdered at Ngatik—S.R.

* Father Maigret, the first missionary on Ponape, in 1838, refers several times in his diary to a Mr McFarling—manuscript diary, Catholic Diocese Chancery Office, Honolulu (information supplied by Dr Saul Riesenberg). Cheyne says McFarlane had deserted four and a half years earlier, that is about 1838, so that they may well be the same man, especially since McFarlane settled on Na, which is where Maigret lived—S.R.
January 1843

and when Mcfarlane heard that Piggington had bought it, the former immediately went to the island of Tekakek where the latter kept his pigs, and carried two of them off. The following morning Piggington heard that Mcfarlane had taken his pigs and went in his canoe to the island of Naa to demand his reason for doing so, and on his reaching the island, and being about to step out of the canoe, Mcfarlane said to him “you are far enough”, and immediately levelled his musket and shot him through the heart. After the man had fallen, Mcfarlane jumped on the body, and set his dog to bite it. When Mcfarlane was in the act of levelling his musket at Piggington, the latter said, “don’t fire at me, as I have got no arms about me”. James Thomson remained at my house that night, and on the following morning we went to Richard Reid’s house, where we met William Hoimes and Frederick Randall. After some consultation we all agreed to go up to “Billy Barlows” house and on our arrival there to muster all the white men, and determine what should be done with Mcfarlane. The following men then mustered at the house of “Billy Barlow”. Viz: John Martin, Henry Sam, Richard Reid, Frederick Randall, Smith, William Holmes, William Harris, James Hadley, Thomas Jeffreys, Abraham, John Brown, Shugru a Malay, Charles Thomson, James Thomson, and myself, making fifteen in number.

We then held a consultation as to what should be done with Mcfarlane, and it was unanimously agreed, that he should suffer death, by being tied to a tree, and fired at by all of us.

We then sent John Martin and James Thomson to Mcfarlane’s house, to enquire whether he intended giving himself up peaceably

10 Takatik.
11 Na.
12 Mentioned by Blake (1839) as having taken a prominent part in the Lambton affair of 1836, under the orders of Captain Hart.
13 Mentioned by Blake (1839) in connection with the Lambton affair. He acted as pilot to the Larne.
14 Mentioned by Blake (1839). Hadley’s daughter married the “Nannikan’s successor” (see p. 288n.) and their son was Henry Nanpei. Hadley left other progeny on Ponape and some modern Ponapeans bear his name, including the present Nahnmwarki of Metalanim—S.R. F. W. Christian, who visited Ponape in the 1890s, reports that Nanpei held strong American sympathies and was head of the Protestant mission schools established in his district—Christian 1899: 26.
or not. On their return they said he wanted us all to go over to his house.

‘Before we went over, some of the men said, “It will not do for us to shoot him as we are Englishmen, as a British man of war coming here, might take us away, and try us for murder, but as George May, is a native of Portugal, he can do it, as no English naval officer dare touch him”. They tapped me on the shoulder, and said “You are the man to do it,” and kept shaking me, saying “now’s your time George, no body shall hurt you for doing it.” They also kept plying me with grog to make me stupid, and being ignorant of the laws of England, I at last consented. We then went to Mcfarlane’s house, and on entering found a brace of loaded pistols on the table, together with nine loaded muskets—one nine pounder gun loaded, and a train laid under the house communicating with two kegs of gunpowder, ready to blow us up, in the event of our attempting to secure him. After some conversation, Mcfarlane agreed to go with us to Piggingtons house at Matap, and on our getting there, the men all sat down to dinner, with the exception of Mcfarlane and myself. Mcfarlane then said to me “George, why don’t you eat; you would not eat in my house, and you won’t eat here, surely you mean to do something”.

‘He then put his hand in his pocket, as if he meant to take a pistol out to fire on me, when, having a loaded musket in my hand, given me by John Brown, and Abraham, I pulled the trigger and the bullet passed through his side, he then fell wounded, and John Brown immediately drew his cutlass, and cut the wounded man’s skull open, saying at the same time “show me the man who will hurt George May”’. The men immediately rushed out of the house into their canoes, and went to the late Mcfarlane’s house, and carried off all his property. I had no hand in the robbery. The whole of the men were armed during the transaction.’

‘Ascension, Jany. 31st 1843’. (Signed) ‘George May.’

February 1st Fresh Easterly winds with heavy rain. Got a few pots of biche de mer. Employed curing it, cutting firewood &c. The king left in the evening.

2nd Easterly winds and cloudy. Employed at the biche de mer, cutting firewood &c.

3rd N.E. winds and fine, Employed cutting firewood, and curing biche de mer.

4th Easterly winds and fine. Employed as before. Supplied Edward Workman and Geo. Salter with some goods to be paid for in biche de mer.
February 1843

5th N.E. winds and fine. Some canoes brought a few hundred biche de mer. Employed curing it, cutting firewood, and bringing it up to the curing house in canoes.

6th Strong N.E. winds and showry. No biche de mer brought, the natives being away feasting. Employed cutting firewood and curing biche de mer.

7th Strong N.E. winds and squally. The natives still away feasting. Employed as before.

8th Strong N.E. winds and fair weather. A few canoes out for biche de mer, but they had poor success, not being able to see the slug, on account of the strong wind. The slug is only to be found in deep water at this island, and the natives have to dive for it.

9th Easterly winds and fine. A few hundred biche de mer brought in. Employed curing it, cutting firewood &c.

10th Easterly winds and fine. Employed as before.

11th Easterly winds and fine. The natives out for biche de mer, and had pretty good success. Employed curing; and cutting firewood.

12th N.E. winds and cloudy. No work done.

13th Variable winds and fine. Employed at the biche de mer, cutting and splitting firewood. The natives are getting tired, and wish me to give it up.

14th N.E. winds and gloomy, No biche de mer brought. The natives brought me a sample of ginger root, and informed me that a large quantity of it, could be easily procured.

15th Strong northerly winds with heavy rain. Drying biche de mer, and making preparations for cleaning and drying ginger.

16th Strong gales with rain. The natives cleaning ginger. My people employed variously.

17th Strong gales from N.E. with rain. Sent two of my men round the island with trade to procure ginger, and fixing cane platforms at the back of my house to dry it on. The natives away mourning over some deceased friend.

18th Strong winds and cloudy. Employed fixing platforms for the ginger, and making thatched covers for it. Two ships in sight at sundown.

19th N.E. winds and cloudy. No work done.

20th Easterly winds and showry. The natives brought several hundred weight of ginger. Still employed fitting places to dry it on.

21st Fresh gale and squally with rain. Employed as on the preceding days.
February-March 1843

22nd Easterly winds and showry. Got a quantity of ginger. Employed cleaning and drying it.

23rd Fresh gale from N.E. with rain. Employed at the ginger. Brought some round in the boat from the station of Tomaralong.15

24th Fresh N.E. gale and cloudy. Procured a quantity of ginger. Employed cleaning and drying it.

25th Easterly winds and showry. Employed fixing platforms on the island of Naalap to dry ginger on.

26th N.E. winds and squally. No work done.

27th Strong N.E. wind with showers—purchased several cwt. of ginger. Employed cleaning & drying it. Two hands fixing platforms on Naalap. Fetched half a ton of ginger from Tomaralong in the boat.

28th Easterly winds and fine. Purchased a large quantity of ginger. Sent half a ton over to Naalap. 2 P.M. The American whaler 'Martha' of Newport, Captain Davenport, arrived from the whaling grounds, out 15 months, 950 barrels sperm oil on board.


2nd Strong N.E. wind and fine weather. Procured a quantity of ginger. Sent some over to Naalap.

3rd Easterly winds and cloudy. Employed at the ginger. Purchased a good deal from K-par natives.

4th Easterly winds and showry. Employed surveying the harbour. Got the loan of some boat anchors and an anvil from Capt. Davenport to fix station buoys to; left the anvil, as an anchor to a droag and whiff on the edge of the reef for the night, the survey not being completed. I heard from Capt. Davenport in the evening, that some of the white's, who had been on board of his vessel, had threatened to shoot me, and advised me to be on my guard.

5th Easterly winds and fine. No work done being sunday. On looking on the reef for the anvil, found it had been stolen by some person, but could not learn who had taken it; supposed it to be one of the white's. At 8 A.M. a small schooner16 commanded by a

15 Tomorolong village; 6°50'N, 158°8'E, on the south-west coast, north of Ronkiti.
16 The schooner Shaw, 35 tons, commanded by Du Pernet, sailed from Honolulu on 17 January 1843 'on a shell voyage' to Ponape—manuscript journal of
March 1843

Mr Du pernet (A frenchman) arrived from Oahu, out 23 days. She is under French colours, and brings a report, that a French frigate is on her passage from the Sandwich Islands, and bound here, to take possession of this island.\footnote{Throughout 1842 and early 1843, the Pacific was rife with rumours that the French intended to seize one group or another. The rumours were given foundation by the actions of Admiral du Petit Thouars in his annexation of the Marquesas in 1842 and his intervention in Tahiti, which led to the declaration of the French protectorate there in 1843. When Du Pernet left Honolulu, the news of the official recognition of the Marquesan annexation had probably just reached the town. At Dudoit’s urgent request, du Petit Thouars had sent the \textit{Embuscade}, commanded by Mallet, to investigate charges of violation (contrary to the Laplace Treaty of 1839) of the rights of French citizens and the Catholic Mission in Hawaii. It was thought that this would result in an extension of the French imperium to Hawaii. The mood of the French naval commanders was certainly an aggressive one at the time and it is not surprising that rumour-mongers had begun to include Ponape in the French orbit of interest. The Foreign Affairs Ministry did not, however, share the naval enthusiasm for empire-building and the story proved groundless.}

The schooner is only about 40 tons burthen, and very poorly armed; her crew consists only of 7 men including the Master. He intends however going on a trading voyage, amongst the islands to the westward of Bornabi, but I think if he does so, his chance of returning will be but small.

I remained on board the ‘Martha’ until 6 P.M. and then went on shore along with Capt\textsuperscript{n} Davenport, who had been sleeping in my house since his arrival.

When we landed, we found my house surrounded by several armed natives, who said they had been placed there by ‘Nannikan’ to protect the property during my absence, as intelligence had been brought to him before dark, that John Brown, George May, and about thirty Tawbak natives, were lying concealed in the bush, a short distance from the house, and that they intended to make an attack on my house about midnight, and murder us all. We immediately commenced making preparations for our defence, and Capt\textsuperscript{n} Davenport sent on board for a reinforcement of men. The mate sent nine well armed, who remained with us during the night. We were obliged to extinguish all lights in the house, as the interstices through the canes, would have enabled them to have seen us. Our force of Europeans amounted to 17—and the whole of us kept under arms, and awake.

William Paty, Harbormaster’s records, Archives of Hawaii (information supplied by Dr Gavan Daws). The \textit{Shaw} was lost on this same voyage shortly after leaving Ponape on the way to Guam—Ward 1967: VI, 145.
March 1843

6th Easterly winds and fine. Went on board the whaler to breakfast, and found John Brown and George May there. I accused them of the conspiracy, but they denied it strongly, and said the whole story was invented by the Roan Kiddi people; but even although they appeared innocent, the natives must have had some foundation for raising such a report. Employed at the ginger. Two men deserted from the whaler, having been enticed away by some of the whites. The Captain offered the natives a reward if they would deliver them up.

7th Easterly winds and fine. Employed at the ginger. Heard from the natives in the morning that a man named Robinson,\(^\text{18}\) had got the two deserters concealed near Wonah. I immediately sent a messenger for Robinson, pretending that I wanted to speak to him about collecting ginger. He came to my house about sunset; and as soon as he had entered, Capt\(^n\) Davenport told him he was his prisoner and handcuffed him. Robinson immediately said ‘it was not me that stole the anvil, Capt\(^n\) Cheyne, it was Jack Simpson’. We were rather astonished at this confession, as we had no suspicion that he knew any thing about the anvil, having taken him prisoner solely for the purpose of recovering the two deserters. Captain Davenport then sent him on board his ship, and put him in irons.

The next thing we did was to secure Jack Simpson, which we effected by stratagem, similar to the former. He made a full confession of having stolen the anvil, but said Robinson was equally guilty, and that he was the first to propose it. He was also sent on board the ship, and put in irons along with his companion.

8th Northerly winds with rain. The natives brought back the anvil, and two deserters to me in the forenoon, and I paid them the reward offered by the Captain. He came on shore for his two men, and on going on board, seized up Robinson and Simpson in the main rigging, and gave them three dozen lashes each, and then released them.

Served them right. This punishment was witnessed by a great number of natives, and helped to enlighten them a little with respect to the true character of the whites. I made it a rule during

\(^{18}\) A white man named Robinson asked the missionary L. H. Gulick on 12 August 1854 for smallpox inoculation and on 23 March 1857 for primers for his family—manuscript papers of L. H. Gulick, American Board of Commissioners, Houghton Library, Harvard University (information supplied by Dr Saul Riesenberg).
March 1843

my whole stay at this island, never to allow one of those vagabonds to enter my house, or to have any intercourse with my people.

I learned from the natives in the afternoon that the master of the French schooner, had been telling them, that his countrymen would, on taking possession of the island, take their land from them and drive them back to the mountains. Telling the natives such untruths, says little for his honesty, and tends to make the natives much worse than they otherwise would be.

I also learned from good authority that (on the 6th Instant,) the lower class of chiefs in this tribe had formed a conspiracy to murder all the Europeans on the island, with the exception of myself and men; and which was only prevented from taking place, by the interference of the King and ‘Nannikan’.

The following occurrence gave rise to it. In 1840 two Frenchmen who had deserted from a whaler, cut down a number of breadfruit and cocoanut trees on the Ant Islands; and when the proprietor Shou Shabert heard of it, he sent a party of his natives over, and killed the two men. No notice had been taken of this affair, by any of the whites on the island, until the report was brought by the schooner that the French were coming to take possession of Bornabi, when John Gibson one day said to Shou Shabert, ‘are you aware that some French men of war are coming to take possession of this place, and make you slaves. You may rest assured, that when they do come, they will make you pay dearly for killing those two Frenchmen on the Ant Islands’. This remark of Gibson’s frightened Shou Shabert, and the others concerned with him in the murder, so much, that they thought their only chance of safety depended on making away with the whites, so that their might be no evidence against them.

9th Variable winds with heavy rain. No work done. The natives feasting, and holding long discussions about the French.

10th Variable winds with rain. Mr Edward du Pernet Master of the French Schooner, and Lewis Coggatt came on shore in the forenoon, to see the chiefs about purchasing land in this tribe. The chiefs came to me for advice, and said they did not like to sell their land to the French, but would rather that I bought it, so as to protect it for them when the French came. After some discussion with regard to the price, and portions to be reserved by them, we ultimately came to an agreement, and I paid them goods to the amount of Fifty Pounds sterling, for the whole land in Wonah tribe, together with all the small islands belonging to the same,
giving them a right to the whole of their plantations, houses, breadfruit and cocoa-nut trees &c. By this I became the legal purchaser of all the unoccupied land in the tribe, and I had deeds drawn out, and signed by the King and nobles.

The natives appear in a very unsettled state, and labouring under great excitement, in consequence of falsehoods told them by the rascally whites, with respect to the treatment they may expect at the hands of the French. The reports emanating from those scoundrels, keep the natives in a constant ferment.

The whites are daily threatening to take my life, and have bribed the Tawbak natives, to sell them the tortoise shell they had collected for me, as payment for the muskets and powder advanced them. In consequence of the threats of those vagabonds, It would not be safe at present for me to leave home to look after the goods I have advanced the natives, as those fellows always carry firearms in their canoes when travelling, and would not hesitate to shoot me, could they get a favourable opportunity.

11th Variable winds with rain. The natives are in a very excited state. The whites have been telling them that a fleet of French ships are coming to kill them all. The greater part of the ginger has spoiled, through the wet weather preventing us from getting it dried.

12th Light winds and fine. No work done. The natives still labouring under great excitement.

13th Variable winds with rain. Employed picking the ginger. The greater part of it is entirely spoilt. The natives in a very unsettled state.

14th Easterly winds and squally. Visited the King at Wonah in the forenoon, and found all the natives busy cleaning muskets, casting bullets, and making cartridges. On enquiring the meaning of this warlike preparation, they told me that they had been persuaded by the Whites to oppose the landing of the French by armed force, and that they intended doing so.

15th Easterly winds with rain. Nothing doing. The natives still feasting, and holding animated discussions about the French.

16th Northerly winds and squally. Employed variously. A ship in sight at sundown.

17th Easterly winds and fine. The American whaler ‘William & Eliza’ of New Bedford, Captain Rogers, arrived from Oahu, out 7 weeks.\(^{19}\)

\(^{19}\) The *William and Eliza*, 321 tons, had sailed from Honolulu on 2 January 1843 after 36 months out—manuscript journal of William Paty, Harbormaster’s records, Archives of Hawaii (information supplied by Dr Gavan Daws).
March 1843

18th N.E. winds and fine. Employed variously. I heard from the natives, that George May told the King when I purchased the land, that I only wanted it, to sell to the French. Went on board the ‘William & Eliza’ in the evening, and was introduced by Captain Rogers to a Mr Marzetti, a passenger from Oahu, who is on his way to the Bonin Islands, where he has been residing for some years, and has some ground under cultivation there. Captain Rogers confirmed the report, of the French coming to take possession of this island.

19th Variable winds and squally. No work being Sunday. The whalers crews ashore on liberty.

20th Northerly winds and fine. Employed variously. Two ships in sight at sundown.

21st Easterly winds, and squally with rain. Arrived the ship ‘Omega’ of Nantucket, Capt. Hagerty, out 30 months 1200 barrels Sperm oil; also the ship ‘Edward Carey’ Capt. Toby, out 17 months, 550 barrels.

22nd Easterly winds and squally. Employed variously. The whale ships coopering their oil, and wooding and watering. Sent a messenger to Tawbak.

23rd N.E. winds with rain. Employed cutting firewood &c. The Tawbak natives refused to return the goods I had advanced them; and John Brown sent back word that he had purchased all my tortoise shell from the natives, and that If I wanted payment, to come and take it by armed force, as he was determined I should obtain it by no other means.

24th N.E. winds and cloudy. At 8 A.M. started for the Matalanien tribe in my whale boat, accompanied by the whaling Captains in four boats, well armed, making in all thirty Europeans. Our object for making this warlike demonstration, was for the purpose of showing the natives, that I was not unprotected, as the white scoundrels had represented me to be, and that any injury done me or my people, would most certainly be punished by the whalers visiting the island. We arrived at Matalanien about

20 Possibly a mistake for Mazarro, made under the influence of the Christian name Matteo. The Bonin Islands were apparently uninhabited at the time of first European contact, but were visited by whalers in the 1820s. A band of colonists (including Matteo Mazarro) settled there in 1830 and traded with whalers. In 1842 Mazarro was recognised by the acting British consul, Alexander Simpson, as exercising authority on the group until a British administrator was appointed, which never happened. The islands were annexed by Japan in 1877.
March 1843

sunset, and remained at Thomson's house during the night. He was the 'Bulls' pilot, and before leaving his house in the morning, I discovered the two cooking pots which had been stolen from that vessel, which I have before mentioned. I however, took no notice of this, as it would only have caused mischief.

We visited the ruins near Matalanien harbour which I have before alluded to, and after calling on the chief Noach, examined the harbour, and land around it. The land is low and thickly wooded at the head of the harbour, but it becomes hilly, after getting a short distance inland, and rises with a gradual ascent to the mountains. A small river runs some distance inland at its N.W. part, and is very convenient for ships wooding and watering. The shores are fronted with mangrove trees, which renders it difficult to land, except in the river, and other small channels formed by nature.

On our return to the chief's house, I made proposals to purchase a large tract of land at the head of the harbour, commencing at the river, running along its shores, to the south side, and back to the centre of the island. To this he readily assented, and the bargain was concluded by a promise on my part, to pay him goods to the amount of Ten Pounds Sterling, on my return to Roan Kiddi. Captain Rogers also purchased the island of Tamatam or Taman for Five Pounds Sterling.

The hospitality of this chief is worthy of remark. He had a pig killed, and prepared an excellent supper for all hands. The pig was baked South Sea fashion, in an oven of hot stones.

26th N.E. winds and fine weather. 10 A.M. started for home, accompanied by Noach with 21 about a dozen canoes full of attendants. 2 P.M. got on board the 'William & Eliza', and paid Noach for the land, in muskets, powder, cloth, tobacco, shirts, and trousers. Wrote out deeds, and got them signed by him, and the other proprietors of the land.

Arrived the whale ships 'Elizabeth' of Salem, Captain Hedge, out 26 months, 950 barrels sperm, and 'Potomac' of Nantucket, Captain Hussey, out 18 months, 750 barrels sperm oil, from the whaling grounds. Employed cutting firewood.

27th N.E. winds and fine. Employed cutting firewood &c. The whalers coopering their oil.

21 The manuscript has 'without'—presumably a slip under the influence of the next word.
Arrived, the whale ships ‘Massachusetts’ of Nantucket, Captain Nickerson, out 18 months 850 barrels sperm. The ‘Mount Vernon’ of Nantucket, Captain Embert, out 40 months, 2000 barrels sperm, and the ‘Levi Starbuck’ of Nantucket, Captain Nye, out 22 months, 750 barrels sperm.

28th Easterly winds and showry. Employed cutting firewood, and drying biche de mer.

29th Variable winds with rain. Employed as before. The Whalers coooping their oil, wooding and watering & c.

30th Variable winds with rain. The ships wooding and watering & c.

31st Northerly winds with rain. Employed cutting firewood, and drying biche de mer.

April 1st N.E. winds and cloudy. Employed cutting firewood, and drying biche de mer.

2nd Northeast winds with rain. No work done being Sunday. A number of men ashore on liberty.

3rd Northerly winds with rain. Employed cutting firewood. The whalers wooding and watering.

4th Variable winds with rain. Nothing done by my people. The whalers watering in the river.

5th Northerly winds with rain. Employed cutting firewood & c. George Millidge got an Epileptic fit.

6th N.E. winds and fine. The whale ship ‘William & Eliza’ sailed for the cruizing grounds.

7th N.E. winds and fine. At daylight the natives reported, a schooner in sight; manned the boat and went out to meet her; at 8 got on board and found it was the ‘Wave’ out 6 weeks from China, sent down to me by my employers. Found one of the Europeans named Goliah, on board as pilot, but knowing him to be a bad character, I turned him on shore, and piloted the schooner in myself.

I learned from the letters received by the ‘Wave’ that the authorities at Hong-Kong had refused to allow the prisoner Boyd to land there, under a penalty of £100 to the ship, and that they would take no cognizance of the matter.

22 Gulick records that, on 15 August 1854, he inoculated a black Portuguese Goliah and his three wives. On 23 March 1857 he gives the information that Goliah had been twenty years on Ponape and had started to learn to read—manuscript papers of L. H. Gulick, American Board of Commissioners, Houghton Library, Harvard University (information supplied by Dr Saul Riesenberg).
April 1843

The Bull’s cargo of sandal wood had been sold, at a very low price, say $4 ½ pr picul. The price obtained had however paid all expenses, and left a profit of $1800. I was recommended to try and procure a cargo of sandal wood for the ‘Wave’, if practicable, but at the same time to use my own discretion in the matter, as to whether I should return in her at once, or go to the Loyalty Islands for wood, bearing in mind that they could only spare the vessel’s services for 5 months in all.

On inspecting the goods sent down, I found it would not suit the natives of the sandal wood islands, being chiefly ship chandlery stores, and not the description of goods ordered by me.

This gross neglect, convinced me that I would not be able to procure a cargo of sandal wood in the specified time, and would have only been incurring more expense by attempting it; the schooner being chartered for $800 pr. month, and two months of her time being already expired, put such an undertaking entirely out of the question.

I therefore made up my mind to return in her at once to China, and make arrangements for another voyage.

I took the second officer Mr Steel on shore to my house, he being very ill with dysentery at the time. Commenced drying the biche de mer again.

8th N.E. winds and fine. Employed drying the biche de mer, and making preparations to leave the island. The schooners crew employed refitting the main rigging &c.

9th Easterly winds and fine. No work done being Sunday. The vessels crews ashore on liberty.

10th Easterly winds and fine. Employed cutting firewood for the schooner, and drying biche de mer. I sold goods to the amount of $200 to the whalers; and had I been furnished with the description of stores they required, I could have easily disposed of $2000 worth, to the ships in the harbour, at 50 pr cent profit, and received the payment in sperm oil at £40 pr tun. The whaling captains still urged me to form an establishment at this place for the purpose of supplying them with provisions and stores, and assured me that the greater part of their whaling fleet would patronize me, were I

23 Or about £17 per ton, reckoning the Spanish dollar at 4s 6d sterling.

24 Profits on such exotic products as sandalwood were often greatly overrated in the popular imagination. This (about £400 sterling) can certainly not be considered a vast profit on a large and risky capital outlay, five months’ labour, and much personal danger.

220
April 1843

once established; but my dear bought experience during the few months I had been living on shore, led me to see that it would be unsafe for any person to attempt such a thing, in the present lawless state of the whites.

11th Easterly winds and fine. Employed packing and drying biche de mer. The schooners crew refitting the main rigging. Arrived the American whaler ‘Fortune’, Captain Amly, out 30 months 450 barrels, sperm oil. Sailed the ship ‘Martha’ Captain Davenport on a whaling cruise.

12th N.E. winds and cloudy. Employed cutting firewood for the schooner, & drying biche de mer.


14th N.E. winds and fine. Shipped the biche de mer; only twelve piculs in all. Employed filling water and bringing off firewood.

Arrived the American whaler ‘Lalla Rook’, also the American whale ship ‘Java’, both from the whaling grounds.

15th N.E. winds and fine. Employed getting the schooner ready for sea. Sent the guns and all my things on board. I sent to the chief Shou Shaber in the evening, requesting payment for the goods I had advanced him, but the man returned without either the payment or the things. The chief said he had collected 25 lbs tortoise shell for me, but that the whites had bribed him to sell it to them, which he had done; and as the most of the things he had received from me, were in use, he could not return it; but promised to pay for it in shell, on my return to the island.

I may remark that this chief’s case was not the only instance of the way I was treated while residing on shore at this place, but that all the others at different parts of the island to whom I had advanced goods, were bribed and persuaded by the whites, not to pay me.

I do not blame the natives, as they knew no better, and were of a too covetous disposition to resist a bribe when offered to them; but I solely blame the white vagabonds for the losses I sustained at this island, during my stay on shore, and on every subsequent visit.

A number of the whites through their plausibleness, obtained a quantity of goods from me, on my first landing from the schooner ‘Bull’, for which I was never paid; and when pressing them for payment, I only met with abuse, and threats, that if I came near
April-May 1843

their houses they would murder me. I lost fully £100, at this time by the natives and whites, for goods advanced them.

16th Northeast winds and fine. Captain Jones of the Wave and myself walked about six miles inland to view the country, this forenoon. The heat was very oppressive, and by the time I got back to Roan Kiddi, I was scarcely able to walk for pain and giddiness in my head, occasioned through exposure to a burning vertical sun. I was so ill when I reached the vessel, that I was obliged to go to bed, and got quite delirious soon after, having got a stroke of the sun.

Removed Mr Steel 2nd officer on board in the evening; he is still very ill.

17th Northeast winds and cloudy. At 8 A.M. weighed and got safe out to sea. At noon lost sight of the island, and shaped our course for Tinian, one of the Ladrone Islands. From this time until the 20th I remained in a state of delirium; on the evening of that day a change for the better took place and after a refreshing sleep, I awoke perfectly restored to reason, but in a very weak state.

I continued to mend gradually during the rest of our passage, which was prolonged by light Westerly winds until the 10th of May, on which day we arrived at Hong Kong. Poor Mr Steel breathed his last a few hours before we got to an anchor. We buried him at Hongkong on the following morning. The funeral service was read by the Chaplain of H.M.S. Wellesly, the Flagship of Admiral Sir William Parker.

On the 12th May we anchored in Macao roads and I waited on Mr Burn & Captain Walker the same day. The biche de mer was landed on the following day, and the Wave sailed for Hongkong to take in opium for the coast.

On looking over the accounts I found the Wave's voyage to Ascension had consumed all the profits of the Bull's cargo of Sandal-wood, and caused a loss of $600 besides. The sending of this vessel down was a badly managed affair.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

Purchase the American Brig 'Joseph Peabody'—change her name to the 'Naiad'—I take command of her—Copy of my Agreement with her owners—Obtain a Sailing Letter for her—Commence fitting out for a trading voyage—Ship a Lascar crew—Proceed to Hongkong—Discover the mainmast to be rotten—Thomas Boyd again—Prepare for sea—Sail for the Pacific—Station the crew—Make boarding nettings—Fitting gun gear—Excercise the crew at great guns, and small arms—Arrive at the Pallou Islands—Meet with a kind reception from Abba Thulle—Spanish Brig 'Magallanes'—Build a biche de mer house—Place Mr Stanford 2nd officer in charge of the establishment—Prepare for sea—Sail for Yap—Touch at the Matelotas Isles—Arrive at Yap—Reception by the natives—Build biche de mer houses—Witness a grand religious ceremony—one of the seacunnies deserts—The Influenza breaks out among the natives—a conspiracy formed by the natives to cut us off—Five Lascars carried off by the natives—They refuse to deliver them up—Prepare for sea—Frustrate an intended attack on the vessel by firing in the direction of the town at night—The natives retreat to the hills, and leave us at liberty to get safe out to sea—Sail for Ascension.

The Gentlemen I was connected with in China, were so well satisfied with my conduct during the 'Bull's' voyage, that they proposed on my arrival in the 'Wave' to purchase a vessel for me

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1 The Palau group in the Caroline Islands lies approximately between lat. 6° 50' and 8° 15' N and long. 133°50' and 134°45'E.
2 Ngulu Atoll: 8°27'N, 137°29'E. See p. 243n.
adapted for the South Sea Island trade, and desired me to proceed to Hongkong, and make enquiries regarding the purchase of a suitable vessel: which I did, but found none there. During my absence however, Captain Walker had examined an American Brig of 200 Tons, named the ‘Joseph Peabody’, lying in the Typa for sale, and had expressed his opinion to Mr Burn that she was in every respect sound and suitable for the trade.

She was eleven years old, built at Salem, of American oak, coppered and copper fastened, a very fast sailer, and had been built for, and engaged in the Smuggling trade on the west coast of America. I also examined her, but could not find any defects. On the 4th of June 1843, Mr Burn purchased her from Captain Domino for $9,000, and I took command of her on the same day.

It was proposed by Capt Walker, and agreed to by Mr Burn, that I should hold one fourth share of the Vessel, and adventure in lieu of wages, and that she should be manned by a crew of Lascars who were to receive monthly wages. It was also agreed that I should form biche de mer establishments at different Islands in the Pacific, leaving an officer and a party of men in charge at each place, and call for them on my return to China. I was also instructed to return to China within the year, on account of the vessel’s Sailing Letter, being limited to 12 months—as her absence from China after its expiration, would make her liable to seizure.

I shipped a crew on the 6th June consisting of the following number of Europeans & Lascars Viz:—Three Mates, one Gunner, one sailmaker, and four sea cunnies or quartermasters, being Europeans, and a Serang, three tindals, and forty eight lascars including cooks, and servants; also three Chinese Carpenters, and one blacksmith making 65 in number.

We named the Brig the ‘Naiad’, and armed her with ten carriage guns, consisting of two 12-pr. carronades, 4 9-pr, medium guns—2 6-pr medium d°, and 2 4-pr medium d°, and Seventy stand of small arms, with plenty of ammunition.

The following is a copy of the Agreement, relating to the purchase and employment of the Naiad, as entered into by myself & the other owners.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT, relating to the purchase, employment &c of the Brig ‘Naiad’, Captain Andrew Cheyne, entered into in Macao in China between the undersigned, this ninth day of June, one thousand, Eight hundred & forty three.
June 1843

1st The 'Naiad' is purchased on account of and declared to be held as the joint property of the following parties, in the proportions set opposite their respective names.

David Laing Burn  One quarter
John Walker       One quarter
Andrew Cheyne     One quarter
Thomas D. Neave   One Eighth
Henry Fessenden   One Eighth

2nd It is agreed that a Pass from the Government of Hongkong shall be taken out for the said vessel, and that she shall be held in the name of David Laing Burn.

3rd That the said vessel when in China, is to be placed under the sole control of the said Mr. Burn, or that of his firm Mo Vicar & Co.

4th Captain Andrew Cheyne to command the said vessel, and use his utmost endeavours to carry out the objects of her voyage by procuring a cargo of biche de mer or other produce, without fee or reward beyond his above specified share of one fourth, to which extent it is understood he is also to be interested in the trade and earnings of the said vessel.

5th The other parties above named to be also interested to the extent of their respective shares in all the profits or losses arising out of the voyage, trade or employment of the said vessel.

6th In the event of the voyage proving unprofitable, or disputes arising among the undersigned, Mr. Burn either on behalf of himself or his firm of Macvicar & Co to have the option of taking the said vessel over either on his own account, or that of the said firm at her original cost, or such smaller sum as may upon examination by competent parties be named as just and proper allowance for wear and tear.

7th A distinct account of the outfit, cost disbursements, earnings &c of the said vessel to be kept by Mr. Fessenden who is hereby authorized to sanction all necessary payments, grant receipts &c

In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this ninth day of June, in the Year of our Lord One thousand, Eight hundred and forty three.

We were obliged to give the Lascars six months advance of wages, before the Ghant Serang would allow them to go on board,
and even then we were obliged to take such men as he chose to send. The Ghant Serang in China and India is a licensed shipping master and boarding house keeper, who contracts with Captains to find them a crew at so much per month per man; he receives the men’s advance of wages on shipping them, and engages to fill up any vacancy caused by desertion previous to the ship’s sailing.

Having taken on board what stores we had purchased at Macao, and received our Sailing Letter from Sir Henry Pottinger, we removed the vessel from the Typa to Macao roads on the 8th, weighed for Hong Kong on the 9th and arrived there on the following morning.

On the morning of the 11th we commenced watering, and restowing the hold. About 11 A.M. I was rather surprised by receiving a summons from Major Caine Chief Magistrate, requesting my attendance at the Police court on the following day to answer a charge preferred against me by Thomas Boyd (the man I sent up in the ‘Bull’ from Ascension as prisoner) for forcible abduction from the Island of Ascension & false imprisonment on board the ‘Bull’. Before leaving Macao I learned that this Thomas Boyd was on board the ‘Ackbar’ War Steamer, having been removed on board that vessel from the ‘Bull’ by order of Sir H. Pottinger, and detained there since, waiting my return from the islands to see what charge I had against him. I mentioned this to Mr Burn at Macao, and he advised me to press the matter no farther, as he thought the man had been sufficiently punished already.

Finding no charge preferred (by me) against him on my arrival, led him to think of entering this action against me for damages.

At 11 A.M. on the 12th I went to the Police court when Thomas Boyd made his appearance, and being sworn, charged me with taking him off the island of Ascension by armed force, and keeping him in irons on board the ‘Bull’ for 33 days. He swore that he owned four houses in Ascension where he was permanently settled, which together with his goods he valued at the enormous sum of £225 Sterling. He also solemnly swore that the shackle which attached a small topsail sheet chain to his leg, weighed 75 lbs, besides a great many other falsehoods which he solemnly declared to be the truth. He had no witnesses to prove this charge, neither had I any (at this time) to refute it. Major Caine requested me to make out a written defence, which he would present to Sir Henry Pottinger for his opinion.
June 1843

I wrote down a true statement of the case, and handed it to Major Caine on the following day for presentation to Sir Henry Pottinger. I may here make a few remarks on Boyd's evidence—So far from Boyd being possessed of property to the amount of £225, his whole effects put together were actually not worth ten pounds; and with respect to his four houses, he only possessed one, which was built for him by the natives at a cost of 6 lbs of tobacco, equal to nine shillings sterling. So far from the shackle weighing 75 lbs it did not weigh three, being a small topsail sheet shackle belonging to the schooner, but it is needless making any more remarks on the subject as he was a most depraved wretch, capable of fabricating any untruth, or committing any crime.

On the afternoon of the 13th while hoisting water on board, discovered the Mainmast to be completely rotten, near and above the spider hoop. Captain Domino assured me before the Brig was purchased that her spars were all sound; but he must have known the state of the mainmast before, as I discovered it while walking the quarter deck, by observing the topmast wavering when pulling on the main yard tackle. We at once commenced sending the yards & topmast on deck, and on the following day rigged sheers, and took the mast out. It was fortunate we discovered it before going to sea, as it might have occasioned the loss of the vessel.

We had much difficulty in getting a spar for a new mast, and the only one we could get, was a Singapore poon spar, which cost, including the making, the enormous sum of $375.

On the 14th I received a note from Mr Leathly, Mr Burn's representative at Hongkong, acquainting me that Sir Henry Pottinger had sent him a private note expressing his opinion in regard to Boyd's affair, and advising me to try and compromise the matter, by giving him a passage back to Ascension, and paying him a small sum of money as an equivalent for the losses he had sustained through being taken off that island; and in the event of effecting a compromise with him, the charge would be dismissed; but should Boyd refuse to compromise the matter, he would have to refer it to the home government, before he could give a decision; and in that case I would have to find bail before leaving Hongkong, to answer the charge whenever it might be again brought forward. I sent for Thomas Boyd on the following day, and got him to consent to a compromise. The terms were,—
that I should take him back to Ascension and pay him fifty
spanish dollars, as damages for his imprisonment on board the
'Bull'. I paid him the Fifty dollars at once, and he immediately
went to the Police court, declared to Major Caine that he was
satisfied with the compromise, and withdrew his charge against
me. The case was then dismissed.

We got all ready for sea by the evening of the 23rd and sailed
at 7 A.M. next morning, with a light breeze from S.W. 9 passed
through the Lama channel, and stood towards the Lema.

Noon the north end of the Great Lema bore south distant
5 miles. Steering E. by S. P.M. Out all Starboard Studding
sails.

25th Moderate breeze and fine weather throughout. All sail
set. Steering East. At 10 A.M. mustered the ship's company in
clean clothes and stationed them for Tacking and Wearing ship.

26th Light Southerly winds and fine weather. 7 A.M. stationed
the crew for reefing, and at 9 mustered them in Divisions and put
them through the small arm excercise. Noon Lat. obs. 20°49' N.
Long. chr. 119°36' E. P.M. Light breeze and hot sultry weather.

27th A.M. Light airs and fine. Commenced fitting Gun
breechings and tackles. Tradesmen fitting gun ports, and making
rammers & sponges.

Noon Lat. obs. 20°57' N. Long. chr. 120°36'E. P.M. Light
airs and calms.

28th Light Easterly winds and cloudy. Employed fitting gun
gear. Carpenters & blacksmith fitting port hinges. Havildar &
Seapoys cleaning small arms. Lat. obs. 20°7'N. Long. chr.120°
42'E. P.M. Light airs and fine. Bar: 29.73 Inches.

29th A.M. Light winds from S.E. Employed as before—
Standing to the eastward between Grafton and Monmouth
122°3'E. Grafton Island bearing N. by E. Monmouth peak
S.E. ½S. 1 P.M. got clear of the islands, and continued standing
to the E.N.E. close hauled.

Note. The above islands are not correctly placed in the Charts,
with respect to their Latitude.

30th A.M. southeast winds and squally. Standing to the N.E.
Employed fitting gun gear. Tradesmen variously. Seapoys
cleaning small arms. Noon Lat. obs. 21°26' N. Long. chr. 124°
3'E. P.M. moderate and fine. Tacked to the Southward.

July 1st A.M. Easterly winds and cloudy. Employed as on
July 1843

preceding days. Noon Lat. obs. 19°53' N. Long. chr. 124°38' E. P.M. Northerly winds & squally. Steering S.E.

2nd A.M. Decreasing northerly breeze. All sail set. 9. Mustered the crew in clean clothes. Noon Lat. obs. 19° 10'N. Long. chr. 125°12' E. P.M. Light westerly airs and fine.

3rd A.M. Light S.W. airs and calms. Finished the gun gear in the forenoon. Seapoys cleaning small arms. Tradesmen variously. Noon Lat. obs. 18° 52'N. Long. chr. 125°19'E. P.M. Light airs and fine. 4 Beat to Quarters and exercised the crew at the great guns.


5th Variable winds from south and east throughout. Tacking occasionally. Employed as before. Noon Lat. obs. 18°46'N. Long. chr. 126°18'E.


8th A.M. Easterly winds and hazy with a heavy S.E. swell on. Employed as before. Noon Lat. obs. 15°57'N. Long. chr. 127°16'E. P.M. Light winds and cloudy.

9th Light southerly winds with passing showers. Tacking occasionally. 9 mustered the ship's company in clean clothes. Noon Lat. obs. 14°59'N. Long. chr. 127°36' E. Ends with light southerly winds & fine weather.


11th A continuance of light southerly winds throughout. Noon Lat. obs. 14°8' N. Long. 128°53'E. Employed during this and the
preceding week getting all the gun gear in order, making boarding nettings, and exercising the crew at great guns and small arms occasionally.

12th Light southeasterly winds throughout. Noon Lat. obs. 12°41' N. Long. chr. 128°23'E. Mr Mackie chief officer, informed me about this time that no less than fifteen of our lascars, (who had been sent on board as able seamen by the Ghant Serang at Macao) had never been at sea before, and did not know the name even of a single rope or mast in the ship.


14th Light southwesterly winds and fine. Finished the boarding nettings, making wads, and fitting boats gear. Carpenters making arm chests for the tops. Sailmaker making a new quarter deck awning. Gunner and Seapoys filling great gun Cartridges, and putting new flints in the muskets and pistols. Noon Lat. obs. 11°33'N. Long. chr. 129°1'E.

We inspected our gunpowder this afternoon, and found about fifty kegs out of the seventy five shipped at Hongkong to be damaged. I purchased it from Mr Duus, merchant Hongkong, who recommended it as being good; but it appeared to us on close inspection to have been all damaged powder put up in new kegs, and marked with the common English brand.

I also purchased the whole of our bread from this Mr Duus, and found on opening the casks that we had been served a similar trick to the gunpowder, as fully half of it turned out to be condemned Naval Stores, entirely eaten through with weevils, and unfit for use.

I may also remark that a 24 gallon cask of Brandy purchased from the above mentioned gentleman turned out to be Manila rum, worth in Hongkong about 35 cents pr gallon.

15th A.M. Fresh W.S.W. wind with squalls and rain. Carrying all possible sail on the ship. Noon Lat. obs. 10°30' N. Long. chr. 130°26' E. P.M. Strong breeze and squally, made and shortened sail as requisite. Finished the arm chests.

16th Fresh S.W. winds and fair weather throughout; all possible sail set. 9 A.M. Mustered the ships company in clean clothes. Noon Lat. obs. 8°47' N. Long. chr. 131°39' E.
July 1843

17th A.M. Variable winds from the westward with heavy squalls at times. Carrying all possible sail on the vessel. Carpenters employed nailing battens on the gunnels for seizing the boarding nettings to. Sent the arm chests up into the tops with muskets and ammunition in each. Noon Lat. obs. 7°45' N. Long. chr. 133°16' E.
P.M. Fresh westerly winds and fair weather, got the anchors on the gunnel, and bent the cables. At sunset beat to quarters, and loaded the guns, and at 7.30, hove too, ship's head to the southward having shortened sail to the topsails, Jib, & spanker. At midnight wore ship, and hove too, ship's head to the northward.

18th 4 A.M. wore ship, and hove too, ship's head to the southward. At daylight saw the Island of Angour, Pallou Islands, bearing east, distant 10 miles. Made all sail, and stood for the passage between Angour & Pillelew.3

At Noon the north point of Angour bore W. by S. and the S.W. point of Pillelew N ½ W. Latitude pr meridian altitude 6°58'N.

By observations taken at this time, our chronometer placed the Pallou Islands 15 miles farther west, than laid down in the charts.

At 1 P.M. we were boarded by several canoes from Pillelew; and learnt from them that a Manila vessel was lying at Koror4 collecting biche de mer. On hearing this, I made up my mind to call there before proceeding any farther to the eastward. Took one of the natives on board as pilot, and stood to the northward along the reef. At 7 P.M. anchored outside the barrier reef (where it forms a deep bay) to the Southward of Koror Island in 22 fathoms, foul bottom, veered out chain to 60 fathoms, furled sails, and sent down topgallant and royal yards.

19th A.M. S.W. winds and fine. At 7 I left the vessel in the Jolly boat, and pulled inshore to search for a passage in the reef, and at 8 I discovered a good opening leading to the anchorage of Koror, having not less than five fathoms in the shoalest part. While employed sounding the channel, I perceived a large war canoe coming from Koror, and on her nearing us, I was hailed in English and informed that the King Abba Thulle5 was on board of her, on his way to visit the ship.

3 Angaur and Peleliu, the two most southerly of the major islands of the Palau group; 6°54'N, 134°38'E and 7°01'N, 134°15' E respectively.
4 Koror, central island of the group and the present seat of government.
5 Ibedul (Abba Thulle) was actually a senior male title in Koror—Force 1960: 36. Cheyne follows Wilson in making the common European error of attributing kingship to the first prominent chief who was prepared to claim it.
July 1843

The King's interpreter was an American named John Davey, who had been residing at Koroar for a number of years. He was a seaman on board of an American schooner which had been wrecked at the Matelotas Isles. Several of their crew were murdered by the natives of those islets; Captain Keating and the survivors reached the Pallou Islands in the whale boat, and were very hospitably entertained by Abba Thulle. After remaining at Koroar a few months, they got a passage to Manila in some Spanish vessel. Davey was the only one who remained behind; and he told me he had been very kindly treated during his stay amongst them.

I immediately went on board with the King; who advised me through his interpreter, to bring the vessel into the harbour; and erect a biche de mer house on the Island of Malackan, and promised if I did so, that he would use his utmost endeavours to collect me a cargo.

At 10 A.M. weighed and stood in through the passage in the reef, and at Noon anchored in 15 fathoms, about 500 yards from the Island of Malackan, near the Spanish Brig Magallanes, Captain Somes, moored ship with both bowers, and sent the top gallant masts on deck.

6 Davey's story corresponds to the account of the wreck in 1834 of the schooner Dash, which was reported as follows in the Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, Mass., 25 September 1834:

Schooner Dash, Keating of Boston, got on a reef at the Caroline Islands, about 16th March, and while trying to heave her off, the natives made an attack on her, killed three men, and wounded Capt. K. who with the remainder of the crew escaped in the boats and made for the Pelew Islands, where part of the crew left Capt. K. From thence Capt. Keating and his two officers reached Burias, a Spanish Province, in April last, and was expected at Manilla, 15th or 20th May but had not arrived there on the 17th.—Ward 1967: V, 152.

Davey was still living at Palau at the time of Cheyne's murder there nearly 23 years later. The naval officer investigating Cheyne's murder considered Davey 'very truthful'—Stevens 1867.

7 There are several accounts of this incident. The Boston Daily Evening Transcript of 24 December 1834 records that the Dash was wrecked on a reef 10 miles from the Matelotas (Ngulu) and that the crew made their way to the island—Ward 1967: V, 157.

8 Malakal Island, in the harbour of the same name to the south-west of Koror. Cheyne later bought the island—see pp. 323-4.

9 This is probably the Captain Somes spoken of by Captain Bernard, whose ship Mentor was lost on the Palau Islands in 1832 and who made his way
In the afternoon I sent the 3rd officer on board the Spanish Brig, with my compliments to the Captain, and an invitation to supper; but he declined coming. I met him however shortly afterwards at his biche de mer house on shore, and found he was an Englishman by birth; that he owned half the vessel, and was married to a Spanish lady in Manila, where he had been residing for a number of years.

I spent the evening with Captain Somes, on board of his vessel, and got much useful information from him respecting the quantity and quality of biche de mer to be procured at the Pallou Islands. He informed me that one or two small Manila vessels had visited these islands annually for these last ten years, and had often succeeded in getting full cargoes of the slug; that the natives cured it themselves, and sold it to them for European goods, at the rate of from 3 to 5 Spanish dollars per picul.10 He said the proper season for collecting the slug was from April to October; the winds being generally light during that time.

The King left the ship at sunset for Koroar, and went away much pleased with his reception.

20th Westerly winds and cloudy throughout. At daylight commenced sending down the yards and topmasts. At 9 A.M. the king arrived with a great retinue of chiefs and followers. Each chief brought us a large present of tarro, and cocoanuts; and the king brought me some goats, pigs and fowls. I prepared a dinner of rice and beef for the king and chiefs, and made them a handsome present in return. We all went on shore before dinner, and had a piece of ground marked out by the chiefs for the site of a house. We finished dismantling the ship by sunset, and got all our boats and sampans out and rigged.

Six sentries on watch during the night, and the bell struck every half hour. I gave orders to the petty officers in charge of the watches, to allow no canoes alongside after 8 P.M.

We saluted his Majesty with nine guns, when he left the ship in the afternoon.

with some of his crew to Lord North's Island (Tobi). Captain Bernard records that he was picked up there by a Captain Somes, in the Spanish ship Sabina. Captain Somes treated them with 'the greatest hospitality'—Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, 12 August 1833, quoted in Ward: V, 420-1.

10 The price in China about this time was probably between 6 and 35 dollars per picul (133½ lbs)—Dodge 1966: 4. The price variation usually depended on the quality of the trepang and the state of the market.
21st Fresh westerly winds and fair weather. At daylight sent Mr Stanford 2nd officer and a party of men on shore to clear away for the biche de mer house. People on board employed under the Serang, stowing away rigging and clearing decks. Carpenters fitting up the Chinese sampans, of which we had three. The blacksmith employed making chisels for trade. Havildar11 cleaning small arms. The seapoys stationed on the gangways and top-gallant-forecastle as sentries armed with muskets, during the day, and one seacunnie keeping watch on the quarter deck; the quarter master and sentries relieved every two hours. I issued orders to the officers to allow no trading between our people and the natives; a clause to that effect being inserted in the ship's Articles, prohibiting their bartering or holding any intercourse with the inhabitants of the different islands at which the vessel may touch during her voyage, under penalty of forfeiture of wages. A similar clause is always inserted in the Articles of Agreement between the master and crew of trading vessels in the Pacific,12 for if all hands were allowed to trade, it would be impossible to procure a cargo. I appointed an officer as trading master, and furnished him with a list of prices.

At 9 A.M. I went on shore and marked off the dimensions of the house for the natives who had assembled there with thatch from all quarters by orders of the king. They then commenced putting up the frame under the direction of the chiefs, and by noon had completed it; when they commenced thatching and had the whole roof finished by 4 P.M.

They made a most prodigious clamour while working, which reminded me of the building of the tower of Babel. The house was 90 feet long, 20 feet broad, and ten feet high in the sides; the frame made of slender palm and pandanus trees, and the roof thatched with pandanus leaves sewed to reeds and seized to the rafters, in a similar way to the houses at Bornabi. In the evening I paid the chiefs for their trouble. The gunner and a boats crew cut a quantity of bamboo during the afternoon. Six sentries and a quarter master in the watch during the night.

22nd Light Southerly winds and fine weather. At daylight sent the second officer and a party of men on shore to work at the house. The gunner and a boats crew cutting and bringing bamboo's

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11 A sepoy non-commissioned officer corresponding to a sergeant.
12 Quite true: the regulations were always strictly enforced for the reason given.
for the batters or platforms. Got the forge rigged on shore, and set the blacksmith to work to make iron chisels. The remainder of the crew employed on board at various duties under the direction of the chief officer and Serang.

At 10 A.M. I left the vessel on a visit to the king at Koroar, and took John Davey with me as pilot and interpreter.

I was agreeably surprised on landing to find the town so neat and regularly laid out.

We landed at the head of a long pier built of coral, and projecting about 500 yards into the sea, with steps on each side at different parts of it for canoes landing. The first object which met our eye on stepping out of the boat, was the King's canoe shed, under which were two splendid war canoes hauled up with outriggers off. We found an excellent paved road from the canoe shed to the town about 15 feet broad, bordered by graceful palms and abundance of breadfruit trees, intermixed with the papaw apple tree, bending under the weight of bunches of its delicious fruit, while here and there could be seen banana plantations peeping out amongst the trees, at a short distance from each side of the road.

We were met by two chiefs of high rank while walking up the road, who gave me a most cordial shake of the hand, and conducted us to the Council house, where we found the whole of the nobles seated. I found a seat prepared for me near one end of the house with a clean mat spread over it. A messenger was then sent for the king, who soon made his appearance, carrying his betel-nut basket in his hand. His Majesty gave my hand a hearty shake, expressed himself much pleased to see me, and then took his seat at one end of the house on the floor, sitting crosslegged, or at times squatting like an Oriental. The whole of the Nobles were also seated on the floor. This is their universal mode of sitting; and it would be considered ill breeding for any one to make use of seats in the king's presence, or in the presence of their superiors. Were the king seated on a chair, the other Nobles' would be permitted to occupy a somewhat less elevated situation; but they almost invariably squat on the ground. I felt rather uneasy at first, occupying as I did so conspicuous a seat in the midst of the Assembly; but at the suggestion of the interpreter I took my seat on the floor, alongside the king where I felt more at ease.

I explained to the king and nobles (through the interpreter) the object of my voyage; and tried to convince them of the advantages they would derive through a friendly traffic being
established with Europeans. They appeared quite sensible of this, and promised to use their interest with the natives of the group, in regard to procuring a cargo of biche de mer for us.

The king then alluded to the wreck of the 'Antelope' Captain Wilson, as being the means of first opening an intercourse with Europeans and spoke in high terms of the liberality of the British Government in sending them a handsome present for their kind treatment of Captain Wilson and his crew.\textsuperscript{13} He further assured me that the English were their friends and brothers, and should always be treated with kindness and hospitality whenever they thought proper to visit Koroar. He said he could not answer for the reception of strangers at the northern part of the group, as the natives there were a predatory set, over whom he had no authority; and were often at war with the Koroar people; but as far as his authority extended, visitors should always meet with a kind reception, and protection from his enemies as far as lay in his power.

The council then dismissed; and I accompanied His Majesty to the Palace, where I was introduced to the Queen, and Princesses. Dinner was ready when we came in, and was served up by the attendants. It consisted of excellent fresh fish boiled, with fine tarro, young cocoanuts, and yams. The king’s steward prepared a delicious drink for us, made by mixing up Molasses (made from toddy) in water and adding the juice of a lemon.

This is the only beverage made use of by the natives of the Pallou Islands, except toddy, which is daily drank by the chiefs. This sherbert is used at their feasts, and on every grand occasion. At those times it is mixed up in a large bowl similar to punch, and drank by the chiefs in rather large quantities. We spent a most agreeable day at Koroar, and returned on board about 4 P.M. The king & several of the chiefs, sent a quantity of fine fruit of various kinds to the boat before we shoved off.\textsuperscript{14}

Sunday 23\textsuperscript{rd} Light southerly winds and fine weather. Mustered the crew in clean clothes, and gave some of the officers and men liberty to visit Koroar, having first cautioned them to conduct themselves properly while there.

\textsuperscript{13} The East India packet \textit{Antelope} was wrecked off the Palau Islands in 1783. The crew and much gear were saved and the castaways built a small vessel in which they reached China. This was Palau's first known contact of any significance with Europeans. See Introduction, pp. 10, 14.

\textsuperscript{14} Added later: 'Each chief then chose a friend among the officers and crew—Abba Thulle being my Sukaleek or friend &c.'
The King, Queen and Princesses visited the ship this morning and remained to dinner. They went away much pleased with their reception.

24th Westerly winds and fine weather. Employed fitting up the biche de mer house with thirty men; the others variously employed on board. The blacksmith making iron chisels in the biche de mer house. He is a very poor workman, and appears to have but a slight knowledge of his trade, so little indeed that he cannot even make a chisel of a proper shape. Some of our most useless hands employed building a stone boat jetty in front of the biche de mer house. On going on board in the evening, I learnt from Mr Mackie Chief officer that one of the sea cunnies named Smith had purchased a goat and some fowls from the natives, contrary to the trading regulations; and on being reprimanded by him for infringing the regulations of the ship, he (Smith) gave the chief officer a deal of insolence, and told him that neither the Captain nor any officer on board should prevent him from purchasing fresh provisions from the natives. I immediately called Smith aft, and stated what I had been told by the chief officer, and advised him to apologise for his unruly conduct; but he indignantly replied that he would make no apology, and persisted in saying that he would still continue to purchase provisions whenever he felt so inclined, and that no officer on board should prevent him from doing so.

I then threatened to confine him if he still persisted in acting contrary to my orders, but this only made him worse, as he opened on me with a volley of abuse, which I soon put an end by ordering the Havildar to put him in irons.

25th Westerly winds and fine weather. The greater part of the crew employed on shore under my inspection covering in the sides and ends of the house & building the boat jetty—cutting bamboos and firewood &c.

26th Westerly winds and rain throughout. Employed on shore as on preceding days. Carpenters repairing the Jolly boat on deck.

27th S.W. winds and fair weather. The most part of our men at work on shore under my inspection. Finished covering in the sides and ends of the house.

*The King of Artingall15 & other chiefs and natives in two war

15 The passage in asterisks is written across the entries for 25-27 June. ‘Artingall’ is the district of Ngatengal, near the present settlement of Melekeik (7°29′N, 134°38′E) on the central east coast of Babelthuap, the largest island of the group.
July 1843

canoes visited the ship accompanied by Abba Thulle and the Koroar chiefs in two other war canoes. At the Kings request fired a salute of nine guns after they came on board. Abba Thulle wished to impress them with our strength. The Artingall natives were all completely naked and do not even wear the slight covering that the Koroar natives do. They went away much pleased, and astonished beyond measure at the great guns—and seemed to think Abba Thulle or King George was fortunate in having such powerful allies. They told my chief officer on the sly while on board that if we would only bring the ship to Artingall, and sell them muskets & powder they would soon fill her with biche de mer. The chiefs and many of the natives carried a small hatchet or rather adze on their shoulders the head of which was made of a steel chisel neatly seized on—the handle being formed in a sharp angle stuck close to the shoulder lying before & behind, and wanted no tying to keep it steady in walking.

We fired a morning and evening gun while here regularly. Some [of] the Artingall chiefs were of the rank of the order of the bone. 17


29th Southerly winds and fair weather. Fully three fourths of our crew employed on shore at the house, and cutting firewood. The king and chiefs pay us a daily visit. Our crew get well supplied with tarro and fruit from the natives as presents.

16 This incident contains the seeds of a future imbroglio. The standing feud between Koror and Ngatelngal is implied by the efforts of the Ibedul to intimidate Ngatelngal by his connection with the powerful Europeans. The plan misfired, for Ngatelngal instead resolved to win Cheyne to their side with promises of unlimited bêche-de-mer. They were finally successful and it was Cheyne’s trading with the Ngatelngal people which was offered as a reason for his murder on Koror 23 years later.

17 ‘the rich men of Palau wear on their left hand a kind of bracelet which is called Klilt. It is the atlas vertebra of the Myangyu (Halicore Dugong, Q.U.G.), which is very seldom seen here. The killing of this animal is celebrated with dancing and blowing on the conches and is an occasion for general rejoicing. Only rich people can hunt it with nets, or buy it and the purchase of a Klilt is a political custom.’—J. S. Kubary, ‘Die Palau-Inseln in der Südsee’, Journal des Museum Godeffroy 11 (1873): 203-4 (reference supplied by Dr Saul Riesenberg).
July-August 1843

Sunday 30\textsuperscript{th} Southerly winds and fair weather. At 9 Mustered the crew in clean clothes, and gave some of them liberty on shore.

31\textsuperscript{st} Westerly winds and fine weather. Employed on shore chiefly. Tradesmen variously.

August 1\textsuperscript{st} Westerly winds and fair weather. The greater part of our crew employed making the platforms, and cutting firewood. The natives commenced building a dwelling house for the trading officer Mr Stanford, on the brow of the hill, above the biche de mer house.

2\textsuperscript{nd} Southerly winds and fair weather. Still employed at the house. Tradesmen variously. The natives put the roof on to the small house in the forenoon, and commenced covering in the sides with plaited bamboo.

3\textsuperscript{rd} Southerly winds and fair weather. In the evening finished the platforms or \textit{batters} in the biche de mer house. The natives still employed at the dwelling house.

4\textsuperscript{th} S.W. winds and fine weather. Employed on shore chiefly; digging a trench under the batters for the fires, building a Jetty, and cutting firewood. The natives plaiting a bamboo floor for the dwelling house. Released Smith Sea cunnie from irons, he having confessed himself in error, and promised faithfully to obey orders in future.

5\textsuperscript{th} Westerly winds and fair weather. The greater part of our crew employed on shore. Finished the trench for the fires. The natives finished the dwelling house in the afternoon.

6\textsuperscript{th} S.W. winds and fine weather. At 9 mustered the crew in clean clothes, and allowed part of them liberty for the day.

7\textsuperscript{th} S.W. winds and fine. Employed on shore fixing the pots, and making other preparations for boiling and drying biche de mer.

8\textsuperscript{th} Westerly winds and fine. The natives brought in a few hundred biche de mer in the evening. I remained on shore until a late hour, instructing the second officer in the art of boiling them.

9\textsuperscript{th} Westerly winds and fine. Commenced getting the topmasts on end, and other preparations for sea, having made up my mind to leave this establishment in charge of the second officer Mr Stanford, and proceed to the eastward in the vessel and form other establishments. The natives brought some biche de mer in the evening. Employed curing it.

10\textsuperscript{th} S.W. winds and fair weather. Employed sending up yards and masts. The second officer and his party employed on shore under my directions. The natives brought a few biche de mer.
August 1843

11th S.W. winds and fine. Employed setting up rigging fore and aft. Bent sails in the afternoon and got everything ready for sea.

12th Westerly winds and fine. Filled our water up in the forenoon; and sent a quantity of stores and trade on shore for Mr Stanford's use. I visited the chiefs at Koroar about noon with Mr Stanford and placed him and the men left with him (viz. The gunner and thirteen lascars, including his cook and servant) under the king's protection, who promised to treat them well, and protect them until my return. The King gave me a petty chief and thirteen natives to take with me to Yap,\(^{18}\) where he advised me to go for biche de mer, representing it to be plentiful there, but at the same time put me on my guard against the treachery of the natives, as they succeeded some years ago in cutting off two Manila vessels which had gone there for biche de mer. In the afternoon I landed forty five men on the island of Malackan, and put them through the small arm exercise in the presence of the king and chiefs. They were much pleased at the rapidity and correctness with which our men performed their evolutions, and seemed to think our crew were in good fighting order. I wrote letters for China in the evening to be sent pr the 'Magallanes' Captn Somes acquainting Mr Burn that I had formed an establishment at Koroar, and suggesting the propriety of sending down a small vessel (about 80 tons burthen) at the end of the year with goods and provisions to Mr Stanford; but at the same time I cautioned him against sending any of the opium schooners, knowing they would be too expensive.

13th Light westerly winds and fine weather. At 8 A.M. nearly calm. Hove the anchor up, and got the boats and war canoes ahead to tow the vessel out to sea, under the pilotage of an old chief, the sun being too far ahead to admit of my seeing the coral patches from the mast head.

After getting about half way to the barrier reef, the vessel grazed slightly on a coral patch, but we got her off almost immediately by backing the yards. I at once came to anchor, as I found the natives were completely ignorant of the channel.

14th Light Westerly winds and fine weather. At daylight weighed, and stood out to sea. At 8 clear of the reefs, when Mr Stanford, the King and all the natives left the ship amidst three hearty cheers. Had light baffling winds from the Northward

\(^{18}\) About 300 miles north-east of Koror.
during the greater part of the day, and were still in sight of the land at sundown.

15th Westerly winds with rain at times. Standing to the N.E. intending to examine the Matelotas on our way to Yap. Noon Lat. obs. 7°43' N. Long. chr. 136°10' E. Employed cleaning great guns and small arms; making wads and cartridges &c. Promoted Richard Baxter sea cunnie to the situation of Gunner.

16th N.W. winds and fine, standing to the N.E. under all sail. Employed repairing gun gear, cleaning small arms, making wads and cartridges. Tradesmen variously. Noon Lat. obs. 7°55' N. Long. chr. 137°5' E. 4 P.M. beat to quarters, and exercised the great guns.

17th Light northerly winds and fine. 9 A.M. saw the southern island of the Matelotas bearing N.E. stood towards it with the intention of examining the group.

When we got close to the islet we hove too and shortly afterwards two canoes came off having five men in each. They were rather shy at first, but seeing some Pallou natives on board, inspired them with more confidence, and they readily came on board; we then made sail, and commenced working to windward along the reef. Having been informed by the natives that biche de mer could be procured, it was my intention to have brought the Brig to an anchor, could I have found a safe spot to have placed her in: with this view I sent a boat in at 4 P.M. in charge of the gunner, to sound the passage, and ascertain if safe anchorage could be found for the vessel; the boat returned at sunset, without having found any safe anchorage; the gunner could get no bottom at 30 fathoms until very near the shore, and no part of the reefs being above water convinced me that the place did not afford shelter for any vessel. Hoisted the boat up and stood off and on for the night. 8 P.M. strong northerly winds and gloomy, in topgallant sails and first reef in the topsails.

18th A.M. northerly winds and fair weather. At daylight made all sail, and stood in for the group. During the forenoon working up along the eastern reefs. At 1 P.M. close up to the northernmost islet. Having had a good view of the whole group from the mast head, while working up along the reefs, I came to the conclusion that no safe anchorage could be got at this place; and as I did not consider it safe to leave any men on shore, without having the vessel there to protect them, I at once abandoned the idea of forming any establishment at the Matelotas, and made all sail for the island of Yap.
August 1843

The Matelotas\(^\text{19}\) consist of three small coral islets, connected by reefs, elevated only about 6 feet above high water mark, and covered with cocoanut trees. The southern islet is inhabited by a few Yap natives, amounting in all to about thirty five souls; and is situated in Lat. 8°17' N. Long. 137°33½ E. & The northeastern islet is in Lat. 8°35' N. Long. 137°40' E. The other islet is situated on the N.W. part of the reefs, which are very extensive and dangerous in a dark night. The eastern reefs are in detached patches, and with a westerly wind the sea does not break on them. The reef extends fully six miles in a northerly direction from the North-eastern islet. These islets can only be seen about Eleven miles from a ship's deck and should always have a good birth in passing, especially in hazy weather or a dark night. The southern islet may be approached pretty close on the south side, as no hidden dangers exist. The inhabitants live entirely on cocoanuts and fish.


20\(^{th}\) Fresh N.N.E. winds and fair weather. Working up for Yap under all possible sail. 9 A.M. mustered the ship's company in clean clothes. Noon Lat. obs. 9°35' N. Long. 137°45' E. the centre of Yap bearing East distant 23 miles.

21\(^{st}\) N.E. winds and fine.\(^\text{20}\) Daylight the south point of the island bore E.N.E. dist. 7 miles working round the south point during the forenoon. Noon rounded the south point, and stood to the northward with the wind at E. by S. At 4 P.M. saw a good

\(^{19}\) Ngulu Atoll, about 90 miles south-west of Yap. Ngulu is also the name of the largest islet. Cheyne's location is very accurate, being only slightly too easterly. The group comprises eight small islets on the reef. Ngulu itself has an area of less than half a square mile—Great Britain, Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division 1945: IV, 384. First notice of the group was given by Villalobos in 1545, 'but it would appear that they had been previously visited, for the inhabitants approached holding up a cross and calling Buenas dias Matelotas, from which their name was given.'—Findlay 1886: 1007.

\(^{20}\) The section from here to p. 278, dealing with the sojourn at Yap, is published in an abridged and edited version in Cheyne 1852: 146-64.
opening in the reef leading to the harbour. 4h30'. abreast of the entrance, hove too; beat to quarters, loaded the guns, sent arm chests up in the tops, got the anchors clear, and boarding nettings ready for tracing out; 5 P.M. completed our arrangements, and bore away for the entrance, accompanied by about twenty large proas full of men, all of whom were armed. When about entering the channel, a number of the proas closed with us, evidently with the intention of boarding, but having taken the precaution of stationing hands by the guns with lighted matches, and stationing small arm men round the vessel before bearing up, they did not approach nearer than 20 yards, finding we were well prepared to repel any attack they might have intended.

At 5h36' entered the channel, and after running in about a mile, came to in 18 fathoms for the night, veered cable to 60 fm, furled sails, and traced out the nettings. Leok prime Minister of the tribe at the head of the harbour, then came on board, attended by one or two chiefs of high rank. He had been sent by the King to ascertain what nation the vessel belonged to, and also to learn what we had come for. Having ascertained through our Pallou islands interpreters that our intentions were friendly, and our visit solely for the purpose of collecting and curing biche de mer, he went away, apparently much pleased with his reception, and promised to visit us early on the following morning, when it was agreed the Brig should be moved to the head of the harbour, and moored close to the village. Ten sentries and an officer on duty during the night, and every precaution taken to guard against surprise.

22nd Light Variable airs and fine pleasant weather. 5 A.M. turned the hands out, examined the priming of our guns and muskets, and kept lighted matches by each gun, with a good supply of grape and cannister shot.

6 A.M. Leok, prime minister arrived attended by a large retinue. I allowed him and a few of the principal chiefs to come on board, to act as pilots. 7. Weighed and made sail with a light air from the eastward. 9. anchored off the village of Tomal;21 to the westward and within 400 yards of a small woody island, on which we intended to build our curing house, furled sails, triced out the boarding nettings, and moored ship with both bowers, having 45 fathoms on the Starboard and 35 fathoms on

21 Tomil, actually the name of the district, not the village.
the larboard anchor outside the hawse. Before noon we were surrounded by large proas and canoes from all parts of the island, but they brought little for barter except cocoanuts, and had come more out of curiosity than with any intention of trading. They appeared to be an able bodied race of men, and were all armed with clubs, spears and large knives.

I held a conference with the prime minister and chiefs on board in the afternoon, and learnt from them, that a grand religious ceremony had to be observed for nearly a month, before we could hold any intercourse with the shore; during which time the ship would be tabooed, and that the King could not be seen until the taboo was taken off. I examined the reefs in the evening, and saw plenty of good biche de mer. I made the chiefs a present, before leaving the vessel, and at my request Leok the premier slept on board. I had been told before leaving Koroar that two Manila vessels had been cut off at Yap, and at the suggestion of my Pallou interpreters, I charged Leok with it, telling him that we were well aware the vessels had been taken, and requesting him to tell the truth as to what led to the capture of those vessels, thinking it would be as well to let him know that we were aware of their treacherous character. After some hesitation and on receiving an assurance that I was his friend—to my surprise, he made a full confession of the whole affair, and moreover had the assurance to tell me in my own cabin that he killed the Spanish captain himself. His account of the capture of those vessels and massacre of their crews were as follows:—

About the year 1836 two Manila vessels—one a Brig, armed, and manned with a crew of fifty manila men, and the other an armed schooner carrying forty men, went to the island of Yap (having been there the year previous) to procure a cargo of

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22 The tabu is difficult to interpret without further information, but it is probably the usual one applied to the return of Yap voyagers from long overseas trips. The men are confined to the beach and forbidden to have contact with the ‘inland’, that is with women. This is related to the rigid separation between things of the sea and things of the land; the spirit of the sea is female and the spirit of the land is male. If the spirit of the sea learns that ‘her’ men are going to the women on the land, she is jealous and may cause trouble such as illness—D.M.S.

23 Cheyne refers throughout to the chief of Tomil as ‘king’, but he was not so in any sense. Yap did not have a king. There were three major confederations competing for power on the island—those led by the Tomil, Rull, and Gagil districts—but none ever succeeded in achieving paramounty—D.M.S.
biche de mer. The schooner after having stayed a few days, took a number of Yap natives on board, and proceeded to Mackenzie’s Group of islands\textsuperscript{24} to the N.E. of Yap, where through some quarrel with the natives, she was captured, burnt, and all the crew murdered. The Brig remained at Tomal, the same village we were anchored off. The Yap natives then erected curing houses, and commenced fishing for biche de mer. After lying there upwards of a month, at which time they had formed five curing establishments at different parts of the island, together with a biche de mer house on the woody island abreast of the vessel and forty of their crew distributed about at the different stations, leaving only the Captain and nine men on board, one day a party of natives stole some clothes from the shore party on the woody island, and tried to make their escape in a canoe; having been seen by the sentry, the manila men manned their boat and gave chase—on overtaking the canoe a fight took place, and some of the natives were either killed or severely wounded. The chiefs then out of revenge planned to take the Brig, and massacre the shore parties. With this view, a conspiracy was formed with the chiefs of the other villages at which the men were stationed, and to prevent suspicion it was resolved that the vessel was to be captured solely by the chiefs, who were to go on board in a friendly manner, and to overpower the Captain and the few men left on board, while the shore parties were to be murdered at the same moment. On the day appointed Leok and about twenty chiefs went on board after breakfast, having no other weapons, but a short club of iron wood, concealed in each of their betel nut baskets, which they usually carry in their hand. After sitting on deck for some time chewing betel-nut, and seeing the crew completely off their guard—they rushed on them, and murdered the whole. The captain was an European Spaniard. He was asleep on a couch on the quarter deck when they made the rush, and Leok had the high honour (by his own account) of dispatching him, not however without receiving a severe wound from the Captain’s stiletto in his thigh. He said the Captain fought hard, and that he tore his mouth open from ear to ear, and ultimately strangled or choked him. This was Leok’s account of the affair, but I afterwards learned that the Manila men had no quarrel with the natives, but that the vessels were captured, and

\textsuperscript{24} Ulithi atoll: 9°58'N, 134°15'E.
the crews treacherously murdered, solely for the purpose of getting possession of what goods they had on board.25 Leok cautioned me not to let any of the chiefs or natives know that he had told me of this affair; and as much mischief might have arisen from doing so, I cautioned my officers and crew not to make the most distant allusion to the subject. I afterwards learned from the Pallou natives that Leok when he made the foregoing confession had an idea that the English had a mortal hatred to Spaniards, and that we would doubtless applaud him for having cut them off.

This disclosure confirmed what Abba Thulle told me regarding the character of these natives. He represented them as being possessed of great cunning—treacherous in the highest degree, and men in whose professions no confidence should be placed. I informed Leok that being the friends and allies of Abba Thulle, we were sent to Yap by him, from whom a deputation of chiefs and natives had been brought with a present and message to their king, and that if he would summon all the chiefs on board on the following day, the present and message should be delivered. To which he assented. Six sentries and an officer in the watch during the night. The bell struck every half hour, and all the arms kept loaded and in readiness.

23rd Light N.E. winds and fine weather. Daylight turned the hands out, and cleaned ship outside and in. At 7. Leok went on shore to summon the chiefs, and during his absence, preparations were made for the intended conference, the vessel being decked out with flags, and a guard under arms. It was my intention to make as great a display as possible, and astonish, if not impress them with our gay and warlike appearance.

At 9 A.M. the prime minister accompanied by twenty chiefs came on board, and a great number of canoes flocked round the vessel at the same time. I received the chiefs at the gangway, and conducted them to seats on the quarter deck. The Pallou deputation then came forward, and seated themselves opposite the Yap chiefs. The head chief of the deputation then addressed them (as near as I can recollect) in the following words. 'High

25 There are still traditions readily recounted of the Manila ships which were trapped and taken by the Yapese. These tend to give more prominence to the political manoeuvrings behind these incidents. The Yapese had first to decide which confederation should have the ship. The others would then attempt to sabotage the attack by warning the ship or helping it escape—D.M.S.
chiefs of Yap, I am the bearer of a message to you from the great and powerful Abba Thulle King of Koroar. The message is this:—Abba Thulle has sent us with this English ship as interpreters to your village for the purpose of bartering with you for a cargo of biche de mer. He also placed in our charge this present of money,26 which we now deliver to you, and request you will present it to your king as a token of friendship from Abba Thulle. The English are the friends and allies of Abba Thulle, and he expects that you will receive and treat his friends, as your friends and brothers. Abba Thulle and also his predecessors have always been on the most friendly terms with ships of the English nation, and whenever the ships of that nation visit Koroar, he invariably makes it his study not only to protect them, but to supply their wants as far as lies in his power. Abba Thulle is also happy to inform you, that he has always found the English strictly honourable in all their dealings, and that no quarrel has ever arisen between his subjects and those of the English nation since his predecessors first intercourse with the subjects of that country, until the present day. And he would impress on you the propriety of treating the crew of this vessel with hospitality, and would advise you as your friend to treat all foreigners who may visit your island for the purpose of carrying on a friendly and honest traffic—not only with respect, but protection from the depredations of those of your subjects who may be inclined to evil, for he can assure you that the English are a most powerful nation, and that no outrage or violence committed on this, or any other English vessel which may visit your island will pass unpunished.' The Prime minister then made the following reply:—'Chiefs and natives of the Koroar deputation. We have heard the message you have brought from your king, accompanying this present of money, and our answer is this:—we accept of your present, and desire you to convey our thanks to the good Abba Thulle for this token of his regard, and also for sending this English ship to our island. This is the first ship of that nation which has ever anchored in our harbour, and we shall use our influence with our people to collect a cargo of biche de mer

26 The stone money so highly valued at Yap and which was obtained from the Palau group. This is made clear in the published version: '[the money] consisted of nothing more or less than a round stone, with a hole in the centre, similar to a small upper mill-stone. These stones are very rare, and consequently highly prized, being only found in the mountains of the Pallou Islands'—Cheyne 1852: 148.
for her. Biche de mer is plentiful on the reefs, and of no use to us, therefore why should we keep it? We are very poor, and our island produces little beyond cocoanuts, still we shall not be found wanting in hospitality as far as our means will allow. We are glad to hear that the English are your friends; we wish them to be our friends also.'

I then addressed them through my interpreter as follows:— 'High chiefs of Yap, I have come from China on a friendly visit to your island, recommended by our mutual friend the King of the Pallou islands, for the purpose of bartering with you for biche de mer. Although my ship, as you will perceive, is well manned and armed, still I wish to impress on your minds that I have not come here with any hostile intentions;—far from it—I have come as your friend, and will use my utmost endeavour to conduct our trading on the most amicable footing. You must be well aware that I cannot procure a cargo of biche de mer by fighting, and that the success of my voyage entirely depends on keeping on friendly terms with you. My ship is merely armed for the purpose of protecting the lives of my crew, and the property entrusted to my charge; and I therefore hope that no breach of faith on your part may interrupt our friendly intercourse. I have cautioned my crew not to take any thing from any of your subjects without paying them for it; and should I find them act contrary to my orders, I shall most assuredly punish them; and I therefore hope that you will give your natives a similar caution, so that nothing may intervene to mar our friendly intercourse.' I then handed them a present for their king, and desired them to acquaint him with our proceedings. After having partaken of refreshments, I showed them over the vessel. They took particular notice of the great guns, and expressed a wish to see our people go through the gun exercise, and were also anxious to see them fired. This was just what I wanted, and having sent all the canoes astern clear of the guns, we beat to quarters, and after firing several broadsides of round and grape shot, I put the men through the small arm exercise, and fired several volleys of musketry. The astonishment of the natives was very great, and the scene was both ludicrous and amusing. After the first discharge, they held their hands over their ears, shouting the whole time, and appeared almost distracted with the noise, and completely filled with terror and dismay, on seeing the shot tearing up the sea at about the distance of a mile from the vessel. They soon begged of me to desist, and if their
appearance was any true index to their feelings, I should suppose they would have no wish to witness any such display in future.

The impression made on the natives this day appeared to be very great; and about the time we ceased firing a messenger arrived from the town, having been sent by the king to entreat us to desist, as we had caused such an alarm in the town by our firing, as to set all the women nearly distracted. The chiefs promised before leaving that although the taboo prohibited a regular intercourse with the vessel, still they would set their slaves to work in preparing thatch and materials for the house. At sundown sent down topgallant yards and masts, and observed our usual precautions with regard to the watches, and allowing no canoes alongside after sundown.

24th Light N.E. winds and fine. Got our boats and sampans out and rigged. Unbent sails and stowed them below. A number of large proas and canoes round the vessel.

I went to another village named Rule about three miles South of the ship, and abreast of the entrance to the harbour, in the forenoon, where I met with a kind reception. The chiefs of the village assembled shortly after I landed and took their seats in the council square, when I made them a present. They seemed much disappointed that I did not anchor the vessel at their village instead of going to Tomal; but having learnt from my Pallou interpreters that the Tomal chiefs were the most powerful on the island and the present from Abba Thulle being intended for them, made me give that village the preference. The chiefs of Rule appeared a much more hospitable and straightforward set than those of Tomal, and on requesting permission to form an establishment at their village they immediately acceded to my request, and gave me their large council house to cure the biche de mar in.

27 These people were by no means slaves, but pimilingai or milingai (pi = people). These are the so-called lower caste, those who live on land owned by the upper caste (piling); that is they are a landless class. It is also significant that Leok and others order them to bring thatch. Bringing thatch, repairing roofs, and a small number of other tasks are the traditional form of rent and acts of fealty which the milingai are obliged to undertake in return for the right to occupy lands they do not own. If Leok had ordered them to bring fish, or do other work, they would have courteously declined to do so.—D.M.S.

28 Rull—again not a village, but a district and leader of a powerful alliance.

29 Because they were political rivals. Cheyne's comment that the people of Rull were more co-operative should be seen in the light of this rivalry: the Rull people had a leeway to make up.
September 1843

This was so far satisfactory, and it was arranged that a boat's crew should be sent from the vessel on the following day to fit it up. I learned while there, that the religious taboo before alluded to, did not extend to any other village but Tomal, so that no restriction with regard to our trading existed at any of the other towns.

25th Fresh northerly winds and fine weather. 9 A.M. I started for Rule in the Launch, taking the Gunner, a boatswains mate and eight lascars with me to fit up the curing house, also two biche de mer pots and materials for cooking and curing the biche de mer. After landing and setting off the space for the batters, the chiefs came down to the house, and set some natives away to cut bamboo for the batters. I found on looking round the village, that a great scarcity of firewood existed, and that the only wood to be got for burning was Mangrove trees growing in the salt water with which the whole shores were fronted. Cocoanut trees were in great abundance in and around the village, but scarcely any other timber was to be seen growing among them. I remained at Rule until near sunset, by which time we had got the pots fixed and part of the lower batter finished. Having brought a few days supply of provisions for the shore party with us in the morning, and a small box of trade, I left the Gunner, boatswains mate, and four lascars in charge of the establishment, and returned on board. The chief officer informed me that an immense number of canoes had visited the vessel during my absence, but that nothing had yet been done towards building a house on the small island.

26th Fresh northerly winds and cloudy. After breakfast I landed with Mr Briggs 3rd officer and a party of men on the small island abreast of the vessel, and cleared away a place for the house near the water's edge. The prime minister and several chiefs were present, and they promised before leaving to commence the house on Monday. Employed during the day cleaning small arms, and inspecting all our fighting gear. I sent a boat to Rule in the afternoon—they returned about sunset, and informed me that the house was nearly ready.

27th Fresh northerly winds and fair weather. 9 A.M. mustered all hands in clean clothes. No work done, and no liberty allowed on shore.

28th Variable winds with rain. A party of men cutting firewood on the small island, and the others variously employed on board.

29th Northerly winds and fair weather. The natives commenced bringing thatch and bamboo for the house. A boat's crew away
cutting bamboo and the 3rd officer and a shore party of 20 men cutting firewood. The natives of Tomal appear a very dilatory set and do not work with any spirit. I went to Rule in the afternoon to see how the gunner was getting on, and stayed there until sunset, by which time the platforms were finished, and everything ready for fishing. I visited several of the chief’s houses, in every one of which I was entertained with cocoa-nuts, bananas and baked fish. The chiefs then followed me down to the boat, and having promised to send their natives out for biche de mer on the following day, I returned on board, much pleased with my reception. I left two of the Pallou islanders with the gunner to assist, and act as interpreters.

30th Northerly winds and squally with rain. A number of hands employed cutting firewood and bamboo. Little or nothing done by the natives this day. In the afternoon we commenced putting up the frame of the house, being sixty five feet in length, twenty in breadth, and seven in height. A great number of natives were present but they merely sat looking on, and rendered no assistance.

31st Strong N.E. winds and fair weather. Twenty five men at work on the small island, cutting spars and rafters for the house, and putting the frame up. A number of chiefs and natives looking on, chewing their betel-nut, but rendering no assistance. In the afternoon two small canoes brought some plaited mats from one of the small slave towns for thatch.

September 1st Fresh northerly winds and fair weather. A number of our crew at work on shore under my directions, putting up the frame of the house, and cutting bamboo and firewood. Some more thatch arrived in the forenoon from the slave towns. The chiefs and natives of Tomal on the small island, looking on as usual. I visited Rule in the evening, and found the gunner & his men hard at work curing biche de mer. He said there appeared to be abundance of good biche de mer on the reefs, but the firewood was so wet that he had great difficulty in getting the pots to boil. The lower batter was quite full with fish of the 1st quality, but the firewood was so wet that it did not appear to be drying well. I searched all over the village for wood, but could find nothing but the mangroves at any convenient distance. The gunner complained sadly about the natives being lazy, and said they would neither assist to cure it, nor help them to cut firewood, and would do nothing beyond collecting the biche de mer and bringing it in. I requested the chiefs not to bring more biche de mer at a time than
September 1843

the gunner could conveniently boil, as it would soon spoil if kept any time unboiled. I took one of the Rule chiefs named Souk on board with me and gave him a mat to sleep on in my cabin.

2nd Variable winds with passing showers. Twenty five men employed on shore under my inspection seizing on the rafters, and completing the frame of the house. The natives brought some more thatch during the forenoon from the slave villages. Finished the frame by sunset.

3rd Variable winds with squalls of rain at times. 9 A.M. mustered the crew in clean clothes. No work going on, being Sunday, and no person allowed liberty on shore. A great number of large proas and canoes round the vessel during the day. The chiefs of Tomal paid us a visit on board, and brought a present of cocoanuts and Tarro with them. They wanted to know what the ship was tabooed for on this day more than any other, on which I explained to them through the interpreter, that the great spirit and ruler of the universe had appointed every seventh day to be set apart from labour and that in accordance with the wishes of the great spirit, we always ceased from labour on that day unless in cases of necessity. They expressed their astonishment at this, and said their Gods did not require them to keep any particular day holy. We prepared some dinner for them, but on this and every subsequent occasion when refreshments were offered, they declined eating any animal food, but they readily partook of the biscuit. It must have been through fear of poison being mixed with the food, which prevented them from eating it, as even had they been cannibals, which they are not, they could not well have mistaken beef or pork for human flesh.

4th Fresh westerly winds and fair weather. At daylight sent 25 men and the 3rd officer on shore to clear away for the biche de

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30 Not really proas or Malay canoes. At this time and until the 1940s, Yap had at least five different forms of ocean-going canoe—D.M.S.

31 It is odd that no other alternative occurred to Cheyne. In fact, Yap has a complex set of food tabus which prohibit old men from eating with anyone except one another or their own wives; old women with anyone except one another and their own husbands; young men and women with anyone except one another and their own spouses; and children with anyone except their mothers. This extends to eating food from the same plot of ground, so that special taro patches are reserved for old men, old women, etc. The biscuit was possibly regarded as 'foreign' food and therefore not subject to the rules—the Yapese will nowadays drink Scotch from the one bottle, but not coconut milk from the one coconut—D.M.S.
mer platforms or *batters*, and sent a quarter master and boat’s crew to the mainland to cut bamboo. I went on shore after breakfast, and shortly after I landed, a number of chiefs and natives arrived with thatch. About noon Leok and the other chiefs came, when they went to work to thatch the house. The thatch is made of cocoanut leaves plaited into narrow mats, which are seized with coir senit to the rafters, overlapping each other, similar to the thatching at the island of Bornabi before described. About 4 p.m. they had seized on all the thatch they had made, and which only covered one side of the roof.

They went away shortly afterwards, having promised to set their slaves to work to plait more without delay. The boat returned before sundown with a raft of bamboo. A great number of canoes round the vessel during the day. They all went away at sunset.

5th Fresh Northerly winds with rain at times. The shore party employed splitting up bamboo for the batters, and cutting spars for rails and stancheons. A boats crew at the mainland cutting bamboo. They returned late in the afternoon with another raft. Our usual number of lookers on at the island, sitting chattering and chewing betel-nut, but none of them rendering the least assistance.

I went to Rule in the afternoon, with a supply of provisions and trade for the gunners party. Found things going on quietly though slowly. The natives were still bringing small quantities of biche de mer, but it was drying very indifferently owing to the wet firewood before alluded to. The natives received me very kindly and I visited one or two of the principal chiefs houses, where I had food offered to me as on former occasions. I found Leok on board when I returned, and I offered him a mat to sleep on, which he accepted of. I kept urging him to hurry on his natives with the thatch. He said he was trying all he could to do so, but that his countrymen were very lazy, and besides they had a very great aversion to work during the religious taboo, but when the taboo was over, all hands would set to work then.

6th Westerly winds and fair weather. At daylight the shore party went to work as usual. I happened to go on deck at 4 a.m. and found the starboard gangway sound asleep, and his musket lying on the spars. This being a breach of discipline which I could not overlook, and the man being a lazy fellow to the bargain, I was determined to make an example of him; I therefore had him seized up before the shore party left the ship, and made the
boatswain's mate gave him one dozen lashes. I explained to the crew that the safety of the ship and our lives depended on letting the natives see that we kept a strict watch at night, and that any one found sleeping while on sentry in future would meet with a similar punishment. Leok witnessed the punishment: had he not been on board I might have let the man off, but I was resolved to let him see that I had the crew under good discipline, more especially as it appeared evident to me from his restlessness during the night that he only stayed on board to see what sort of a lookout we kept. I heard him telling his natives in the forenoon how I punished the man, at which they shook their heads.²² I went on shore after breakfast, and set the people to work fitting the stancheons and rails for the lower batter. A boats crew away cutting and bringing bamboo over from the mainland, and a few hands splitting bamboo. A number of strange canoes round the Brig during the day, and our usual complement of idlers chewing betel-nut at the house. No appearance of any more thatch, and no assistance rendered by the natives. We got the frame of the lower batter finished by night. I went to Rule about sundown to see how the gunner was getting on. Found every thing orderly and quiet, and the gunner hard at work boiling biche de mer. Being a fine night I stayed there until 9 p.m. and was entertained well by the chiefs, who made their natives show me a specimen of their singing and dancing.

⁷th Westerly winds and fine pleasant weather. 3 A.M. I went on deck and found the sentry on the starboard side of the forecastle asleep and his musket lying on the deck. On getting a light I found it was one of the fore topmen. Daylight turned the hands out as usual, and before washing decks, I had the fore topman seized up and flogged, giving him one dozen lashes for being asleep in his watch. I again cautioned the crew to be more on their guard.

Twenty five men and the 3rd officer at work at the house under my inspection. Got the whole frame of the lower batter up by sunset. The natives brought some thatch over in the afternoon. A great number of natives on the small island and around the vessel during the day, but no assistance rendered by them.

⁸th Northerly winds with rain at times. Daylight landed the shore party, and set them to work at the lower batter. Got a small

²² Probably with horror. There are many references in South Seas literature to the shocked reaction of the natives to this European mode of punishment.
raft of bamboo from the mainland in the forenoon, and also some more thatch from the slave villages. The chiefs and natives looking on as usual.

9th N.E. winds and gloomy. The shore party splitting bamboo, and seizing it on the lower batter. Finished the lower batter by dark. The natives brought some more thatch in the evening, and the chiefs promised to come on Monday and finish the roof.

10th Variable winds and fine weather. 9 A.M. piped all hands to muster in clean clothes. No liberty allowed on shore. I visited Rule in the forenoon, and found things going on quietly. The natives were still continuing to bring biche de mer slowly, but they rendered no assistance in curing it.

11th Westerly winds and fair weather. The chiefs and natives arrived at the small island about 10 A.M., and finished thatching the biche de mer house by 3 P.M. The shore party employed putting up the frame of the upper batter. Paid the chiefs for the house in the evening, and got them to promise to commence fishing as soon as the batters were ready. Our usual precautions observed with regard to the watches at night.

12th Westerly winds and squally with rain. The shore party employed splitting bamboo, and seizing it on to the upper batter. Got the first tier seized on by sunset, and one side of the house covered in with plaited cocoanut leaves. A number of canoes round the vessel as usual.

13th Variable winds and squally with rain. At daylight landed the shore party, and set them to work at the upper batter, and sides of the house. Finished covering in the other side and the second layer of bamboo on the upper batter by sunset. A great number of canoes round the vessel during the day; and a number of strangers visited us on the island.

14th Strong westerly winds with rain. Landed seven biche de mer pots, and fixed them with stones in a row. Finished covering in the ends of the house by sundown.

15th Fresh westerly winds and showry. Landed the shore party at daybreak, and set them to work cutting firewood, digging a trench under the batters for the fires &c.

A few canoes brought in some small black biche de mer in the forenoon. Got it boiled and the fires lighted under the batters by 5 P.M. A boatswain’s mate and four lascars slept in the biche de mer house, and the remainder of the shore party returned on board at dark.

256
16th Variable winds and showry. landed the shore party at daylight, and set them to work as usual. Several canoes out for biche de mer. Got 5 pots of the small black this day. Employed curing it. Experienced much difficulty in boiling it, the firewood being so wet, there being no wood on the small island but mangroves. I visited Rule in the afternoon, and found the gunner getting on slowly. He complained sadly of the laziness of the natives.

John Gill supernumery Carpenter (who is working his passage from China to the island of Ascension) was taken ill with fever and ague this afternoon.

17th Strong Winds from S.W. & fair weather. A tindal and five men on shore at the house. Mustered the crew in clean clothes. No work done on board, being Sunday.

18th Fresh westerly winds and fair weather. The shore party at work as usual. A number of small canoes out for biche de mer, but they are too lazy to remain out long enough, to get any quantity. Got seven pots of the small black during the day. Employed curing it. Sent John Gill on shore to one of the small villages, he being ill with fever and Ague.

19th Light variable winds and fine weather. The shore party employed as usual. Got 8 pots of biche de mer. The prime minister and chiefs paid us a visit on board. They have appointed Thursday for the grand Religious ceremony, and the taking off the taboo, when we are to witness a grand feast at Tomal.

20th Fresh westerly winds and showry. In the forenoon a young lad came on board from one of the canoes, dressed in the Yap costume, who represented himself to be a survivor from one of the Spanish vessels cut off here. I sent for my Pallou interpreter, and learnt through him that this lad—who was a little boy on board the Spanish vessel at the time of the massacre—was spared by the natives, and had been kept here in a state of slavery ever since. The poor fellow seemed in great distress. He threw himself down at my feet—kissed my hand, and crying bitterly, implored me to keep him on board the vessel, and take him off the island. His name was Lorio—a native of Manila. He informed me that another survivor—a country-man of his—named Marianno was also on shore in a state of slavery. He said the natives had prevented him from coming on board before, and that if he went on shore again, they would kill him. I told the poor lad he was welcome to remain on board, and that he could consider himself under my
protection. He corroborated all that I had previously heard regarding the treachery of the natives; and much to my astonishment assured me that Leok and the chiefs of Tomal had it in contemplation to cut us off when running in the passage on the evening of our arrival; and were only deterred from attacking us, by seeing the precautions we had taken. He warned us against forming any more curing establishments on shore, as the natives—he said—had it still in contemplation to cut us off, and were merely pretending friendship to take us off our guard. He said the biche de mer was very plentiful, but the natives so excessively lazy that he was confident they would never collect a cargo for us; and he strongly advised me to leave the island at once. I unfortunately paid no attention to his suggestions at that time, thinking that he had some selfish motive in view, and was only anxious to get away from the island. But I afterwards found that I had formed a wrong opinion of him, as he proved to be an honest lad; and had I taken his advice, it would have saved me much anxiety of mind, besides loss of time and expense. I could not brook the idea of having it said that I was frightened away from the place by any such reports; and was determined that nothing but an actual outbreak should make me leave while I saw any chance of getting a cargo; besides the natives had been all along promising to fish as soon as the taboo was taken off, and I was resolved to stay and put their good faith to the test.

21st Light breeze from the westward, and fine pleasant weather. This being the day appointed for my interview with the King, and the celebration of the grand religious festival, which was to terminate the taboo, we had the ship cleaned, and decorated with flags by 8 A.M. At 9, a messenger arrived from the town requesting my presence on shore. 9.30. I left the ship in the Jolly boat; and in addition to her usual crew, I took two quarter masters with me, all armed; also Etelokul the Koroar chief, and John Davey as interpreters. On our landing we were met by a chief, who conducted us to seats on a square pavement near the landing place, where we found seated the prime minister and nobles all in their gala dresses. The prime minister then intimated through the interpreter, that the boat’s crew must be called up, and all the oars and gear taken out of her. I was not a little astonished at this unusual request, which had rather a suspicious aspect; but on being assured by Etelokul, that this formed a part of the ceremony to be gone through, and that no treachery was intended, I thought
September 1843

it best to comply with their request; but I must confess, that through knowing their treacherous disposition, I had my misgivings at the time. The boats' crew were then seated near me, and the oars and gear put into the council house.

The nobles then left us, having previously intimated that they were going to the palace to form part of the procession which was to accompany the King, and usher in the ceremony. Shortly afterwards a flourish of conchs notified to us that the procession was formed, and had started from the palace. In about ten minutes the procession hove in sight, coming down the road, which was formed as follows:—First, came two trumpeters blowing conchs, then the high priest carrying palm leaves, and water in a calabash; next, the King, followed by the nobles, walking two and two abreast, and all carrying palm leaves in their hands; then, the sons of the chiefs and nobles; and, lastly, the inferior chiefs, two and two abreast. We immediately stood up on their approach, and continued standing until the King and nobles were seated on the pavement. The prime minister then placed me in front of the King, by the side of the high priest, the conchs sounding during the whole time. A procession of females then came in sight. First, all the virgins of high rank, in their best dresses, and having their hair and necks decorated with beautiful sweet scented flowers; they walked past us in single file, and took their seats, on the other side of the road, opposite the pavement. They all carried bouquets of flowers; then came the nobles wives, who were also in their gala dresses, carrying green boughs and flowers, they also passed us in single file, and took their seats next to the virgins; they were followed by the inferior chiefs wives, who also carried green boughs, and walked past in single file; they took their seats next to the nobles wives; these were followed by the chiefs concubines, who carried palm leaves and flowers, and who went through the same ceremony of walking past us. These ended the procession.

The high priest then stood up, and made a long oration or prayer, which was responded to by the nobles. Towards its conclusion he sprinkled water over me from the calabash, and touched me frequently on the shoulders with palm leaves, several of which he tied with a peculiar knot, and put round my neck in the form of a collar. The king and nobles also presented me with several of

33 A romantic addition by Cheyne, since he had no way of knowing the ladies' condition. Unlike the Samoans, the Yapese had no such category—D.M.S.
these green knotted leaves, which they stuck in the buttonholes of my coat. The priest, and also the nobles had similar leaves round their necks. At the conclusion of the ceremony we returned on board, accompanied by the high priest, and his conch blower, who on getting on deck walked three times round the ship blowing the conch, and striking the gunnel with a bunch of palm leaves as he walked along—also propitiating the God of the sea by prayers to depart from the ship, and return to the place from whence he came. He then concluded the ceremony by breaking a cocoanut on the mainmast—on which the ship was released from taboo.

The prime minister and nobles came on board at the conclusion of this interesting ceremony, and informed me that as the taboo was now dissolved, we were at liberty to visit the town whenever we thought proper.

The purport of this magnificent and imposing ceremony, of which I have only given a brief outline, was to propitiate the God of the sea to leave the ship, and return to his native element; they having a superstitious belief that he had followed the ship to the island, and would depart at the expiration of a month from the ship's arrival, on their performing the before mentioned ceremony. I did not go on shore again to witness the feast, which had not commenced when I went on board with the priest. This was my first interview with the King; who seemed rather of a reserved disposition, and hardly spoke a word during the time I was in his company. He had been residing inland, strictly tabooed, since our arrival, and daily employed propitiating their Gods, by prayers and offerings to prevent the God of the sea from injuring them during the observance of the monthly taboo. I was much pleased with the appearance of the town from the little I could see of it while on shore. The houses appeared to be well built, and the scenery was most beautiful.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, we fired a salute of nine guns, which struck all the natives around the vessel with terror and dismay.

An occurrence took place, whilst I was on shore, which, had it not been put a stop to by my chief officer, might have led to fatal consequences. It appears that some of my Koroar natives, who were coming alongside the vessel in their canoe from the small

24 The sea was a female spirit (see note 22, this chapter). Cheyne's use of 'he' and 'his' reveals his ignorance of this basic constituent in the ceremony.
September 1843

island, disputed with some men belonging to Tomal, who were in a canoe under the stern, about something or other, which ultimately ended in a quarrel, by the Koroar men throwing spears from their canoe at the Yap natives, who were just about returning the volley, when the chief officer put a stop to it, by threatening to fire at our natives if they did not desist.

A messenger arrived at the town with intelligence of this quarrel, at the very time the ceremony was being performed; but I was quite ignorant of the whole affair—although I saw the messenger arrive—until I returned on board. It was fortunate that none of the Yap people were hurt, for had they been so, the chiefs would in all probability have killed Etelokul, and perhaps cut the whole of us off, we being completely in their power. We certainly had a most providential escape.

22nd Fresh westerly winds and fine weather. The shore party employed cutting firewood, and curing biche de mer. I went on shore after breakfast with a present to the King, whom I found seated in a square pavement in front of his house, attended by several of the Nobles, the Queen and his children. He desired me to sit down near him, and after some conversation held through means of my interpreter; was graciously pleased to accept of my present. He in return presented me with some green cocoanuts, and bananas, but appeared to take little interest in what I said about the biche de mer and intimated that he left that entirely to the chiefs. I invited him on board, but he declined visiting the ship, alleging that it was against the rules of the island for him to go afloat. As a mark of friendship I proposed to exchange names with him, which he agreed to. I then walked over the town with the prime minister, and was invited into his house, where I was entertained with boiled tarro, cocoanuts, and bananas. While there I observed two old rusty muskets standing in a corner, which I supposed him to have obtained from the Manila vessel they cut off. The King appeared to be a man of from forty to fifty years of age, of moderate stature, pleasing features, and presented altogether rather a prepossessing appearance. He was handsomely tattooed about the breast and shoulders—had fine glossy black hair, and his wrists and neck were decorated with green palm leaves; but his dress presented nothing which could distinguish him from

35 Thus creating puzzlement, no doubt, for the people of Yap have no such custom. The chief’s refusal to go aboard was probably mere wariness of the strangers—D.M.S.
the other chiefs. On walking down to the landing place, I found all
the chiefs assembled there in council, and took the opportunity, to
state to them what the King had said regarding the biche de mer.
After a long discussion they informed me, that the taboo being
now taken off, they were ready to commence and would do so on
the following day if the weather permitted; but that no one but
the Nobles and chiefs would be permitted to fish for a certain
number of days. I remonstrated with them about the absurdity of
this arrangement, and tried to impress on them the value of time
and the great expense we were incurring by keeping the vessel
here so long doing nothing; but I only received for answer, that
this was etiquette, and that we would have to conform to their
customs. They fixed the term of their monopoly at ten days, at
the expiration of which, they informed me, all the natives would
be at liberty to fish for us.

I then returned on board, and held a consultation with my
officers, in regard to forming another curing establishment at one
of the northern villages, where no such restrictions existed. They
agreed with myself in thinking the risk would be great by having
so many of our men in the power of the natives, but that the
necessity of despatch would justify us in doing so.

I visited Rule in the afternoon, and found things going on at
our establishment as usual. The gunner was still continuing to get
biche de mer, but the scarcity of good firewood, was preventing
him from getting on so fast as he otherwise would have done. We
left the station at 8 P.M. for the ship, but shortly after we shoved
off, were overtaken with a very heavy squall of rain, and had to
take shelter in the chief Soak's house, until it was over, where we
found a blazing fire, and a kind welcome. We got on board at
½ past 9. Six sentinels and a quarter master in the watch at a time
during the night. No canoes allowed alongside after dark, and
every precaution taken to guard against surprise. We heard from
John Gill this evening, he is still suffering much from fever and
Ague.

23rd Fresh S.E. winds and showry. We procured about seven
pots of small biche de mer to day from the chiefs canoes. Employed
curing it. The chiefs of Rule visited the ship this forenoon, and
at their request I put the crew through the great gun excercise
while they were on board. We were also visited to day by a number
of strangers, whom we had never seen before; the greater part of
whom came from the North end of Yap, and by their bewildered
September 1843

and astonished appearance while viewing the vessel, had evidently never seen a ship before. While they were alongside, a fowl got out of one of the hencoops and flew overboard; and by way of showing them the effect of our firearms, I took up my fowling piece—which was lying on the skylight, loaded with ball—and shot the fowl through the head. I cannot describe the terror and consternation which seized many of them on witnessing this. One man fell backwards on the platform of his canoe in a swoon, and his companion quickly paddled him away towards the shore. Whether he fell down in a fit, or fainted through fright, I never learned, but I certainly think it was the latter. I was perfectly astonished when I saw the man fall, as the ball did not go near him, he being abreast of the gangway at the time, and the fowl under the stern. He was lying to all appearance dead when his companion paddled him away. It was laughable to see his companion looking over his shoulder every now and then, while paddling, to observe if he was reviving. I witnessed the chief Soak trying to charm a shower away to day. I suppose he had a good notion that it would go past before he commenced. He sat on the platform of his canoe, with his face to windward, repeating a prayer, and wafting the shower away with both hands while doing so. When it had passed us, he seemed pleased, and assured me that he had charmed it away! I had some conversation with a chief of one of the northern tribes in the afternoon about forming another biche de mer establishment at his village, where he represented the biche de mer to be very plentiful, and the place convenient for fishing. It was agreed that I should visit the place on Monday, and arrange with the chiefs about fishing.

Sunday 24th A.M. Increasing breeze from W.S.W. and gloomy. No work done on board, and no liberty allowed on shore. Noon Strong gales and squally. Sunset gale still increasing. Bar 29.60. At 9 P.M. blowing a severe gale with heavy rain, thunder and lightning. Sent the topsail yards on deck, and pointed the lower yards to the wind. At midnight blowing a perfect hurricane. Expecting the vessel to bring home her anchors every moment,

36 The Yap people were noted for their dramatic 'startle reaction'. In the immediate post-war period, it was noted that they also had this reputation among the Ponapeans. This was a time, of course, when the Yap people had recently had a great deal to be startled by—for example aerial bombardment. In 1968, however, dramatic symptoms of fright were no longer observed—S.R. and D.M.S.
but could do nothing more, there being no room to pay out more
cable, the reef within one hundred yards of our stern.

25th At 3 A.M. gale moderating—set the watch. At daylight
Fresh W.S.W. winds and fair weather. After breakfast sent the
shore party to work as usual. The wind hauled round to N.W.
about noon, and the afternoon turned out fine, but we got no
biche de mer from the natives.

26th Light variable winds and fine pleasant weather. At 7 A.M.
I started in the whale boat, to visit one of the northeastern villages,
taking Etelokul and John Davey along with me as interpreters,
and having a Yap native in the boat as pilot. After pulling along
the shore about three miles, we came to a large village, whose
inhabitants were then at war with Tomal. Our pilot—who was a
Tomal chief—did not tell us this, until we were within pistol shot
of its being low water, and the channel lying near the shore. The
natives came running down to the wharfs with spears in their
hands, but did not offer to molest us. It is true we were well armed,
but we ran a considerable risk in passing so close, with one of their
enemies in the boat. The whole shore and wharfs fronting the
city had breast works of stone thrown up, as protection in
repelling any attack made by sea. After pulling about three miles
farther, we arrived at the town I intended to visit, and who were
on friendly terms with the Tomal people. We were received at
the landing place by the chief who had been on board on saturday,
and conducted by him to the Council square in the centre of the
town, where all the chiefs meet, when discussing the affairs of the
tribe. A messenger was dispatched to summon the King and chiefs,
who soon made their appearance, and took their usual seats near
me on the pavement. A number of women and children soon
collected, and sat down very quietly at a short distance from the
square. The behaviour of the natives was most orderly, and we
witnessed none of that rudeness so common among savages at
other islands. After stating through the interpreters, the object of
my visit—to which I received a favourable answer—the present
which I had brought was then presented to them, which they
gladly accepted. Refreshments were then brought for myself and
boats crew, and after partaking of them, and walking over the

37 A slightly raised and paved area, with upright slabs of stone which were
the designated seats for chiefs at meetings. As Cheyne indicates, women were
not allowed to set foot on this elevated area—S.R.
September 1843

village, we started for the ship at 4 P.M. much pleased with our reception. We took a wide circuit on passing the village at war with Tomal, so as not to give any cause for a quarrel, and arrived on board at 7 P.M. The Tomal chiefs had been out fishing in the forenoon and had brought in about nine pots of small black biche de mer. On asking their reason for not bringing the first quality—they answered that the reefs around Tomal, produced no other kind but what they had brought, and which on examining the reefs I found to be the case. We saw plenty of the first quality on the reefs abreast of the village we had visited, so that I had still hopes of being able to procure a considerable quantity there. John Gill carpenter, returned on board in the evening, having got over his attack of fever and Ague. I had been giving him Quinine and Port wine, which had cured him of the Ague. Thomas Boyd volunteered his services to take charge of the establishment, which I was about to form at the northeastern village.

On the morning of the 27th I started from the ship in the whale boat, to form our new establishment, taking Thomas Boyd, two Koroar natives, and five lascars with me, in addition to the boats crew, and interpreters, as a shore party, together with two biche de mer pots, a chest of trade and provisions, saws, axes, shovels &c. We arrived at the village about ten in the forenoon, and immediately set all hands to work fitting up the curing house which the chiefs had given us the use of. With the assistance of the natives, we got the whole frames of the two batters up by 8 P.M. when I divided the men into watches, so as to keep some hands at work seizing on the bamboo during the night. I then left them in charge of Thomas Boyd, and took up my quarters in a large council house, built on a high projecting pier, in company with my two interpreters Etelokul and John Davey. On arriving at the council house, we found it occupied by about forty men and women, one half of whom were chiefs and their concubines, who it appeared slept there. The others were merely spending the evening there,

38 What Cheyne calls a 'council house' was probably a faliu. Yap had two types of club house—old men's (pabai) and young men's (faliu). The latter were at the edge of the shore and fishing expeditions departed from them. The faliu housed the young men of the village and a series of girls who were 'captured' from other villages to live there. (Their closest analogues are Geishas.) The girls sang, danced, entertained, recited poetry, played childish games (such as pat-a-cake) and slept with the men in the house. They were able to 'graduate' by marrying one of the men and moving into his private house—D.M.S.
and went to their homes, as soon as the chiefs retired to rest. After we had had supper, The men entertained us with songs and dances which they kept up till near midnight, and which they probably would have continued longer, had not the following disagreeable occurrence, which took place about that hour, put a stop to it.

While the natives were engaged in dancing, we were all astonished to hear muskets fired in quick succession at the biche de mer house, which was only about 400 yards from where we were. I was very much alarmed, and thought at the moment, that the natives had made an attack on Boyd’s men and the boats crew, and would to a certainty murder us all. A thought also flashed across my mind, that it was their war dance which they had been pretending to entertain me with, and had been only waiting for a signal from the others to cut us all off. Although I had no arms but my sword and pistols—having left the whole of the muskets and ammunition with Boyd—I was however determined to sell my life dearly. As the night was so dark that I never could have found my way to the biche de mer house without a guide, I thought it would be safest to remain where I was, until I learned what was the matter; almost immediately however, some natives came running into the council house, and informed us to my great relief, that it was only Boyd firing the muskets off for his own diversion. A thought then struck me that he had been drinking their weekly allowance of grog—which was in the trade chest—as he was accustomed to show off in this dangerous manner, when drunk at Ascension; and to ascertain this, as also to order him to give over his mischievous amusement, I desired John Davey to go round to him. The natives seemed much alarmed at this madman’s pranks, and with just cause too. Davey soon returned, and informed me that Boyd had got drunk on the bottle of rum which was in the trade chest, and that he was so furious that all the lascars had run away from the house. The chiefs were soon pacified when I explained this affair, and I advised them not to go near him, but allow him to have the house to himself until he got sober. This affair taught me a lesson with regard to entrusting him with the charge of Grog, and I repented much having ever taken him from the ship; but the risk of staying on shore at such a distance from the vessel, was so great, that, had I not accepted of his offer, I do not think any of the quarter Masters would have gone, had I even
ordered them, so that Boyd—scoundrel as he was—became in a manner useful to me, and that entirely through his daring and reckless disposition. I walked round to the biche de mer house early on the following morning, and found the lascars at work at the batters, and Boyd sleeping off his debauch. I took care not to disturb him, and made up my mind not to allude to the affair at all when he awoke. About noon I walked up to the council square, where I found all the chiefs assembled. They promised to commence fishing as soon as the house was ready, and also agreed to assist in fixing the upper batter, as I could not stay longer away from the vessel. When I got back to the house I found Boyd sober and at work, apparently quite unconscious of the disturbance he had created, and seemingly ignorant of my having known anything about it. I took care not to make the slightest allusion to the subject, and left the station a little before sundown for the ship, where we arrived at 8 P.M. The chiefs of Tomal had been fishing during my absence, but they had procured no great quantity.

On the 29th and 30th nothing particular occurred. The chiefs of Tomal were still continuing to bring biche de mer, and our people were employed as usual cutting firewood and curing it. I visited our establishment at Rule on the 30th and found the gunner getting on but slowly. As I had been requested by some chiefs belonging to a village near the south end of Yap, to form an establishment at their place, I asked the gunner if he would have any objections to go there, and finding that he had none, I proposed that he should accompany the chiefs of that village on Monday, and fit up a house which they had offered us the use of; to which he agreed.

On Sunday the 1st of October, Smith sea cunnie, requested permission to go on shore to the small island in the afternoon, and wash his clothes, which was granted. Not having made his appearance on board at sunset, I sent on shore to enquire what had become of him, but the Lascars in charge of the biche de mer house knew nothing farther than that they had seen him in company with Leok a little before dark, and that they supposed he had gone to the town of Tomal and taken his bag of clothes with him. It was now evident to me that he had deserted. This Smith was the same person that I had in irons at the Pallou Islands, and being a man of mutinous disposition, I was resolved to recover him at all hazards, not on account of his usefulness,
but being a disaffected man, I was afraid of his putting the natives up to mischief, and enlightening them with regard to the cowardly disposition of Lascars in general. I therefore instituted strict inquiries as to his whereabouts, and on the following day learnt that one of the Tomal chiefs had him concealed in his house. On Monday evening at seven O’clock, I left the Brig in the whale boat, taking with me—in addition to her usual crew; Mr Briggs third officer, the gunner, a quarter master, Etelokul, and John Davey interpreters, all well armed. We pulled in quietly, and landed unobserved (the night being very dark) at the council house wharf. We then formed and walked up the road sword in hand, and when about a hundred yards from the wharf, we met the very chief who had Smith concealed. We immediately surrounded him, and I threatened him with instant death if he spoke or gave the least alarm, and ordered him to conduct us to the house in which the man was concealed. After taking us through many intricate and unfrequented windings, we at last arrived at his house, which we surrounded without giving any alarm. The chief then conducted me stealthily to the door, and pointed to the farther end of the house, where Smith was lying concealed under mats. I instantly rushed in with the 3rd Officer and gunner, and on lifting the mat discovered Smith, whom I ordered to be handcuffed and threatened to blow his brains out if he made the least noise. We then lost no time in finding our way back to the boat, the old chief conducting us with a pistol to his head. We got down safe, and had just shoved off when the alarm was given. We found no one in the house with Smith but three women, who seemed to think we were going to kill him. We got on board about half past eight, (having only been absent about an hour and a half,) and placed Smith in charge of two sentinels on the quarter deck. About half an hour afterwards, the sentry called out that Smith had wrenched the handcuffs off and thrown them overboard. We then put him down in the ’tween decks, and put both his legs in the bilboa, and issued strict orders to the sentinels, to allow no one to speak to him, and to be particularly careful that he held no communication with the natives. This was rather a hazardous and daring exploit, but the necessity of recovering the man, justified the measures which were taken. We got eight pots of small biche de mer from the chiefs during the day; our shore party employed curing it.

On the morning of the 3rd we packed up a quantity of trade and provisions for the gunner to take to the village at the south end
of the island, and left the ship about 10 A.M. in the whaleboat, taking in addition to the boat's crew—the gunner and five lascars for a shore party at the new station, and John Gill to take charge of the curing establishment at the town of Rule. I landed at Rule in company with John Gill, and sent the boat on with the gunner and his party, accompanied by a chief of the southern village, and one of the Pallou islanders as interpreter, giving them orders to call for me on their way back to the ship.

The Rule chiefs came down to the biche de mer house in the afternoon, and in course of conversation made use of every argument which they could think of to induce me to remove the Brig from Tomal to their village; but although I must allow that the biche de mer was of a superior quality, and more plentiful at the latter place, still I could see little prospect of gaining much by the exchange, as the natives appeared equally lazy and unwilling to work at both places. And it appeared evident to me that my only chance of getting any quantity was by having an establishment at each of the principal towns. The most feasible argument they made use of was, that the only depredations committed on foreigners at Yap, had been done solely by the Tomal natives, and that they were confident they had it in contemplation to cut us off, could they only get a favourable opportunity. They thought I was very wrong in forming an establishment, so far away from the ship as the Northeastern village, where Boyd was. As the inhabitants of that town were the friends and allies of the Tomal chiefs, and always assisted them when at war. They further assured me that Leok was a cunning scoundrel, and that he had long been tampering with my shore parties, and trying to induce them to desert, by promising them land and women, so as to weaken our force as much as possible, and then to watch a favourable opportunity to attack the ship. They said Leok acted just in a similar manner when he planned the capture of the Spanish brig. I did not give much heed to this caution at the time, thinking that some jealousy existed between the two towns, and that they were trying to make their neighbours appear greater rogues than they really were to induce me to remove the ship to their place. I however found out before long that they had been telling me the truth, and were the best friends I had in Yap. The boat did not return that night, owing to its being low water when they were ready to start, so that I had to remain at Rule during the night. The chief Soak gave me a mat in his house to sleep on,
and some fine fish and tarro for supper. I did not fancy much
sleeping out of the ship, but thought it better to do so, than run
the risk of being drowned going on board in a canoe, in a dark
and rainy night. Had I been aware of the treachery which was
hatching, it is not likely I would have slept so well as I did. The
whale boat returned early on the following morning, and I
went on board in her. They informed me that they were kindly
treated by the natives, and that the gunner had commenced to
fit the house up, assisted by them. The Tomal chiefs brought in
about five pots of small black in the forenoon, and informed me
that the term of their monopoly had expired, and that all the
natives were now at liberty to fish for biche de mer. Shore party
employed as usual.

5th Variable winds with rain. Very few canoes out—got only
five pots of the small black. Shore party employed cutting
firewood, and curing biche de mer.

Observed several of the natives suffering severely from coughs.
Leok was on board the greater part of the day, watching our
people cleaning the small arms, and inspecting every part of the
vessel very minutely, even to measuring her length, and breadth.

On the morning of the 6th I started in the whale-boat to visit
Boyds station, and arrived there about 10 A.M. The natives
had commenced fishing, and he had got his lower batter full of
biche de mer of the first quality. He represented the slug as being
very plentiful, but the natives excessively lazy. I returned on
board about 4 P.M. A number of the Tomal natives had been
out fishing, but they had only brought in four pots altogether.
Smith still in confinement, and prevented from holding any
intercourse with the natives. The other survivor of the Spanish
vessel Mariano, which I have before alluded to, came on board
in the evening, and intreated me to allow him to remain—which
I agreed to. The other Manila lad Lorio, told me this evening,
that when Leok first saw him on board, he got in a great rage,
and threatened to kill him, if ever he caught him on shore again.
I learnt from John Davey to day that the Influenza has broke out
among the natives at Tomal, and they are much alarmed, never
having had any disease like it before.

7th Light westerly winds and fine weather. The Tomal natives
brought no biche de mer to day. On inquiring the reason from
Leok, who was on board in the morning, he informed me that
several of the Tomal natives died last night of the Influenza, and
October 1843

that fully half the inhabitants were laid up with it. I went on shore with Leok in the evening, and heard nothing but mournful wailings issuing from every dwelling. I gave a few of the chiefs some medicine, and directions how to use it. I observed a great shyness on the part of the natives this evening; very few of the chiefs spoke to me while I was on shore, farther than upbraiding me with having brought the sickness. I thought at the time that they were joking, but I soon found out that such was not the case. On returning on board, John Davey informed me that the manila boy Lorio, had heard from a native belonging to one of the slave villages, that Leok was organizing a force of about 600 men to attack the vessel, and that the shore parties were to be cut off at the same time; also that the priests when consulted as to the cause and origin of the influenza, had prophesied that I had bewitched them for not fishing for biche de mer, and brought this sickness on the island. He also informed Lorio, that Leok and the Tomal chiefs had long had it in contemplation to cut the vessel off, but had always delayed the attack in the hope of getting more of our people distributed over the island; but since the gunner had formed our new establishment at the south end of the island, they had been organizing the above force, and now that the opinion of the priests, as to the cause of the sickness, had been ascertained, they were determined to delay the attack no longer. The native could not tell him how soon they intended to make the attempt. All that he knew was that messengers had been dispatched to the western villages some days ago, and that since then, they had been busily engaged equipping their large proas, and making warlike preparations.

8th Westerly winds and fine weather. No work done being

39 The sickness was, in fact, almost certainly brought by Cheyne's ship. The carpenter John Gill was put on shore suffering from 'fever and ague' and a fortnight later the villages were struck down with a disease described as 'influenza' that the inhabitants had, by Cheyne's own account, never seen before. (Of course the Yap people were accusing Cheyne of sorcery; not infection.) It is strange that in two years' experience in the South Seas Cheyne had not before encountered the situation. He does not appear to have realised that, once the accusation was made, matters were desperately serious. A more sensitive person might have been aware (especially after the Yapese concern to purify the ship on its arrival) that any misfortune occurring during their stay would be associated with their presence. Neither does it seem to have occurred to Cheyne that, in a rational sense, it was probably true that they caused the epidemic.

271
October 1843

Sunday—Leok came on board in the morning, and informed me that twenty of the Tomal natives, had died of the Influenza since yesterday. Observed a number of strange canoes going towards Tomal in the afternoon. On questioning Leok about them, he said they had come from the slave towns with provisions for the chiefs.

9th At daylight sent a party of men on shore to cut firewood for the vessel, in addition to the usual shore party. About 10 A.M. observed several very large canoes or rather proas coming towards us under sail from the south end of Yap. Recalled the wooding party, and saw the guns all clear. The proas came alongside about Noon; they were the largest we had yet seen, and were well manned with able bodied men. The platforms of the proas, and on which they had houses built, were as high as the brig's topgallant bulwarks. Leok came on board about the same time, and was very anxious for me to allow them on board, saying that they were his friends who had come to see the ship; but I declined doing so, and posted additional sentinels to keep them off. They were all armed with clubs, spears, and Spanish knives, and kept hovering around the vessel till near sundown, when they left us, and landed at Tomal accompanied by Leok. He informed me that the Influenza was raging with increased violence, and that 24 of their people had died of it since yesterday morning. No biche de mer brought by the Tomal natives, but those at our other stations were fishing as usual.

On the morning of the 10th sent a wooding party on shore again to the small island; and about 10 A.M. I started for Rule in the whale boat, to get John Gill to put a piece of new plank in her bottom, she having been stove on the previous day. I got there about eleven, and hauled the boat up on the wharf, when Gill commenced taking the broken plank out. I noticed that many of the natives were labouring under Influenza; but they made no complaint to me as to the cause of it; nor did the chiefs make the smallest allusion to the caution they had given me on my former visit regarding the treacherous character of the Tomal chiefs until more than two hours after I had landed. About that time I was sitting on the trade chest in the biche de mer house, giving the lascars directions about drying the biche de mer, when I was much alarmed by seeing 12 men at the east door of the house. After consulting together for a moment, they entered, walked up to where I was seated, and squatted down in front of
me; some armed with knives, and the others with clubs and spears.

I had my pistol in my hand, and sword by my side as usual, and in addition to them, two muskets, loaded; with plenty of ammunition. On seeing them coming in, I called Gill, and gave him the muskets with a cartouch box full of cartridges. We both kept close together, with our arms ready, and sat facing them for fully half an hour, without a word being spoken on either side. They at last got up, and walked out of the house, and a more ferocious set of villains, I never clapped my eyes on. When they came in, all the Rule natives immediately retired. It was evident to me that these scoundrels had come to kill us; and nothing in my opinion saved us, but our determined appearance, and presence of mind. A few minutes after they had left us, the head chief of the village came to the biche de mer house, and taking me to one side, informed me through my interpreter, & much to my astonishment, that Leok intended to attack the brig on this very night, with those large proas which had visited us on the previous day, and that those men who had just left me, and who belonged to a village on the west side of the island, had been hired by the Tomal chiefs, and sent round by them to murder me, but on finding me and Gill well armed, they were afraid to attack us. I instantly asked him, that as he pretended to be my friend, why he did not give me warning before, to which he answered, that he was from home when they came, and had only this moment learnt from them what he had now told me. He assured me that I had no cause for alarm, as he was my friend, and no one should injure me while under his protection, and that he had ordered those emissaries of Leok to leave his village, the moment he was aware of their villainous intentions. As the broken plank had been taken out of the boat’s bottom, the chief proposed to send me on board in a canoe; but after what I had heard and witnessed, I had no notion of trusting myself to their mercy, and thought it would be safer to remain until the boat was repaired, and return in her. I therefore set Gill to work again at her bottom, and at the same time wrote a note to Mr. Mackie chief officer acquainting him of the intended attack, and instructing him to recall the shore party from the small island without delay, and

40 Again Cheyne is oblivious to the internal political implications of the situation. The attitude of the Rule chiefs would have been determined by Yap politics rather than their friendship or otherwise with Cheyne and his party.
make every preparation for the defence of the ship, but to be
careful only to act on the defensive. At the same time I acquainted
him with the critical situation I was placed in, but advised him
on no account to weaken his force by sending a boat for me,
(having by far too many men out of the ship already,) as I thought
I would be able to get safe on board after dark. The chief Soak
undertook to carry this note on board in his canoe, and I lost no
time in despatching him with it. At 5 P.M. Soak returned, and to
my great relief brought a hurried line from Mr Mackie acquainting
me that my note had been safely delivered, and that he should lose
no time in acting up to it. Gill finished the boat by sunset—when
we launched her, and about an hour after dark we started for the
ship, taking all the cured biche de mer along with us. I still left
Gill and the shore party, being pretty sure that the Rule chiefs
would protect them, having had strong proofs of their honesty
during this trying day.

On our getting on board, we found all the crew under arms, and
every thing ready for defence in case of attack. Mr Mackie
informed me that Leok was on board when Soak handed him my
note. On reading it he immediately recalled the hands from the
small island, with the exception of three who were left to keep the
fires going—examined the priming of the guns, and brought a
good supply of Muskets and ammunition on deck. Leok, he said,
appeared all astonishment that a bit of paper could convey orders
to him to act in the way he did; and after trying to persuade him
that these preparations were uncalled for—he went on shore. He
informed Mr Mackie that the Influenza was still raging. Half our
crew under arms during the night. We were now in a very critical
situation, having a part of our crew on shore at three different
villages, entirely in the power of the natives; and it was evident to
me that our only chance of bringing them off safe, depended on
our outwitting the Tomal chiefs, by allowing the natives of those
villages to go on fishing as usual, until we got the vessel ready for
sea, which would probably lead them to suppose we had no
intention of leaving soon, and then to send our boats quietly in the
night, and bring them all off at once, as this appeared to me to be
our only chance of saving them.

The chances were, that Leok seeing us on our guard would
delay the attack for a day or two, and I therefore intended to lose
no time in getting the vessel ready for sea.

At daybreak on the 11th we commenced sending up yards and
October 1843

Masts, and by sunset had everything at anto—running gear rove and overhauled down ready for bending sails, and a good supply of firewood brought off from the small island, and stowed away. A tindal and two men left in the house to keep the fires going during the night.

12th At daylight sent the whale boat to one of the slave villages for a raft of water, and commenced bending sails. The boat returned with the water at 8 A.M. when we hoisted it in, and stowed it in the Main hold. Directly after breakfast I sent the boat to the small Island, to bring off all the cured biche de mer. They soon returned with it, and informed me, much to my astonishment, that the three lascars left in charge of the house the previous night, had either deserted, or had been forcibly carried off by the natives, as they were not to be found on the island, and that all the axes, and arms which they had in charge had been taken away also. I then sent two trustworthy men on shore to keep fires under the wet biche de mer which was on the batter during the day, and brought all the biche de mer pots on board. The loss of these men convinced me that we had no time to lose. I therefore hurried the people on with bending the sails, and had them all bent and furled by 4 p.m., water casks secured, and every thing ready for sea. A chief from Boyd's village came on board in the afternoon. He was a friend of Leok's who had come that morning on a visit to Tomal. I inquired if he knew anything of my three men, and he informed me that they had been carried on shore by Leok, who had them concealed in the town, and that he was resolved not to deliver them up. He also informed me that all the large proas which were lying at Tomal, had been brought from different villages to make an attack on our vessel, and that it had been finally arranged this morning to attack us the moment we commenced warping up along the reef—which they were aware we would have to do before we could make sail, the channel being too narrow to beat out. This chief said that Boyd's shore party were all right when he left home. As he appeared to be a man of some influence, I came to the determination of keeping him on board for the night, until I should consider what steps we should take, to recover our men, and effect our safe retreat from this place. At 8 p.m. we brought off the two men from the small island, and all the biche de mer. At 10 I gave orders to get three boats crews picked out, and well armed, which I intended to despatch about midnight for the shore parties, so as to reach the stations about two in the morning, by
which time I presumed all the natives would be asleep. At midnight dispatched the boats, and cautioned them to keep near the barrier reef until abreast of the villages they were bound to, so as to give no alarm. We then waited their return with the greatest anxiety, and much to our relief they all got on board by four in the morning, bringing all the biche de mer pots, and most of the curing utensils; but Boyd had lost two of his lascars they having either deserted, or had been forcibly carried off by the natives. The others returned in safety, but had to leave all the wet biche de mer behind.

At daylight on the 13th I sent Etelokul, the Koroar chief, on shore to Tomal, to demand my men from Leok. He returned about 8, and informed me that Leok confessed having the men, but refused to deliver them, and desired him to tell me, that if I wanted them I would require to take them by armed force. Etelokul was told by a countryman of his while on shore, that the attack on our vessel was to be made this very night, or rather early on the following morning, at which time the tide would have flowed sufficiently to float their proas, a number of which he saw lying in the basin near the council house. On hearing this additional information, and seeing our danger more eminent and nearer at hand than we had anticipated, I called my officers together for consultation in presence of Etelokul whom I had proved to be trustworthy; and knowing him to be well acquainted with the deceitful character of the Yap people, I asked him to give us his advice as to how he thought we should act, in order to secure the safety of our men on shore, as well as effect a safe retreat from this hostile place. Etelokul was of opinion that it would be attended with great hazard to await the threatened attack of the natives; as he doubted much—what was to me very evident—that our Lascars would not stand in a hand to hand conflict against men greatly superior in bodily strength as well as in numbers. He therefore suggested that a final message should be sent to the town demanding that our men should be set at liberty; and in the event of their not being delivered up and sent on board within twelve hours, hostilities would be resorted to, as a last and necessary resource; making the natives also aware that we had got in possession one of their chiefs, who would be kept as a hostage for

41 The 'not' is obviously a slip—Etelokul doubted that they would stand, indeed it was evident to him that they would not.
enforcing the protection of our men on shore; and should they be put to death, that he would likely suffer the same penalty, an extremity we deprecated, and trusted they would see the propriety of instantly complying with the message.

At nine O'clock on the following morning, Etelokul was despatched with the above message. He returned about ten, all his remonstrances and threats having failed to make any impression upon Leok, farther than calling forth his contempt, and a most insulting message to carry back to me. He said he was determined to keep our men at all hazards, and that his people were neither afraid of us nor our guns. Etelokul was also told that Leok’s people were in readiness to make an attack on the vessel towards morning. Finding that no farther parley could be held with these savage people, and that their intentions were hostile, we lost no time in making preparations for our departure and in order to thwart their diabolical designs, it was my intention, at the expiration of the truce granted in my message pr Etelokul to fire some shot in the Jungle near the west end of the town of Tomal, to frighten them from making any attack, so as to secure our safe retreat at daylight. A few minutes before nine, I sent the 3rd officer and two men to the small Island to fire our Biche de mer house, being my property, and having previously taken every thing out of it; and at nine O’clock, (our truce having expired) we fired a few shots in the direction of the Jungle, at which time the Biche de mer house was in a blaze. We kept firing an occasional shot until about midnight, by which time we presumed the people were so frightened as to have deserted their proas and left the town. Their proas were aground on the flat while we were firing so that they could not make any attack on us. As we were fully 200 yards from the town, none of our shot could have reached the shore, our guns being only 6 & 9 pounder carronades, but the report however no doubt frightened them sufficiently to deter them from molesting us while warping out.

We had the vessel unmoored, & hove short by day break, when we took the boarding nettings down, hove the anchor up, and after warping to the weather side of the channel, made all sail, and at 9 A.M. got clear out to sea. We did not observe an individual in, or near the town of Tomal, during the time we were getting underweigh, which made it appear very probable that they had all left it during the night. When the Rule chiefs—who had always been friendly—observed us safely underweigh, they came in their
canoes to the weather side of the channel, and remained there waving their hats and cheering us while passing, and until they saw us safe out clear of the reefs.

We kept standing off and on, near the barrier reef until noon, in hopes of getting a canoe to land the chief in, but as none had made its appearance up till time, I called the chief on deck, and asked him if he was willing to remain in the vessel until our return to the Pallou Islands at which place he had friends, and should be landed. To this he readily assented. We then made all sail with a fresh breeze from the westward, and shaped a course for the Island of Ascension.

Before proceeding any farther with my narrative, I shall commence another chapter with a brief description of the Island of Yap and its inhabitants, so far as came under my personal observation during my stay there.
CHAPTER TWELVE

Geographical description of Yap—Its inhabitants—Their character—Dress—Houses—Canoes—Weapons—Food—Betel-nut—Remarks on the female sex—Concubines—Mode of striking a light—Mode of smoking tobacco—General observations—passage to Ascension—Arrival there—An account of occurrences which had taken place during my absence—Visit the King—Form biche de mer establishments—Sail for New Georgia—touch at the Massacre Islands—proceedings there—Arrive at the Eddystone—form a fishery—proceed to New Georgia—Affray with the natives—return to the Eddystone—Moor in the Harbour—Occurrences while there—Sail for Ascension—Description of the Eddystone—Leave a party at the Eddystone.

The Island of Yap is about ten miles in length, in a north and south direction, and seven or eight miles in breadth; surrounded

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1 The most westerly group in the Solomon Islands, well known to whalers and traders since the early 1830s. The group consists of eleven small islands lying between about 7°32' and 8°50'S and 156°28' and 158°19'E. Simbo is usually included, although Cheyne treats it as separate.

2 See note 27, this chapter.

3 Simbo: 8°15'S, 156°32'E, about four miles long from north to south.

4 "but its greatest length is in a N.E. and S.W. direction"—Cheyne 1855: 146. He evidently considered the four main islands on the triangular reef as one, though they are separated by narrow channels. With these qualifications the geographical description is fair and the location very good. An abridged and rearranged version of his description of Yap and Yap society appears in Cheyne 1852: 142-6.
by a coral reef, which extends from its southern end, two or three miles. It has an excellent harbour on the southeast side, formed by reefs. The entrance is about 200 yards wide, and can easily be discerned from the mast head, when standing along the reef. After getting inside, the channel widens a little, and trends to N.N.W. In some places, it is nearly one third of a mile in width. The
anchorage off the village of Tomal is quite safe; the holding ground is good, and the depth of water moderate.

This island is moderately elevated in the centre, and slopes gradually towards the shore all round. It can be seen about 25 miles in clear weather, and makes in three hummocks, which would lead a stranger passing to mistake it for three small islands. The centre of the island is situated in Latitude 9°35' N. Long. 138°8' E. A shoal is said to lie 15 or 20 miles to the northward of Yap. This is the only danger near it that I know of.

Very little timber grows inland, but the shores are lined with mangroves; and the coast between the villages, in some places, is covered with small wood. In consequence of the scarcity of large timber on this island, the natives get all their proas built at the Pallou Islands, which they frequently visit.

The villages are all situated near the shore, amongst groves of cocoanut trees, of which they have an abundance.

The natives are an able bodied race, well formed, and similar in complexion to the Caroline islanders. Many of the women are handsome, and of a much lighter colour than the males, owing I presume to their not being so much exposed to the weather, and to their wearing, when out of doors, a Mantilla, or upper article of dress. Both sexes allow their hair to grow to a great length, and wear it tucked up, in the form of a knot, on one side of the head.

With regard to the character of these people, little can be said in their favour. They are exceedingly treacherous, and should an opportunity offer, would not hesitate to cut off any vessel which might visit the island. Foreign finery however is a great temptation to savages, and excites their covetous disposition to attempt obtaining by force, what their indolent habits prevents them from procuring by a fair & honest traffic.

The dress of the males, if such it may be called, is slovenly in

5 Cheyne is mistaken about this. Canoes (not proas) were built in Yap from the breadfruit tree which grew on the island and the Yap people also built canoes for other islands. That 'very little timber grows inland' is true to some degree, but the coastal area, from the water's edge to the part that rises rapidly and is covered with grassland, is by no means a thin strip, but rather a wide belt. Although there was no thick forest even here, good stout breadfruit and iron wood were present. The trees here were also important in holding the terraced gardens. The Yap people did 'frequently visit' the Palau Islands to quarry their stone money and during the visit they could possibly have negotiated the transfer of some timber for hulls and built a canoe to help haul the stones back to Yap—D.M.S.
the extreme. They wear the maro⁶ next them, and by way of improvement, a bunch of bark fibres over it, dyed red; the ends of which hang down as low as their knees before and behind. The females are more decently clad. Their dress consists of the Oung⁷ or grass petticoat, which is formed of long grass or banana fibres braided round a string at the upper part, and made broad enough to meet when tied round the loins.

The women when dressed have several of these tied round them, one above another, which forms a bushy petticoat. These dresses are dyed of various colours, and are worn of different lengths; the dress of the unmarried girl hardly reaching to the knees, while that of the married woman hangs down to the ankles. They have also an upper article of dress, which they wear when out of doors, or when exposed to the sun, as before mentioned.

Both sexes wear conical hats, formed of palm leaves sewed together. They are similar in shape to the hats of the Chinese, and protect their heads effectually from both rain and sun.

Many of the men are handsomely tattooed on the breast, arms, and shoulders; but tattooing does not appear to be much practised among the women.

Their houses form an oblong square, and are well constructed. The roof is thatched with palm leaves sewed to reeds, and neatly seized to bamboo rafters; and the sides are covered in with wicker work.

The canoes and proas of these islanders, are formed of planks sewed together, and are similar in shape to the flying proa of the Ladrone Islands.⁸ The bottoms of these proas are formed like a

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⁶ Maro is not a Yap term. The garment he refers to is a loin-cloth or thu, part of which was the begi (be-ghee) and probably the part Cheyne calls the maro. The begi was a kind of girdle or wide belt made of woven hibiscus or banana-leaf fibre of up to three or four feet long and having long fringes at the ends like an old-fashioned piano shawl. Through this was pushed, fore and aft, a bunch of hibiscus fibre which, as Cheyne indicates, did not perform efficiently the function of concealing the genitals. This bunch of dried fibre was called gal and was sometimes dyed red; but those of the lower classes, to whom red was prohibited, were of the yellowish-white of the freshly processed material, which after wear became a dirty grey—D.M.S.

⁷ Oung, the women's dress, is correctly described. It is perhaps worth noting that a more than superficial inspection would be required to discover that what appears to be a single skirt is, in fact, a series one on top of another—D.M.S.

⁸ Marianas. The islands were, in fact, first named after the fine sailing canoes of the inhabitants. When Magellan arrived there on 6 March 1521, he named
wedge, and being similar in shape to a crescent, they draw a good
deal of water. Those in which they perform their voyages to the
other islands, are of a large size, rigged with a triangular sail, and
generally have a small house built amidships on the platform.
They are very weatherly, and sail exceedingly fast in smooth
water.  

The implements of warfare in use among these people are
spears, clubs, spanish knives, slings and stones. The spears are
made of hard wood, jagged at the points, and in consequence are
very dangerous weapons.

Their food consists of tarro, bananas, breadfruit, sugar cane,
fish, turtle, and cocoanuts. They catch the turtle when small, and
feed them in a pen at the north end of the island, until they get fat
and reach their full growth. They have also a few pigs and fowls,
but they are only eaten on rare occasions.

The betel-nut tree is cultivated with the greatest care at this
island. It is a beautiful slender palm; and grows amongst the
cocoanut trees, which it resembles in appearance. The nuts are
pulled before they are ripe, and are chewed, with the usual
condiments—lime and Aromatic leaves—by both sexes.

The Yap women enjoy greater priviledges and exemptions from
labour, than most of the women at other islands. They seldom do
any out door work, but merely manage their household affairs,10
and on the whole appear to be well treated by the men.11 It would
appear that the males outnumber the females at this island, as it is
quite common, in regard to concubines, for a dozen men to have
only one paramour amongst them.12

I found traces of the Mosaic law in force among these people,
a better description of which I cannot give than by referring my
readers to the 15th chapter of Leviticus, commencing at the
19th verse, and reading to the end.13
October 1843

These people like all savages are exceedingly superstitious, one of which is their mode of procuring a light for their cigars. I have often wondered when sitting in their houses—where they generally have good fires—at seeing both men and women labouring away to procure a light by the friction of two sticks, and they sitting close to the fire at the time. On enquiring their reason for this unnecessary labour, their reply was, that were they to light their cigars from the fire, some calamity would be sure to happen. They do not smoke their tobacco in pipes, but roll it up in leaves, similar to the paper cigars of the Portuguese and Spaniards.

In concluding these remarks, I may observe that the inhabitants of Yap resemble more the Malays in their general character than any of the other islanders I have seen, being exceedingly cunning, although wanting that ferocity which specially characterize the Inhabitants of the South Sea islands.

Having failed in my expectations of procuring biche de mer at this place, we now bade adieu to Yap, and made all sail to the S.E. for the island of Ascension with a fresh breeze from W.N.W. At 3 P.M. on the 14th Oct. the island bore N.W. distant 20 miles. Secured the Guns and boats and kept a strict lookout during the night.

Sunday 15th Fresh westerly winds with rain at times. Noon Lat. obs. 8°16′N. Long. chr. 130°15′ E. A strict lookout kept night and day.

16th Fresh westerly winds and squally with rain. All possible sail set. Tradesmen variously employed. Noon Lat. obs. 6°18′N. Long. chr. 140°32′ E. Altered our course at Noon to E.S.E.

17th Steady westerly winds with showers occasionally. Noon Lat. obs. 5°25′N. Long. chr. 143°32′ E. Experienced a slight easterly current during these last 24 hours. Altered the course at noon to East. Employed overhauling gun gear, carpenters repairing gun carriages, and making cartouch boxes. Havildar and seapoys cleaning small arms.

18th Strong westerly winds and squally. All sail set. Noon Lat. obs. 5°3′N. Long. chr. 146°56′ E. Current still setting to the eastward.

19th Fresh westerly gales with heavy squalls, carrying a heavy press of canvas. Noon Lat. obs. 4°40′ N. Long. chr. 150° 44′ E.

14 The complex tabus concerning the sharing of food (see p. 253n.) apply also to the sharing of fire—D.M.S.

15 Tobacco was in fact introduced by the Spanish—D.M.S.

284
October 1843

 Experienced a strong easterly current during these last 24 hours. Distance run pr observations 230 miles.


 21st Light westerly winds and hazy. All possible sail set. Noon Lat. obs. 5°10' N. Long. chr. 156° 10' E. Experienced a slight easterly current. 4 P.M. the drummer beat to quarters, when we excercised the crew at great guns and small arms.

 Sunday 22nd Light westerly winds and fine. Noon Lat. obs. 5°42' N. Long. chr. 157° 47' E. No current. Hauled up to N.W. by N. at noon to sight the Raven Islands. 4 P.M. saw the N.E. part of the group from the mast head, when we kept a way to N.N.E. for Ascension. Light airs from S.W. during the afternoon. 10 P.M. hove too, ship's head to the N.W. A good lookout kept during the night.

 23rd At daylight saw the Island of Ascension bearing N.N.E. made all sail and bore away for it with a light breeze from the southward. Employed during the forenoon getting harbour gear in readiness; bent the cables, and got the anchors off the gunnel. 4 P.M. hove too off the entrance of Rohan Kiddi harbour, and made all snug for the night, it being then too late in the day to attempt going in. As no canoes were to be seen coming off, I lowered the gig down, and, pulled inshore to hear the news. On entering the passage I met the chief Noach and James Cook in a canoe, who were agreeably surprised to find it was me. We landed on the Island of Naalap, and after partaking of some cocoanuts and fruit, pulled up the harbour and landed at my old house at Roan Kiddi, which I found still standing and nearly in the same

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16 Ngatik atoll: 5°49'N, 157°21'E, about 90 miles south-west of Ponape. The largest of its islets is about one mile long and half a mile wide and is entirely surrounded by a reef. Ngatik was visited by traders in the early part of the century for its tortoiseshell and was the scene of the Lambton affair (see Introduction, p. 12).

17 Cook is mentioned by Scherzer in his description of the Novara's short stay at Ponape in September 1858. According to this account he practised as a physician, calling himself Dr Cook. He was said to have lived there since 1832 and to have had a daughter by a Ponapean woman. The daughter apparently married an American negro by whom she had children—Scherzer 1862: 561, 563, 578.
October 1843

order as I left it in; but I met no one there to welcome me. My old friend the prime minister was dead, and the council house had a melancholy and deserted appearance. Although I remained on shore about half an hour, no one came down to see me but the late chief Nannikan’s widow and children. They all shook hands but not a word of recognition or welcome did they utter. After sitting silent for a moment, they set up a most mournful wailing, striking their breasts wringing their hands, and shedding tears profusely.

I found James Hadley and Charles Dunn on board when I returned. They furnished me with the following account of occurrences which had transpired at this island during my absence, which fully accounts for the coolness of my reception, and shyness of the natives. The Dysentery broke out among the natives at Roan Kiddi about a fortnight after my departure for China in the ‘Wave’, and soon spread over the island, sweeping off hundreds of the natives in its course, and amongst the rest my old friend Nannikan. This hitherto unknown epidemic caused great consternation, and led the natives to institute inquiries from the whites residing on the island as to its origin. These scoundrels, with the view of weakening my influence with the natives, and rendering abortive any future attempt I might make to form an establishment at this place—told them that the sickness had been brought from China in the ‘Wave’; and that I had purposely sold them red cloth—as payment for land—in which the contagion was lodged, so as they might get infected by handling it, and that I had done this solely as a punishment for their not exerting themselves more than they did in procuring biche de mer for me during my late residence on the island. Many of the natives believed this, and the chiefs of Roan Kiddi tribe unanimously resolved to kill me on my return to the island, as payment for the loss of their relatives.

The New Zealanders residing on shore had revolted against the whites, and murdered two of them during my absence, and had been persuading the chiefs to kill the remainder, and cut off all vessels which might touch at the island, telling them that their countrymen in New Zealand had captured many ships, and murdered their crews without any punishment having ever been inflicted by the British ships of war for doing so. They fled in a body to the Island of Mudock immediately after killing these men, and put themselves under the protection of the chief Talk’s oldest son, to whom the island belongs, and who guarded them with
about 50 natives. The New Zealanders finding that it would be unsafe to leave this stronghold, and being thereby prevented from trading as usual with the Whale ships, sent proposals of peace to the whites, and the latter being equally afraid of the New Zealanders agreed to accept of it. A day was then appointed for both parties to meet at the murderer George May’s house, where they were to dine together, and conclude a treaty of peace; but the sequel will show with what faith this promise was kept on the part of two of the whites. The others I believe went to May’s house in utter ignorance of any treachery being intended.

On the day appointed the New Zealanders only five in number left their stronghold, and according to promise repaired to George May’s house where they found about fifteen whites assembled. The New Zealanders then explained to them the origin of their quarrel which was an attempt made by the men they killed, to carry off their wives to the Raven Islands, and that to prevent them from carrying their design into execution, they had gone to one of the small islets in the night and killed the two men while asleep. Having had revenge for this outrage, they expressed themselves now willing to make peace, which the whites agreed to. They then sealed the treaty by shaking hands and dining together. After getting up from the table, and while in the act of bidding good bye to the whites, George May and his countryman, and accomplice, Goliath, went into the adjoining room, where it appears they had several loaded muskets concealed, and having armed themselves, fired among the New Zealanders as they were going out, and shot two of them dead. The others—who it appears had tomahawks concealed under their frocks—made a rush on George May, and after wounding him severely in the skull made good their retreat to Mudock. Old Charles Dunn climbed up the rafters of the house during the affray. This was rather a dangerous experiment on the part of George May and his friend, as his house was situated within the precincts of the palace and consequently on tabooed ground.

Thomson who piloted in the Bull, and to whom I had made considerable advances, to enable him to complete the little vessel he was building, had been murdered by a man named Bates during my absence. I was told they had some quarrel about a piece of ground. Thomson challenged him to fight, and while the former was in the act of pulling off his shirt, Bates shot him through the head.

Charles Dunn, with whom I left some trade, had failed to
procure any quantity of biche de mer for me. He had made a
beginning on one of the small islands, when the white’s persuaded
the natives to knock off fishing, having succeeded in making them
believe that I was the cause of the Dysentery then raging.

24th At noon came to an anchor in Roan Kiddie Harbour in
7 fathoms. Unbent sails, sent down topgallant and royal yards,
unrove the running gear, and spread awnings &c. The late chief
Nannikan’s successor, and two of his sons came on board in the
afternoon. They expressed their alarm and disappointment at
seeing Thomas Boyd on board, and wondered how he had got off
so easily, and what could have induced me to bring him back.
Nannikan informed me that none of the chiefs would again
harbour him, and that if he went on shore they would hold me
responsible for all depredations committed by him, as I had
brought him back to the Island. This was nothing more than I
expected when I agreed to give him a passage back.

25th 9 A.M. started for Wonah to visit the king in the whale
boat. 11 arrived at the Palace, and had a long interview with his
Majesty. He appeared much displeased at Thomas Boyd’s return
to the Island; and told me the white men had assured him and the
other chiefs, that I was the sole cause of the Dysentery breaking
out among them. (The poor ignorant natives firmly believed this,
and no arguments of mine could convince them to the contrary.)
& That in consequence, no natives would be permitted to leave
the island in my vessel. I made him & the nobles assembled a large
present, and requested permission to form curing establishments
at different parts of the island which after some demur, they
granted: My motive for returning to Ascension was to procure a
number of natives and canoes, and proceed to some of the un-
inhabited coral Islands of the Radack and Ralick chain to
fish for biche de mer, but in consequence of Dysentery having
carried off a number of the natives during my absence (as I have

18 This new Nahnken must be the one called Solomon, also known as Nahngu,
mentioned by the missionary L. H. Gulick—manuscript papers, American
Board of Commissioners, Houghton Library, Harvard University (information
supplied by Dr Saul Riesenberg). He was an imposing figure, who greatly
impressed the missionaries—S.R.

19 Again, the ‘poor ignorant natives’ were probably quite right in their belief
that the Wave had brought the infection, even if not by way of the red cloth,
or the ill-will of the captain.

20 Ratak and Ralik chains, 8°30’N, 171°00’E and 8°00’N, 169°30’E respectively.

288
already stated) which the white’s made them believe was wilfully introduced by me, I found it impossible to procure a native, and therefore endeavoured to make friends with the chiefs, so as to establish curing Establishments round the island, which I—at a considerable sacrifice—by way of presents—managed to do.

On the 27th I despatched the chief officer & Thomas Boyd to a small group of islands named Pakeen about twenty miles to the westward of Bornabi, to form a biche de mer Establishment. Boyd certainly was not the most proper person to place in charge of it, but I had no alternative, as the chiefs would not permit him to reside on Bornabi, and I was anxious to get him out of the ship as soon as possible. I agreed to pay him at the rate of 3 dollars pr picul for what he might collect, I finding labour & materials. Previous to his departure for Pakeen I gave him goods to the amount of 250 dollars—in addition to 75 dollars cash advanced him in Hongkong—as an equivalent for the losses he said he had sustained through being taken off the island, and in full of all claims on that account; although the whole property he possessed at the time did not amount to one hundred dollars. He also received goods to the amount of 300 dollars as advance on account of what biche de mer he might collect. I therefore acted with perfect good faith on my part, and fulfilled to the letter every promise I made to him in China, I moreover gave him employment which he by no means deserved. The chief officer returned from Pakeen with a very favourable account of the fishery, saying the slug was so plentiful that we could procure a cargo in 5 or 6 months without going any further. I very much doubted the correctness of his story at the time, but could not leave the ship to go there myself, with any degree of safety, on account of the unsettled state of the natives occasioned by the Dysentery and infamous machinations of the whites, who were daily practising on the simplicity and credulity of the natives by persuading them that I was a God, and if they continued to trade with me some great calamity would happen to the Island. They excited the natives to such a degree,
November-December 1843

that had I visited either of the Northern tribes, at that time, my life would have been taken.

A desperado named Jack Brown,²³ living on the Island of Tabak was about the most deadly enemy I had on the island at that time. He and others actually held meetings to plan my destruction & expulsion from the Island, but their whole proceedings were known to the natives and reached my ears through one or two of the best disposed whites.

On account of the dazzling prospect of success at Pakeen, as represented by Mr Mackie Chief officer, I again sent him there with more trade, biche de mer pots &c., but he was by no means so sanguine of success on his return. Boyd evidently had deceived him, for the purpose of procuring more goods. His representations however led me to believe that 2 or 300 piculs of a superior quality might be procured from that group.

I sent James Hadley and a party of lascars and natives to the Ant Islands to form another biche de mer establishment, and went there myself a day or two after in the Launch. They had then commenced fishing, and the slug appeared plentiful and of a good quality. No time was lost in forming establishments in the Kiddie, Joquoits and Matalanien Tribes, and about the beginning of Decr or 6 weeks after our arrival—notwithstanding the opposition I had to contend with—I had 8 biche de mer establishments under weigh—the whole yielding on an average 8 piculs pr day. Having arranged every thing amicably with the chiefs and seeing a fair prospect of procuring a cargo in 5 or 6 months, I thought it needless keeping the Brig there doing nothing, as the parties I had placed in charge of the establishments could do equally well—if they chose—in my absence. I therefore came to the decision of leaving Mr Mackie chief officer in charge of the shore parties & fitted up my old house at Roan Kiddie for his accomodation. The 14 Pallou Islanders and 22 lascars with John Davey interpreter and the Yap chief distributed amongst the different stations were to be left with him—also the Gunner as an assistant. Having only the 3rd mate left I shipped a Doctor Smith²⁴ from the Whaler Rose of Halifax, then lying in Roan

²³ Added later: ‘already mentioned in this Journal’.

²⁴ Possibly the Smith who was surgeon of the English whaler Corsair which, in June 1835, was lost on a reef off Tabiteuea (Drummond’s Island) in the Gilbert Islands. Smith and five others reached Ponape in one of the boats after a passage of 17 days—Hale 1846.
December 1843

Kiddi Harbour—as chief mate in the room of Mr Mackie. He was 3rd mate & Surgeon of the whaler. Being a powerful man, accustomed to natives, having been knocking about among the South Sea Islands for years, I thought he would be an acquisition by way of taking charge of a trading station but he turned out very badly, and long before my return to Bornabi, caused me to regret bitterly ever having taken him. He proved utterly useless both as a sailor & trader, was excessively lazy, void of all scruples] and while he could get grog—which he broke locks to obtain—was never sober, besides putting the 10 Europeans—shipped at Ascension—up to every species of mischief.

*I visited the Matalanien tribe while the 'Rose' whaler was in port with two boats and the Captain [Wood?]. I landed at Mudock on our way up, and had an interview with the New Zealanders, who were armed and fully prepared, thinking we had come to capture them on account of killing the white men. I advised them to adopt a wiser course, made them a present & departed. On arriving at Matalanien, we were kindly rec'd by the chief Nannikan, then at war with Taback. The next day having been appointed for a battle, we remained to witness it. Early in the morning a long 4-pounder gun belonging to the chief—was transported by his natives to a small islet about 400 yards from the shore and mounted on a wooden platform previously erected there by the whites. This islet was about 1800 yards from Jack Brown's house, conspicuous by standing near the shore and being whitewashed. While on our passage to the islet with the gun, Jack Brown's people came about 2/3rds across the passage in canoes, and opened a smart fire of musketry on us. I had no intention of joining in any way in the fight—but being sniped at as it were unintentionally with their enemies, and the bullets falling around us I could not resist having a shot from the 4-pounder at Jack Brown's house. He having repeatedly threatened to take my life & defrauded me of goods by a considerable amount, and the whole inhabitants of Taback very little better than pirates. The natives had only 3 round shot, the first I fired fell short, but the second went right through the roof of his house and on firing the third and last—which knocked the earth over his party, as he afterwards told me, he was seen at the

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25 The passage between asterisks is written across the manuscript and its position in the sequence of events has had to be estimated by the editor.
end of the house, begging for quarter by waving a white shirt. We of course knocked off—and a week after Jack came on board my vessel at Roan Kiddie with a present of yams as part payment for the shell he had robbed me of—promising to pay the remainder on my return from New Georgia. He said the natives and whites had repeatedly fired at his house with the same gun—but it had never been struck before, the shot always falling short. He said he was in a great fright at the time. This ended this sham fight, and no damage was done on either side. They shortly after made peace.

On my return from Matalanien I had a most narrow escape from being shot by Joe Bates, the murderer of Thomson. On my arrival at Kiddi, Bates came on board, and tried to convince me that he was justified in shooting Thomson. I however would not listen to any of his stories but ordered him out of the ship. He then threatened that he would have my life, should I ever pass his house. The only passage to and from Matalanien is through one of those canals formed by nature amongst the Mangrove trees; and so narrow near Bates' house as not to admit of oars being used. It is therefore impossible to go up or down without passing close to his house, unless by going outside the barrier reef. My visit to Matalanien being quite unexpected, he of course was unaware of my approach upwards—and I had forgot all about his threat, never for a moment supposing he meant to put it into execution, but while my boat's crew were dragging the boat along by wading, abreast of Bates house, on our return, then distant only a few yards—I saw him standing in front of it with a musket in his hand, which he deliberately pointed at me, and would without doubt have shot me dead had not providentially a chief in my boat been standing on the mast Thwart along with myself leaning against the mast pointing out the deepest part of the channel. The moment I observed him I stood behind the chief, so that had he fired he must have shot him. I kept the chief between me and Bates until through the winding of the channel and the Mangroves hid us from his view. Had I been sitting in the stern Sheets, I would have been shot to a certainty. I had done nothing whatever to this man, beyond prevent him from holding intercourse with my crew.*

During my stay at Bornabi, I had to flog my Chinese Blacksmith and Carpenter for committing unnatural crimes with native boys. The chiefs reported it to me, and on investigation,
the charges were duly proved. The natives were quite horrified
at such conduct, never having even heard of such a thing before,
and to show them my utter abhorrence of such an act, I flogged
the two chinamen on shore, in their presence, giving them 3
Dozen lashes each. I also detected the Steward (a lascar)
stealing money, he having at the Serang's suggestion broken
open my desk, and abstracted 20 dollars to pay the Serang some
gambling debt. I immediately disrated them both, and punished
them with two dozen stripes each. The Serang being a useless
fellow was left on shore with Mr Mackie and the Burrah Tindel
(a good man and first rate sailor) was made Serang, a situation
which he held—with great credit—during the remainder of the
voyage.

I left a sufficiency of stores and trade with Mr Mackie for
4½ months and had the Naiad ready for sea by the evening of the
13th of Dec. I sailed on the following morning for New Georgia,
intending to explore some of its coasts, and establish a biche de
mer fishery at Eddystone if possible; and then to return by
Stewarts' Islands,26 and leave a fishing party there.

Dec 15th Steady N.E. winds and fine. Noon Lat.obs. 5°0' N.
Long. 158°12' E. Employed making Iron hoop, knives for barter
&c.

16th A continuance of steady N.E. winds and fine clear
weather. Employed about the rigging and cleaning small arms
&c. Noon Lat.obs. 2°41' N. Long. chr. 157°30' E.

Sunday 17th Light variable winds throughout and clear
weather. No work done being Sunday. Noon Lat.obs. 1°17' N.
Long. chr. 157° 20' E.

18th Light Variable Airs and calms throughout. Employed
making articles for barter, cleaning and painting great guns &c.
Noon Lat.obs. 1° 4' N. Long.chr. 157° 2' E.

19th Light westerly Airs & calms. Employed getting tools in
order for cutting firewood. Havildaar & seapoys cleaning small
arms. Blacksmith making Iron hoop knives. Noon Lat.obs. 0°
40' N. Long. chr. 157°24' E.

26 Now known by its native name of Sikaiana, an atoll consisting of several
small islands about 8° 20'S, 162° 41'E and considered an outlier of the Solomons
group. The atoll was discovered in 1791 by Captain John Hunter in the
Waaksamheyd and was frequently visited by whalers and traders in the earlier
half of the nineteenth century, as the inhabitants bore among European sailors
a reputation for honesty and hospitality. Less than four years later Cheyne
spent nine months there, collecting and curing bêche-de-mer.
20th Light northerly airs and fine clear weather. Employed as before. Sailmaker repairing a mainsail. Noon Lat.obs. 1° 15’ S. Long. chr. 157° 51’ E.

21st Light northerly winds & fine weather. Employed fitting boat’s gear, repairing sails &c. Noon Lat.obs. 2° 38’ S. Long. chr. 157° 55’ E.

22nd Light Northerly winds throughout. Employed repairing boarding nettings & sails. Noon lat.obs. 3° 42’ S. Long. chr. 157° 30’ E.

23rd Light variable airs & clear weather. Employed as usual on Saturdays. Noon Lat.obs. 4° 10’ S. Long. chr. 157° 5’ E.

Sunday 24th Light Variable Airs & frequent calms. No work done being Sunday. Lat.obs. 4° 36’S. Long. chr. 156° 30’ E. A current setting W.N.W.

25th Variable airs and calms. A strong westerly current. Noon a Group of low coral islands in sight bearing East, distant 13 miles. Lat.obs. 4° 36’ S. Long. chr. 156° 10’ E. Supposing this to be Morrell's Massacre Islands27 by the position he assigns to them (where he had nineteen of his crew murdered one morning while on shore building a biche de mer house) and by his account a likely place to procure biche de mer, I made up my mind to examine it in passing. Sunset calm. about the same distance from the group.

26th Light Variable Airs and calms—still influenced by a westerly current. Noon about 10 Miles N.W. of the group. Light Northerly airs during the afternoon. 5 P.M. close to the reef on the west side, observed a good channel leading to the lagoon—on the S.W. part. Stood off & on during the night.

27th A steady breeze from N.W. & clear. 8 close to the entrance. Hove to & sent a boat on the reef to search for biche

27 Probably not the islands claimed to have been visited by Morrell in 1830, but a neighbouring group. The small group of islands east of Bougainville was a source of confusion to early travellers and map-makers. Morrell’s ‘Massacre Islands’ have been identified by some writers as the Kilinailau (or Carteret) group and by others as the Tauu (Mortlock or Marqueen) group. The two groups are on almost identical latitudes (4° 45’S and 4° 50’S respectively) and less than two degrees of longitude apart. The longitudes given by Cheyne and Morrell both fall between the two groups—Cheyne’s (156° 30'E) being slightly nearer Tauu and Morrell’s (156° 10’30"E) about exactly in the middle. From the description he gives later (see p. 302), however, Cheyne was at Tauu rather than at Kilinailau. Morrell’s description, on the other hand, corresponds better with Kilinailau—Morrell 1832: 395-44.
December 1843

de mer. 10 they returned with a sample of the first quality, which they reported to be very plentiful. I at once decided to enter the lagoon not doubting but I should find anchorage near the Islands. At noon entered the lagoon and stood N.E. towards the Islands. Sounded frequently while running across, but got no bottom at 50 fathoms. When nearing the Islands, observed discoloured water extending from the shore about a mile, which appeared to be a bank of soundings studded with coral patches. 2 P.M. picked out a clear spot among the patches & came to in 8 fathoms about 3 of a mile from the shore. furled sails and triced the nettings out.

Saw a great number of men on the beach striking the water with their clubs, and showing other symptoms of hostility. Determined if possible to convince them that we were friends and gain their confidence by kindness, I sent a boat on shore at 4 P.M. with presents for the chiefs, they were met—on landing—by a crowd of natives, who wanted much to haul the boat on shore. The officer not considering it safe to land, gave them the presents, and having received a few cocoanuts in exchange, returned on board. They were shown a sample of biche de mer and given to understand that we wished to cure it on shore, but they shook their heads saying ‘Taboo, Taboo’, and made signs for the ship to go away. No canoes were seen on shore.

On the following morning observed ten large canoes coming towards us from the largest island of the group. Not knowing their intentions, I got the crew under arms, and every thing ready for defence. When within 500 yards they came to a halt, and lay there a considerable time apparently in close consultation. By exhibiting white cloth and making signs of friendship they were at last induced to come within hail, and ultimately alongside. Each canoe had a few cocoanuts which they bartered for fish hooks, beads, and iron hoop. I prevailed on two of the natives, who appeared to be chiefs, to come on board. They rubbed noses and hugged me in any thing but an agreeable manner, their persons being exceedingly filthy, smeared as they were with ochre and cocoanut oil. It was evident by their gestures that they took us for supernatural beings, and considered our dress a part of the body. They threw themselves down on the deck, and kissed it repeatedly. On being taken into the cabin, and seeing themselves reflected in the mirror, they screamed with terror, and implored me to allow them to go on deck. I
presented them with different articles of Ironmongery, also calico and beads—the former they seemed eager to possess, evidently knowing their usefulness. I offered them Tobacco but they were ignorant of its use. On being shown how to smoke it, they were quite paralyzed with fear fancying—as far as I could judge from their appearance—on seeing the smoke issue from the man's mouth, that he was on fire. Although in the lowest state of savage ignorance, it was evident they had had intercourse with ships previous to our arrival, as chisels & Tomahawks were observed in their canoes. They appeared to be a tall and athletic race, dressed with the maro, woven from the fibres of the banana tree. The lobes of the ears were perforated, and each nostril slit, the latter giving them an unnatural appearance. Neither females nor children were seen during our stay at the group.

On receiving their presents I produced a fresh muster of biche de mer, which had been picked up by our people on the reefs, making them understand that I had come here for the purpose of collecting it, and that if they would assist they should be paid in Articles similar to what I had given them. The moment they saw it, they cried out 'Taboo, Taboo', and took it and threw it overboard, then went into their canoes and shoved off. After paddling a few yards from the ship, they made signs for us to hoist our sails and go away, pointing at the same time to 3 passages in the reef leading out to sea. The sight of the biche de mer appeared to put them in great consternation, thus making it appear evident that some biche de mer vessel had been here previous with whom they had had a quarrel or fight.

I landed in the evening on one of the small Islands abreast of the vessel, but the moment I stepped on shore, I observed a number of natives peeping out from behind the cocoa-nut trees, with coils of small rope in their hands. My old biche de mer curer, who had resided for many years on the Feejee's, and who had had great experience among savages, assured me that these natives were not to be trusted, and insisted on my embarking immediately, as he was confident by their gestures, they intended cutting us off; and thought the ropes they had were meant to be used as lasso's. Considering discretion the better [part] of valour, I took his advice and returned on board.

Finding it impossible to get a curing house erected on any of the inhabited islands, or any assistance from the natives, and seeing their anxiety to get us away, I deemed it prudent not to
December 1843

hold any further intercourse with them; but having examined the reefs, and found the slug plentiful and good, I thought it would be a pity to leave without making an effort to procure some. I therefore—so as not to commit the least aggression—and to prevent my people quarrelling with the natives—resolved to remove the Brig to the opposite side of the lagoon, to a small uninhabited islet, situated on the margin of the reef, ten miles from the group, and erect a curing house the best way we could, and fish with our own people.

At 10 A.M. on the 30th weighed, and stood across the lagoon. The moment we were underweigh observed a large canoe under sail, standing towards the small islet, as if to intercept us. 1 P.M. came to in 9 fathoms coral and sand, amongst coral patches, about 400 yards from the islet.

Moored with both bowers. Observed the canoe hauled up on the beach, she having reached the islet a considerable time before us. 4 P.M. I ordered the 3rd mate to man the boat with lascars, and land abreast of the vessel,—to ascertain if possible the number of men on the island, and to again endeavour to gain their confidence by kindness, so as to induce them to come on board. At the same time I cautioned him not to run any risk if they appeared hostile, but to return immediately on board, and on no account to use their weapons unless in defence of their lives. I purposely manned the boat with lascars to guard against any quarrel, believing them to be too great cowards to face savages, and knowing that any quarrel with these people would render abortive all our attempts to cure the slug. The natives disappeared on seeing the boat pulling on shore, and, the islet being thickly wooded—the 3rd mate and boat's crew on landing were soon hid after our view by the trees. About twenty minutes after they landed we heard several muskets fired in quick succession; and fearing they had fallen on an ambuscade of natives who had attacked them, I immediately ordered two or three round shot to be fired at a high elevation, so as to pass over the trees, by way of recall, and also to intimidate the natives so as to enable my people to make good their retreat. This however, appeared to have no effect, as the discharge of musketry was still heard at intervals, and at a greater distance, as if on the reef at the back of the island. About 5 P.M. observed several natives (with the spyglass) running along the barrier reef towards the main group, pursued by the 3rd mate and his lascars. I cannot
express my astonishment on seeing my people in chase, I having given express orders to the 3rd mate on no account to meddle with the natives, unless to make good their retreat, and then only in defence of their lives. Shortly after, we observed two of the natives jump into the surf, and swim out to sea; the others two still kept running along the reef for the main. The moment I saw my people in chase, I commenced firing unshotted guns and hauling the colours up and down as a recall. In the meantime my unprincipled chief mate Dr Smith made use of every argument he could think of to induce me to allow him to follow up the chase of these unfortunate natives in the whale boat, which I of course indignantly refused in a manner which he never forgave during the time he remained with me. At 6 P.M. the 3rd mate returned on board. On my taxing him with disobedience of orders, and in firing on the natives, and not returning when signals of recall were at first made, he stated in defence of his conduct that the natives had been the aggressors, they having commenced an attack on his party, with stones, whilst walking towards them. He assured me that no natives were hurt, but even supposing such to be the case, he acted very wrong in firing on them, as I imagine he could easily have retreated when they first attacked him. The only excuse that can be made for this affray, was my imprudently entrusting the charge of the boat to a boy who acted on the impulse of the moment, without considering the effects of his rashness. The officers of every ship engaged in this hazardous trade, should be experienced men, of sound principle, and judgement, as many of these expeditions prove failures through the rashness, and want of principle of the subordinate officers.

Sunday 31st Northerly winds and fine weather. No work done being Sunday. I landed on the islet in the forenoon, and walked round it. I found it covered with various kinds of timber, interspersed with cocoanut trees. It appeared to be resorted to occasionally by fishermen, as fish bones and shells were seen under mat sheds, where fires had been; but no part of it was cultivated. I searched it all over but no natives were seen on the Island. The remainder of the party which the 3rd mate said had attacked him must have concealed themselves on the island until night and then gone to the Main, which they could have easily done at low water, the reef being then nearly dry.

January 1st 1844. Light Variable winds and fine. Daylight
January 1844

landed with a party of men and after examining the island to see that no natives were concealed commenced clearing a site for a biche de mer house, close to the beach, abreast of the vessel. Cleared away the small trees and grass for a hundred yards all round to prevent surprise. Got the frame of the house up by sunset, and a quantity of cocoa nut leaves plaited as thatch; also a number of trees felled for a stockade. Landed a try pot in the evening, and fixed it under a small shed. Kept a lookout at the mast head during the day to give notice of the approach of any hostile party. 7 P.M. returned on board. An officer and 6 sentries on watch during the night.

2nd Light northerly winds and fine weather. Daylight landed with a number of men. Before commencing work, scoured the bush to satisfy ourselves that there were no natives concealed. Some hands employed erecting the stockade,—the palisades of which were 9 feet above the ground—whilst others were thatching and fitting up the biche de mer house. A strict watch kept on board as before.

3rd Westerly winds and squally. Daylight landed with the shore party, and observed our usual precaution of scouring the island before commencing work. Went on with the stockade, and finished the biche de mer house. A strict watch kept on board day and night. Collected a quantity of firewood during the afternoon.

4th Light Variable airs & clear. Sent two boats away in the morning to collect biche de mer. They returned about noon with tolerable success. Finished the Stockade by sunset, and left Charles Dunn and eight men in charge well armed. A sentry posted on a platform erected over the gateway of the stockade during the night, and a strict watch kept on board.

5th Light westerly winds and fine. Daylight landed a party of men to scour the bush, and cut firewood. Went out with the boats to collect biche de mer: saw plenty on the reefs, the greater portion of which however could only be procured by diving. Notwithstanding this difficulty we collected a considerable quantity before returning on shore. No canoes to be seen, nor molestation offered as yet by the natives. The usual precautions observed with regard to sentries. Some hands employed digging a deep trench six feet on width around the stockade; others fixing up a projection from the top of the palisades to render it more inaccessible.
6th. Variable winds and fine weather. Boats out at daylight for biche de mer. Shore party landed as usual. Some cutting firewood; others working at the trench, and fixing the projection from the top of the palisades. The boats came in about noon with pretty fair success. Dunn & his party employed curing the slug. A strict lookout kept from the mast head, and the island examined every morning before going to work.

Sunday 7th. Westerly winds & fair weather. No work done being Sunday. On going on shore in the morning, Dunn informed me that a stone had struck the thatch of the biche de mer house about 2 o’clock in the morning, which had caused considerable alarm among his party. I immediately searched the island, but saw no natives. It is quite possible that a party had been on the island during the night, as they could easily have come along the reef (which connects the whole islands of the group) and retreated before daylight, on finding that the party inside the stockade were on the alert. The rise and fall at neaps was scarcely perceptible—besides—numerous rocks and sand banks were always above water where they could hide, or take shelter until the ebb.

8th. Light westerly airs and fine. Sent the Launch and whale boat in charge of the chief mate Dr Smith to the S.W. side of the lagoon, near the passage, believing the slug to be more plentiful and easier obtained in that direction. The usual shore party at work on the island digging the trench, cutting firewood &c. 4 P.M. the boats returned with good success. Sunset finished the projecting fence round the top of the stockade, and covered in the platform for the sentry over the Gateway.

9th. A continuance of light breezes and fine clear weather. The Launch and whale boat sent away at daylight to the S.W. side of the lagoon; and the shoreparty landed at the same time. At 3 P.M. the boats returned with very indifferent success. They reported the slug plentiful, but said they had been attacked— with stones—by a number of natives concealed amongst the rocks, while fishing, which had obliged them to return so soon. I went out with the boats in the evening, and procured several hundred biche de mer of the 1st quality by diving. The shore party finished the trench by sunset.

On the following day I again despatched the boats to the opposite side of the lagoon, where I knew the slug could be procured without diving; instructing Dr Smith—the officer in
January 1844

charge—to choose a part of the reef where no rocks were above water, so as not to be taken by surprise, and on no account to have any intercourse with the natives; and that if they could not procure biche de mer without coming in contact with them, to come immediately back. They returned at 5 P.M. with ordinary success, and reported that natives had been seen on the reef, concealed behind the rocks, as on the preceding day, but that they had not offered to molest the boats. He attributed their want of success, to the dread entertained by our people of the natives, and their unwillingness to venture any distance from the boats, & not to any scarcity of the slug. From this time until our departure, the boats were daily sent out for biche de mer, (sundays always excepted) but on account of the westerly monsoon having set in, and the hostility of the natives—they lying in ambush on the reef to cut off the boats, according to Dr Smith—the chief mate’s account, (for the truth of which I cannot vouch, as I did not see any myself)—they met with very indifferent success. I however persevered until the 27th of January. Finding then that the quantity we had collected would not pay the expenses, and that the officers and crew were throwing every obstacle in my way to force me to leave, I got underweigh on the following day for New Georgia; altho’ it was my firm belief at that time, and is now (1853) that a cargo of great value could have been procured by my own people had they been industrious & trustworthy. I myself, in some places, saw the reefs literally covered with biche de mer, of a superior quality, in about 2½ fathoms water, which a considerable number of my crew could have dived for, had they been so inclined, but being on monthly pay they were quite careless as to whether I procured a cargo or not. I was told some time after by a man named James Hadley, then with me—and who was daily in Dr Smith’s boat—that my want of success was chiefly owing to his unprincipled conduct. That when out of sight of the ship, he frequently anchored the boats, and allowed their crews to amuse themselves or go to sleep, to pass the day away, and that a great deal of his stories about the hostility of the natives were mere fabrications. He also stated that on one occasion, Smith went to the large island with the boats, and had a fight off the beach with the natives—they pelting him with stones, and he firing at them. This of course was carefully concealed from me, as he had most stringent orders not to go near them. He further stated that the
boat's crews could have daily procured large quantities of the slug, but Smith purposely prevented them, to force me to leave.

The group consists of thirteen low coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by reefs, forming a large lagoon inside, and having two good ship passages leading into it. The reef is safe to approach all round, and is about thirty six miles in circumference.

At noon on the 28th got clear out to sea, and shaped a course for Bougainville Strait. Wind northerly.

29th Variable winds and squally throughout. Noon Lat.obs. 6° 10' S. Long. 156° 35' E. Cape de Cras and Cape Alexander then in sight. Employed picking, drying, and sorting biche de mer.

30th Commences with Southerly winds and heavy squalls of wind and rain, made and shortened sail as requisite. 4 P.M. Cape Alexander S.E. 10 miles. Ends with a steady breeze from the Northward, running through Bougainville strait.

31st A.M. Light breeze from N.N.W. and cloudy. 1 Cape Alexander bore East 5 or 6 miles, got amongst heavy ripples, as if running over a shoal, continued running through strong ripplings until 3 A.M. when the sea became smooth. I was at that time ignorant that shoals had been seen in this strait, but since reading Capt'n Hunter's account of them I am convinced I passed over several coral patches that night. The greatest caution therefore is requisite in passing through these straits and no vessel should attempt to do so in the night. In running through even in the day time, a careful officer should be at the mast head.

4 P.M. about midway between Cape Alexander and the northwest point of Choiseul Bay, off shore five miles, saw coral rocks under the bottom, and had a cast of the lead in 9 fathoms; hauled off to the westward, and immediately got out of soundings. The weather being squally with a threatening appearance, I did not consider it prudent to stand in again; but the idea I formed at the time was, that the whole line of coast from Cape Alexander to the north side of Choiseul Bay was fronted with dangerous shoals and coral patches, and that ship's passing, north or south, should not approach that coast within five miles until better examined. A master of a whaler told me several years ago, that

28 Added later: 'which might have proved fatal to a vessel of a larger draught'. For 'Captain Hunter's account' see note 29.
he once came through Bougainville Strait in the night, and that in one place he saw the bottom, and had a cast of the lead in seven fathoms.29

February 1st Fresh N.E. winds and cloudy. Daylight saw the Eddystone Island bearing S.E. by E., 15 miles; hauled up for it. At noon the island bore East distant three miles. Hove to and was boarded by three Englishmen living on the island, who brought the two principal chiefs with them. By information obtained from them, I requested permission from the chiefs to form a trading establishment on the Eddystone, which they readily granted—at the same time promising their protection, and assuring me that their natives would willingly collect what biche de mer the reefs produced.

On the following morning, I landed with Charles Dunn and his party to fit up a curing house for the slug. On pulling towards the landing place, I discovered a snug little harbour on the N.W. side of the island, with a fine cove at the head of it, completely land-locked and secure from all winds, with sufficient water for a line of battle ship close to the shore, where a vessel could be moored to the trees, and lie as safe as in a dock. The chiefs gave us the use of a large canoe house on the east side of the cove, as a biche de mer house, which had a stone pier attached to it. We immediately on landing commenced fitting up the batters, assisted by the natives, who were armed with battle axes, bows, arrows, and shields, and presented a most savage appearance, their faces and breasts being painted with some white pigment. I left Dunn and four lascars in charge, and returned on board at sunset, having finished the lower batter.

3rd Light Southerly winds and fine. Landed two biche de mer pots; trade and provisions for three weeks and got the natives underway fishing.

Visited the Head chief's village this afternoon on the low island, & on landing the first thing that met my view, was the wall plates of a large canoe house strung with human heads, of both sexes, and apparently of all ages. Many of them appeared to have been recently killed, and the marks of the tomahawk were seen

29 Cheyne notes here that he intends to insert some remarks on Bougainville Strait copied from the report by Captain R. Hunter of the whaler Marshall Bennett, which passed through the Strait on 29 July 1836. In Cheyne's Sailing Directions ..., this excerpt does appear on p. 75, reproduced from Hunter's article in the Nautical Magazine for 1840, p. 467.
February 1844

in all. I was horrified at the sight and felt quite sick until I got away again. Dornin informed me that they had a few days previous to our arrival returned from a war expedition in which they had come off conquerors and had brought home with them—including men women and children—no less than ninety three human heads—and that it was an universal custom throughout New Georgia to exhibit them as trophies in their canoe houses.  

Left Charles Dunn and some lascars in charge, under protection of the principal chief, whose son embarked with me as one of the hostages. At sunset I returned on board and made all sail for New Georgia, to fill up our water and trade for tortoise-shell, having the chief Lobie and eight of his people with us as hostages for Dunn & his party, and to act as pilots and interpreters. James Dornin one of the Europeans living on the island also accompanied them. Midnight a canoe with two natives came alongside, and Lobie prevailed on me to take them on board, they being friends of his. I did not at all fancy having so many of them, but the greater portion being chief’s sons, I could not well refuse, particularly as they said they had friends at New Georgia, from whom they could procure tortoise shell for me.  

*At 7 A.M. on the morning of the 4th I came on deck, and found Dr Smith chief mate dead drunk in the starboard quarter boat. I at first thought he was asleep, and did not wish to rouse him; but the Havildaar came to me at 7 bells for some dressing for his hand—which he had shot through the previous evening while loading a pistol—and on calling him to dress it—I found he was so drunk as to be neither able to stand or speak, therefore allowed him to lie still. On overhauling my lockers below, I found a locker under my bed in my state room broken open, and two bottles of brandy missing. No person had access to my cabin but

30 According to Codrington (1891:345), head-hunting expeditions were peculiar to the western islands of the Solomons, although he allows that the practice of taking a head on an occasion such as the launching of a canoe or the completion of a chief’s house, as a sign of power and success, was common elsewhere in the group, and that heads were preserved as trophies of conquest or memorials of affection. There are, however, a number of allusions to head-hunting expeditions in other islands of the group in the mission and travel literature of the sixties and seventies.

31 Simbo seems early to have pre-empted the role of mediator between the European traders and the other New Georgians, who were considered too untrustworthy for direct contact.

32 See note 25 to this chapter.
February 1844

himself, therefore he must have taken it in the middle watch while I was on deck.*

On the evening of the 5th arrived at New Georgia, and stood off and on for the night. Daylight stood close inshore, and hove to for a number of canoes then coming off. They came alongside about 7 A.M., but being all armed with bows arrows & tomahawks, I did not allow any on deck, and made them keep under the stern. The chief Lobie—although their friend—told me that none of them, nor any of his countrymen were to be trusted, being so covetous and rapacious in their habits that they frequently killed their own friends to obtain possession of their property, and would not hesitate to cut off a vessel, should a favourable opportunity offer. He did not consider it would be safe for Europeans to land on any part of New Georgia, and pointed out several places where whalers boats had been cut off and their whole crews massacred, having been enticed on shore by women, and cut off when scattered in the bush. He also mentioned two places where ships had been captured, and burnt, after being stript of every thing useful.33 The natives traded peaceably with us during the day, and at sunset they all left the ship. Procured about 40 lbs of Tortoise shell, and abundance of cocoa-nuts. They took on shore nearly as much shell as we had purchased, not feeling inclined to part with it unless for tomahawks, which I had not got to give them. They use the tomahawks as battle axes, and will give from 1½ to 3 lbs of fine shell for a good one.

Standing off and on during the night. About midnight I observed the Eddystone natives walking round the deck, armed with tomahawks. Although only 11 in number, they could have easily captured the Brig by shutting the crew down under hatches, and keeping possession of the arms, until they ran her on shore, there being at the time when I came on deck, only the usual lookouts, officer of the watch, and helmsman awake, the brig then lying to. On asking their motive for being armed at that hour of the night, they gave evasive replies—merely saying, they were in the habit of doing so on shore. I however had my suspicions, and judged it prudent to remain on deck until daylight, armed with pistols.

At daylight on the 7th made all sail and stood to the eastward, to search for water and anchorage. 9 entered a channel three

33 As indicated here, the New Georgians had a reputation for treachery.
miles wide, separating two large islands. Tried for soundings in the passage, but could find no bottom at 100 fathoms close to the shore. While running through the passage to the eastward, the natives pointed out a gap in the land, on our starboard hand, where they said good water could be obtained. I immediately hove to, and went in the boat to examine it. Found it form a small cove with a running stream of good water at the head of it; but the place was so small as not to afford swinging room for the brig, and the water very deep—17 fathoms. I however determined on bringing the brig in, and mooring her head and stern. At 4 P.M. stood in and dropt the anchor close to the west side of the cove in 17 fathoms, veered out to 50 fathoms, and moored to the trees astern. Triced the nettings out, loaded the guns, and sent the top arms chest aloft. One third of the crew under arms during the night.

At daylight on the 8th out boats, and commenced watering. A great number of canoes round the vessel, all armed with bows & arrows and tomahawks. Purchased a small quantity of tortoise shell from them during the day. They brought a considerable quantity for sale, but would not dispose of it unless for tomahawks. One third of the crew under arms during the night, and every precaution taken to guard against surprise.

9th Light westerly winds and fine weather. Commenced watering at daylight. The brig surrounded with canoes having cocoa-nuts bananas, bread-fruit, and tortoise shell for sale. Having no tomahawks, we procured a very small quantity of the latter; but cocoa-nuts, bananas and bread fruit were obtained in abundance; also a few yams and sweet potatoes. I was on shore with the watering party in the afternoon, but had no opportunity of seeing anything, beyond the timber with which the land around the cove is thickly covered.

10th Westerly winds and showry. Finished watering by 4 P.M. In boats and secured every thing ready for sea. The water of excellent quality—abundant—and easily procured from a running stream, but I cannot say much for the safety of the place. However, no great sea could set in—as the distance to the land facing the entrance was hardly three miles. There are plenty of large trees to which vessels can make fast.

11th A.M. Light westerly airs & fine. Unmoored and hove short. 9 warped up to the weather shore and got underweigh from a spring. The wind being light and tide setting to the
February 1844

eastward, found it impracticable to beat out, therefore bore away to pass inside the islands, understanding from the Eddystone natives that a passage could be found in that direction leading out to sea.34 The breeze died away to a calm at sunset, and at 10 P.M. being still in the narrows, we were struck by a violent squall of wind and rain, thunder and Lightning, which lasted about an hour & a half. The night was pitch dark, and the squall so heavy as to oblige us to clew the Topsails down. Fortunately the wind was N.E. blowing nearly through the channel which enabled us35 to form some idea of our position, and gave us a clear drift. On the following day the wind was light and variable, which prevented us from making much progress. No canoes visited us. Towards evening a fresh breeze sprung up from the westward, with which we made all possible sail to get out to sea before dark. At sunset about 1½ miles from the passage between the islands. Saw breakers extending a considerable way across from each point. Tacked and stood back to wait for daylight, not considering it safe to run through in the night. It became squally towards midnight which obliged us to reduce our canvas to single reefed topsails. I was on deck until 4 A.M. of the 13th, at which time D'r Smith the chief mate relieved me. I desired him to keep the vessel handy for running out in the morning when the sun was high enough. At 7 a.m. he called me, and reported a great number of war canoes near the ship. I told him to have a few of the watch under arms as a guard, and not to allow any on deck; at the same time to purchase whatever they had for sale; and to call me when the sun was high enough to see the reefs. He did so at 8, reporting that the natives in the canoes alongside were the enemies of the Eddystone natives and the very parties that had cut off two whalers boats and murdered their crews; and at the same time urging me to allow him to fire the port gangway carronade into them (they being right under its muzzle at that time) as punishment for killing the white men. I of course would not hear of such a thing, and immediately turned out—went on deck—and commenced purchasing their cocoa-nuts—the only article they had brought for sale, so as to get them to go away. They were all armed with bows, arrows, shields, and tomahawks. The moment I understood they were enemies to the Eddystone

34 Added later: 'We had a very narrow escape from shipwreck this night.'
35 'by backing and filling', later crossed out.
natives, I order the latter below, and desired them to remain in the cabin while they were alongside, to prevent any quarrel taking place. But notwithstanding these precautions Dr Smith it appears supplied one or two of them with muskets, and urged them to rush on deck and fire on their enemies. I was astonished to see them rush up in a body and show themselves over the stern, where I was then standing; at the same moment Lobie—their chief—fired a musket at one of the canoes, which they were just in the act of returning by a shower of poisoned arrows, when—to prevent which—and save our people from being wounded—who had nothing to do with the quarrel, I ordered a few muskets to be fired over their heads to frighten them away, and immediately ordered the helm up to prevent bloodshed. While the brig was paying off, the Eddystone natives, 11 in number, and James Dornin jumped into the Jolly boat and pulled after them, contrary to my express orders. No person belonging to the brig went in the boat, nor could I prevent them taking her. All the fighting they did was a mere farce. A few of them jumped into the water, grappled with their enemies many of whom had jumped out of their canoes, and were swimming for the shore when the volley was fired over their heads, and tried to strangle them: whether they succeeded in doing so or not I do not know, as I was too anxious at the time to run the brig clear of the affray. I had to threaten to fire on the Eddystone natives before I could get them to bring the boat back. I observed Dr Smith firing several shots at the natives from the forecastle while we were running off the wind.

There were altogether about thirty canoes round the brig all full of armed men when the affray took place.

It is impossible to say whether any natives were hurt or not. If any, it was by the Eddystone natives while fighting in the water.

I was much grieved at this affair, but cannot blame myself in any way, nor see how I could have acted differently with safety to my own people. I had no intention—however bad they may have been—to do them the slightest injury. On the contrary, it has ever been my aim to treat all savages with whom I have had intercourse, kindly and humanely, ever bearing in mind that we sought them, not they us; indeed I have often punished members of my own crew for taking things from them without payment, and consequently made many enemies thereby. Finally, I challenge any one that ever sailed with me—if they adhered to the
February 1844

truth—to say, that I at any time defrauded a savage to the value of a cocoanut.

The moment the boat returned we made all sail for the passage between the islands which we ran through about Noon, and got clear out to sea. Strong westerly winds during the afternoon, standing to the southward. Lobie gave me the following account of the natives with whom we had had this skirmish, and appeared highly indignant at my preventing him from following them up in the boat, alleging that they were equally as hostile to whites, as to his own people, and declared them to be the worst tribe in New Georgia.

It appeared that a party of Eddystone natives—numbering forty, including men women and children, (many of them sons and daughters of the chiefs) went to New Georgia on a trading excursion to exchange the tomahawks and other goods they had obtained from whalers, for tortoise shell and articles of native manufacture. On their return they visited the tribe we had left with whom they were on friendly terms. Being possessed of a considerable quantity of valuables—their so-called friends—to get possession of which—in the most treacherous manner, massacred nearly the whole of them in the night. Only two or three men escaped in a canoe; the others were ruthlessly murdered. Infants at the breast were not even spared—but with the women, were roasted and devoured by these monsters in human shape. He declared to me that they had been feasted by them the same night on which the massacre took place; and had been throughout on the most friendly terms. He described the massacre of the whalers boats crews at this place as follows:—Two boats had landed to purchase cocoa-nuts—being induced to do so by the apparent friendly demonstrations of the natives. They were enticed from the boats to partake of a feast which the natives had prepared for them; after which, women were introduced, with whom they went into the bush; and when dispersed, were attacked and butchered by these merciless cannibals, by whom they were roasted and eaten. He assured me that they had done nothing whatever to incite them to this bloody deed, and that it was done solely to get possession of the few tomahawks and trinkets they had brought on shore for trade.

We arrived off the Eddystone on the evening of the 15th and found Dunn and his party all well, although they had not met with that success which I was led to expect. The night set in dark

309
and rainy with violent squalls, which prevented me from getting on board. I was therefore obliged to take up my quarters in the biche de mer house—not an enviable situation to be in—the hostages being all on shore. A number of natives slept in the house armed with tomahawks, whether with the intention of cutting us off, or for my protection I never learnt. The brig was close in at daylight, and I lost no time in getting on board. I learned during the day that the vessel had been nearly wrecked on the rocks when standing in, a little before day break, through Smith's negligence or ignorance. When the rocks were discovered, they had barely time to wear round and clear them. This did away with all confidence in the chief mate and made me determine on taking the brig into harbour. On the evening of the 17th we were becalmed close to the reef, and finding the vessel drifting on it with the heavy westerly swell, forced me to tow in through a very narrow opening in the reef leading to the harbour, the proper entrance being to the South & 400 yards wide. I placed canoes on each side to mark the channel, and fortunately got in safe. At sunset moored in the cove with both bowers to the northward, and the stream anchor and warps fast to the trees astern. When moored the vessel lay in 7 fathoms, sheltered from all winds, and as safe as in a dock. A Strong guard under arms during the night and boarding nettings triced out.

Sunday 18th Westerly winds and fair weather. No work done, and no liberty allowed on shore. An armed watch kept day and night, and no natives allowed on deck.

Instead of noting daily occurrences, I shall give a brief summary of how we were employed during our stay at the Eddystone.

We commenced on the 19th to caulk and refit. I engaged one of the men living on the island to assist my Chinese carpenters. He proved a most useful man, and having no pitch, he prepared the following composition which proved an excellent substitute:—I collected a quantity of live coral, and burnt it into lime on shore, which was well beat up with Stockholm Tar and the mass softened with cocoa-nut oil made by my lascars. This made an admirable chunam, and became as hard as cement in a very short time. I examined the island to ascertain its productions, and found a considerable quantity of sulphur on its southwestern

36 A Tamil word for cement or plaster made of shell-lime and sea sand.
February-March 1844

part, easily procurable in fine weather, or during the S.E. monsoon, but owing to the heavy surf on the beach leading to it—being quite exposed to westerly winds—it was only occasionally during our stay that landing could be effected with safety, consequently we only procured a few tons. The natives went out for biche de mer whenever the weather permitted, but the reefs being of small extent, no great quantity was procured. Our Chinese blacksmith was at work during a part of our stay trying to make tomahawks, but after spoiling a quantity of iron, he did not succeed, and was latterly laid up with Fever and Ague. I had brought this man from China purposely to make tomahawks, believing him to be a good blacksmith, and had 50 bars of iron on board for that purpose, but he proved perfectly useless, and could not even weld two pieces of iron together. The natives of New Georgia brought quantities of tortoise shell for sale during my stay—but would not part with it unless for tomahawks. Had I had proper trade, I believe I could have easily procured 1000 lbs of it while at the Eddystone.

On the 1st of March the refitting was completed, and by the evening of the 4th the ship painted and ready for sea, but on account of strong westerly gales, which set in at that time, and continued without abatement until the 20th we were unable to get out until the 21st the wind blowing right in the harbour the whole time. We were of course unable to do anything whatever in the way of trade during the last three weeks of our stay. We were unfortunately here in the stormy season. The S.E. monsoon sets in about the middle of April with fine weather, and continues until the end of December. A vessel coming here during the latter season would have little difficulty in procuring a quantity of biche de mer, on the New Georgia shore. Many good harbours, and extensive reefs are to be found amongst the islands; but in the westerly monsoon nothing whatever can be done owing to the boisterous weather; nor should ships approach these islands at all during February & March, as hurricanes are often experienced in these months.

Believing that a profitable trade could be carried on at New Georgia during the fine weather season, for tortoise shell and biche de mer—and to establish a footing there, I, at the request of the chiefs, left four Europeans on the Eddystone in charge of a trading establishment, under the immediate protection of the two principal chiefs, Meno and Lobie. I agreed to pay them at
the rate of $12 pr month during my absence to China, they promising to use every endeavour to procure biche de mer and tortoise shell. I left them the Jolly boat and try pot: an assortment of what goods I had together with the Blacksmith’s forge and a quantity of bar iron; one of them who professed to be a blacksmith having undertaken to make it up into different articles of trade. The following is a copy of their Agreement and Instructions:—

‘Memorandum of an Agreement made the 19th day of March 1844, between Andrew Cheyne, Master of the Brig Naiad of Hongkong, on the one part, and the several undersigned persons on the other part.

‘Now it is witnessed, that in consideration of the sums of money or wages set opposite to their respective names at the foot hereof, they the said undersigned persons hereto of the second part, have, and each and every of them hath, each covenanted and agreeing for himself only, covenanted, concluded, and agreed with, and to the said Andrew Cheyne or his assigns, that they the said several parties shall and will remain on the Eddystone Island Near New Georgia from the date hereof until the said Andrew Cheyne’s return to the said island; for the purpose of collecting Tortoise shell, curing and procuring biche de mer; and that they hereby promise to exert themselves and use their utmost endeavours in collecting the above description of Merchandize for the benefit of the said A. Cheyne. And they further promise not to appropriate any part thereof to their own use, and not to trade with the natives on their own or any other person’s account that may visit the island during his absence, but shall faithfully and honestly preserve whatever tortoise shell and biche de mer they may procure for the sole use and benefit of the said A. Cheyne or his assigns (robberies committed by the natives excepted) Penalty for breaking any of the above stipulations forfeiture of wages.

‘And the said Andrew Cheyne binds himself to take the said parties off the Eddystone Island, on his return, should it be their wish to leave, and agrees either to land them at Ascension, or take them on to China, and to pay them their full wages to the day of their discharge, provided they fulfil this agreement.

‘And further that the duties required of them during their stay on the island will be specified in a letter of Instructions which the said A. Cheyne intends giving them before his departure: and they further promise to obey his instructions as far as lays in their power.’

‘Andrew Cheyne’
March 1844

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feby 1st</td>
<td>James Dornen</td>
<td>$12 pr month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George McLeod</td>
<td>12 Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1st</td>
<td>Warren Minerly</td>
<td>12 Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 17th</td>
<td>James Jones</td>
<td>12 Do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*March 22nd* 'James Jones' 12 Do

'Witness to the above Signatures'

'Jas G. Briggs.'

**Instructions.**

'Having entered into an Agreement with you to remain on the Eddystone until my return from China, it is necessary that you should be instructed how to act.

'The duties expected of you individually are as follows:—

That James Dornen and George McLeod alias Jock shall have the sole management of trading with the natives.

Warren Minerly will remain on the Eddystone and employ his whole time in making the bar iron into different articles of trade, with James Jones to assist him, who will burn charcoal, and make himself generally useful.

'When the S.E. monsoon sets in, and the weather gets fine, either James Dornin or George McLeod will accompany the natives with the biche de mer pot to New Georgia, to show them how to cure the slug, which they are to store in their houses until my return, at which time it will be purchased, as arranged between me and the Eddystone chiefs. When one village is tired of fishing, the pot is to be passed to another; and by way of encouragement, it will be proper for you to give the head chiefs of the different villages a few articles of trade as earnest or get Meno to do so, paying him for his outlay. One of you must always be with the natives, to see that they cure the slug properly, and to keep them fishing. At the same time you will purchase all the biche de mer and tortoise shell you can procure for the trade I have left with you; and when expended, should a whaler call during my absence, I authorize you to exchange a small quantity of tortoise shell for boat axes and hoop iron, to enable you to go on. Pay particular attention to the instructions I have given you, regarding the mode of curing the slug; remember that its value depends entirely on that.

'Finally, I wish to impress on you the necessity of keeping on friendly terms with each other. You will see by your agreement that you are all equally bound to exert yourselves as far as lies in
your power for my interest, and any quarrels amongst yourselves will not only prejudice my interest, but will show the natives that you are not combined, and perhaps lead to serious results. Be careful in transporting the pot from village to village that you do not lose it. The boat will of course enable you to do so without any risk.'

‘Andrew Cheyne’

The Eddystone Island is of small extent, elevated 1036 feet on its west side, and situated in Lat. 8° 18' S. Long. 156° 31' E. A small low island lies off its South-east side, connected to it by a shallow bar at each end of the channel, with deep water between. It has a small harbor on its north-west side, formed by reefs, with a snug cove, nearly land-locked at its head. A vessel can moor to the trees, in the cove, where she will be completely sheltered from all wind and lie as safe as in a dock. A shoal with 5 fathoms least water lies S.S.W. 3 miles from the Eddystone.

The Eddystone is of Volcanic formation. It is well wooded, but very rocky, and mountainous on its west side; and all its southern shore is characterised by high rocky cliffs, generally inaccessible. &c &c &c

37 The location of Simbo is good and the description very fair.

38 The passages of description omitted here appeared in his 1852 book (pp. 62-9) and it was evidently his intention to repeat them here. They appeared again in the 1855 book (pp. 76-7), again divorced from the narrative.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Sail for Ascension—Touch at Stewarts’ Islands—Non-existence of Schank Isl\textsuperscript{a}—Arrive at Ascension—Occurrences there during my absence—Sail for the Pallou Islands—Touch at Pakeen—Young William’s Group\textsuperscript{1} passed—Arrive at Koroar—Sail for China—Arrival at Macao—Crew paid off. More of Thomas Boyd—Fit out for another voyage.

On the morning of the 21\textsuperscript{st} of March we warped out of the cove, and got underweigh from a Kedge with a light northerly breeze. The wind set in from the eastward in the afternoon, and continued so until the 29\textsuperscript{th} on which day we passed San Cristoval’s.\textsuperscript{2} It then became light & variable. On passing Guadalcanal\textsuperscript{3} several canoes came off from the S.W. side, but we could not prevail on them to come alongside. They were all armed with bows, arrows, shields and tomahawks. An Eddystone boy that I had on board said they were very bad and had often attacked ships, but they cannot be much worse than their New Georgia neighbours. They did not

\textsuperscript{1} Also known as Mortlock Islands, the Nomoi Islands, and by the names of the three main clusters, Etal, Lukunor, and Satawan. There are about 100 small islands in the group between 5°17’ and 5°35’N and 153°46’ and 153°58’E. They were probably seen by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century, but were named by Captain Mortlock of the \textit{Young William} in 1793.

\textsuperscript{2} San Cristobal, the largest of the southerly islands in the Solomons group, named by Mendaña in 1568.

\textsuperscript{3} Guadalcanal, in the centre of the Solomons chain. It is a large, populous island and is now the administrative centre of the group. It also was discovered and named by Mendaña in 1568.
March-April 1844

appear to have any thing to barter, and after looking at the vessel for some time—she being then becalmed—paddled on shore. On the 30th we passed between the Island of Contrarieties 4 and Malanta, 5 and made Stewarts’ Islands 6 at 2 A.M. on the 1st of April, at which time the wind set in steady from E.N.E. with fine clear weather. At daylight a number of canoes came off, bringing pigs and fowls for sale. I went on shore in the afternoon in a canoe, and landed on the easternmost island, where I remained for a short time purchasing pigs. I examined the reefs on my way off. I found them well stocked with biche de mer of a superior quality. It was my intention to have left a party but having no trade suitable, I deferred it until my return. I procured during the day 24 excellent pigs and 3 Doz fowls—for Calico, tobacco, pipes, knives &c. The natives appeared most friendly and inoffensive. Two runaway sailors were living on it, to whom I gave a passage to Ascension. At sunset the canoes left the ship, when we made all sail to the northward.

On the 6th I passed over the position assigned to Schank Island, (Lat. 0°33’S.Long. 163°E) without seeing any indication of land. The sky was quite clear, and land could have been seen twenty miles from the mast-head. I am strongly of opinion that it does not exist. Several masters of whalers have told me, that they have repeatedly passed over and near its position—while cruising for whales—without seeing any thing of it, and that they were confident it did not exist. It is my opinion that the person who reported it must have mistaken Pleasant Island for a new discovery. 7 The

4 Ulawa, a small island 20 miles east of the southernmost tip of Malaita (i.e. of Small Malaita).
5 Malaita, the large island north of Guadalcanal and for long the most populous in the Solomons group. It incorporates Small Malaita.
6 See p. 293n.
7 On 22 December 1801 Captain Nathaniel Ray of the American ship Hope, en route from Port Jackson to China, sighted an island which he erroneously reported as lying in lat. 0°25’S and long. 163°0’E. One of his passengers, an English naval surgeon named Sharp, named the island after Captain Schank of the Royal Navy. The many published accounts gave a wide variety of positions to the alleged discovery, but it was usually marked on the charts as a separate island to the west of Nauru. It was unsuccessfully searched for by many whaling vessels until Cheyne pointed out that it had been confused with Nauru itself. This observation appears also in Cheyne 1852:85—information supplied by Mr H. E. Maude, Department of Pacific History, Australian National University.

316
April 1844

mistake in all probability has been occasioned by thick weather and the current, which runs sometimes at the rate of two and a half miles pr hour, to the westward, near the Equator, which I have myself experienced. For 9 months in the year the current sets to the westward on the line in the Western Pacific. During the other 3 months—namely January, February, and March, it sets to the eastward. I experienced no current on my passage from Stewart’s Islands to Ascension in the beginning of April. I had fine clear weather & light easterly winds during the passage.

At daylight on the 11th I made the Island of Ascension, and was hove to off Kiddie harbour at noon; where I expected to find at least 600 piculs of biche de mer ready for me; but when Mr Mackie came on board, my expectations were soon blasted. He told me very coolly, that he had got very little since I left, the natives having knocked off fishing, but that he thought Boyd had 200 piculs at Pakeen. He assured me there were at least 150 piculs there, as he knew that 140 had been weighed. In fact when he returned the first time in the launch before I left Ascension he told me that he had weighed 22 piculs and that he thought they had got 29. They had only then been fishing 5 days.

I cannot express my disappointment and astonishment on weighing the biche de mer, to find that Mr Mackie had actually not procured twenty piculs during my absence. When I left, the natives were bringing in 8 piculs pr day on an average, exclusive of what Boyd was getting at Pakeen. Had I remained there, I am confident I would have had 700 piculs by April from Bornabi alone; but by what I learnt from Captains of American Whalers and others, it appeared Mr Mackie had never visited the establishment at all, and that they had in consequence knocked off fishing shortly after my departure. They told me he had had the lascars constantly employed during my absence cutting firewood for whalers, which he had sold to them on his own account, or exchanged for spirits and other unnecessary stores. This he carefully concealed from me, and it was only on my return from China the next voyage that the whole truth came out, as will appear hereafter.

The Captains of the whalers in harbour on my arrival, lodged a complaint against Mr Mackie for charging them harbour dues. They said they had been informed that a great portion of the island belonged to me, and wished to know if I had instructed Mr Mackie to do so. It appeared he had brought the chief on
board all the whalers, and made a demand of twenty dollars as harbour dues; which had in many instances been paid, they believing him to be acting under my instructions. I was exceedingly annoyed at this, as the idea of charging Harbour dues had never once entered my head, nor had any one orders from me to do so. Had I even been established on shore, charging harbour dues would have been the last thing I should have thought of; as it would have been highly prejudicial to my own interest, by preventing whalers from resorting to the island. I cannot see what right Mr Mackie had to interfere at all with the whalers, as he was left there solely for the purpose of collecting biche de mer.

Thomas Boyd had made frequent visits to Bornabi during my absence, where he had carried on rare games. On two occasions he had by armed force seized two canoes belonging to the island of Tabak, loaded with yams and pigs. The canoes he kept, and sold their cargoes to the whale ships, on his own account. I was surprised that the chiefs allowed this; but they said they were afraid of him, as he was always armed. I understood afterwards that he had made a great many of the natives believe that the Brig *Naiad* belonged to him, The Government of Hongkong having awarded her as damages for his forcible abduction from the island, and these depredations were committed under cloak of her protection. It is truly astonishing what these reprobates can make the poor natives believe, and the influence they obtain over them through speaking their language fluently.

On the 15th Dr Smith was detected stealing a quantity of red camlets out of my cabin. The evidence as to his guilt being undeniable the stolen property having been produced by the native woman to whom he had given it, I at once paid him his wages and discharged him. He received about £43 for his 4 months services, I having agreed to give him £10 pr month. I was very glad to get rid of him, as he had been a continual source of annoyance to me throughout the voyage. On the 15th I discharged the Europeans shipped at Ascension, and embarked our shore party, consisting of Pallou Islanders and lascars—John Davey interpreter and the Yap chief also embarked. One of the Pallou natives had been killed at Pallager*8* by the Bornabi people during my absence; for what reason I never learned.

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*8 Palikir, west of Jokaj: 6°56'N, 158°08'E.*
April 1844

Mr. Mackie said he had been invited to land when passing in a canoe, and was treacherously murdered.

I learned on my arrival that John Gill Carpenter, whom I had discharged at Ascension on my arrival from Yap had been murdered by George May, during my absence at New Georgia. It appears they had quarrelled on board an American whaler in Kiddie harbour, and landed on the reef to fight. George May got him down in a hole of deep water, and held him there until life was extinct. Gill I was told was drunk at the time. A more brutal affair I never heard of.

Mr. Mackie prevailed on me to give three of the Europeans living on the island—named, George Salter, Edward Workman and James Cook, a passage to China. He said they had been employed by him during my absence, and that he had found them very useful, and promised them a passage up in the brig. I have since learned that they did nothing beyond living with him in the house as his companions and advisers, at my expense; and planning with him how they might accomplish my ruin, so as to get the trade of the place into their own hands. I afterwards proved them to be three of the greatest villains in Bornabi.

To illustrate the character of Thomas Boyd and Mr. Mackie more fully, I may remark, that two days after my arrival from Yap, I went to visit the King, and on my return on board, I found a native seized up in the fore rigging by Boyd, sanctioned by Mr. Mackie, the officer in charge of the ship, and learned that they had determined on keeping him there until ransomed by 100 yams, and a dozen fowls, for merely stealing an old knife from one of the lascars—who had been playing with him—and which had been returned. I of course ordered him to be immediately released; and on reprimanding Mr. Mackie for permitting such a thing, he was very insolent—saying he did not care a d—n for me, or Mr. Burn either—that he was quite independent of us both, and could get a ship of his own on his return to China—that he was determined to make himself as comfortable as possible during the voyage; at any rate, he would take very good care that I did not make him uncomfortable.

By the evening of the 19th we had every thing on board ready for sea—that is—biche de mer, wood and water.—As for trade, there was none remaining, Mr. Mackie having given it away to

9 See pp. 207-8n.
the chiefs. We sailed on the 20th for Pakecn, and arrived there the following day; where to my utter astonishment I only found 17 piculs of biche de mer, instead of 150 as represented by Mr Mackie. Whatever could have become of the remainder, I cannot imagine, unless Boyd had sold it to whalers during my absence—which from the character of the man—is quite likely. He however declared that he had delivered up all that had been collected. I searched all the houses, but could not find any more, nor could I obtain any information on the subject. It appeared evident to me that they were all rogues together.

It being late before we got the biche de mer on board, I was obliged to stand off and on during the night, so as to settle with the natives and land Boyd in the morning. At 7 A.M. on the 22nd, the chief came on board, when I paid him for what biche de mer he had collected. When he was ready to leave the ship, Boyd came aft, and entreated me to give him a passage to China, as the Bornabi natives—he said—would be sure to take his life if I left him behind. Knowing by what I had been told that such would be the case, I agreed to do so, telling him however at the same time in presence of my officers, that he must remember he had no further claim on me—as, in addition to refunding all his losses, he had received goods from me to the value of $500—two hundred of which he had received during my absence at New Georgia from Mr Mackie, being about double the amount he was entitled to for the services he had rendered. He acknowledged that he had been paid in full of every demand and that it was solely for the preservation of his life that he wished me to remove him from the island. I caused an entry to this effect to be made in the ship's Log-book. At 9 A.M. The chief left the ship when we made all sail for the Pallou Islands.

23rd Steady breeze from N.E. and fine weather. Noon Lat.obs. 5°55' N. Long. 156°15' E.

24th Fresh Easterly winds and fine weather. Noon made Young William's Group. Lat.observed 5°16' N. Long. 153°50' E. P.M. running along the south side of the group. 8 shortened sail, and stood off and on for the night.

At daylight on the 25th stood in, and hove to for some canoes coming off. Purchased a few fowls and cocoa-nuts from them,

10 See note 1, this chapter. Cheyne's location, taken just south of the group, is excellent. Six months after this visit Cheyne stayed at the group and returned there once more in 1846—Cheyne 1852: 131.
April-May 1844

and made sail to the westward at 9 A.M. Noon Lat.obs. 5°15' N. Long. 153°18' E.

26th Steady Easterly winds & fine clear w.r. Noon Lat.obs. 5°18' N. Long. 150°30' E.

27th Wind veering from East to North with occasional showers. Noon Lat.obs. 5°13' N. Long. 148°2' E.

Sunday 28th Easterly winds and showry throughout. Noon Lat.obs. 5°15' N. Long. 145° 43' E.

29th A continuance of Easterly winds and fine weather. Lat. obs. 5°28' N. Long. 143°36' E.

30th Easterly winds and squally. Noon Lat.obs. 6°7' N. Long. 141°31' E.

May 1st Light northerly winds and fine. Noon Lat.obs. 6°3' N. Long. 140°34' E.

2nd Variable airs from the westward with frequent calms. Noon Lat.obs. 5°45' N. Long. 140°27' E.

3rd Light westerly airs and calms. Noon Lat.obs. 5°14' N. Long. 140°14' E.

4th Light northerly winds and fine. Noon Lat.obs. 5°26' N. Long. 138°32' E.

5th Strong Easterly winds and fair weather. Noon Lat.obs. 7°14' N. Long. 136°45' E.

6th A.M. Decreasing breeze from the Eastward. Noon Lat.obs. 7°16' N. Long.chr. 134°53' E. The Pallou Islands in sight from the deck. Koroar bearing West, distant 23 miles. P.M. calm and clear. There being no appearance of wind, and being anxious to know what quantity of biche de mer Mr Stanford had procured, I left the ship at 3 P.M., in the whale boat for Koroar, and arrived at Malackan the following morning at 2 O'clock, having had to pull the greater part of the way. It was evident to me on landing that little had been done during my absence, as the road from the biche de mer house, leading to Stanfords house on the hill—which I had made—was all grown over with weeds, and the curing house in a dilapidated state. I found Stanford living with a native woman, apparently quite comfortable, and caring little about the interests of his employers, although he was receiving wages at the rate of 40 dollars pr month, the gunner $20 and 13 lascars left with him $9 pr month each—making in all a cost of $177 pr month for wages alone for this establishment. I left stores with him to the value of $520, and goods as per invoice amounting to $505—making in addition to the wages
May 1844

$1025. When I arrived he had been there 9 months, during which time he had only collected 35 piculs of biche de mer, of a very inferior quality, which I believe only fetched $15 pr picul. Added to this the schooner *Anita*, had, *without any instructions from me*—been chartered by Mr. Fessenden at $800 pr month, and sent down to him—during my absence—with additional stores and trade. She had only left a fortnight previous to my arrival, taking the 35 piculs of biche de mer with her. He had moreover detained her at Koroar upwards of a fortnight, for what purpose I know not. The loss therefore incurred by this establishment, for the 9 months I had been absent, will stand thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wages for Mr Stanford, Gunner &amp; 13 lascars</td>
<td>$1593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Anita</em>’s charter. 3 months @ $800</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stores and Trade left by me</td>
<td>1025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Chinese Sampans @ $40 each</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presents to the King and chiefs</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$5148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deduct proceeds of the 35 piculs                          500

Amount lost by the establishment the first year — $4648

Note. *The above does not include the additional stores and trade brought down by the ‘Anita’, of which I received no account.*

I may add to the former Mr. Mackie’s expenditure at Ascension, for 4½ months, during which time he did nothing:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Mackie wages for 4½ mos @ $60 pr month</td>
<td>$270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 lascars D° D° @ $9 each pr month</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tindels D° D° @ $12 D°</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stores and trade left at Ascension</td>
<td>1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presents to the chiefs by me</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$3068</td>
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</tbody>
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Total Expenditure at Ascension                           $3068
Lost by Mr. Stanford at Koroar.                          4648

Total amount lost by the 2 Establishments                 $7716

Mr. Stanford’s plea for want of success, was his not having suitable trade; but now that he had received such by the *Anita*, he assured me that he would without doubt have 300 piculs by the 1st of July, having formed another establishment on Babel-
May 1844

thouap11 where the slug is plentiful. His plea of not having suitable trade was absurd, as a portion of the goods left with him, consisted of forty new muskets, and twenty kegs of Gunpowder, & sufficient of themselves to purchase 140 piculs of biche de mer at least. He had altogether a sufficiency of goods left with him to procure 200 piculs.

I found the Spanish brig Magallanes, Captain Somes lying off Malackan, on which island he had a biche de mer house. As Stanford attributed his want of success, partly to her presence and opposition during her last voyage, I determined on purchasing the island from the King and chiefs, so as to prevent Capt'n Somes, or others visiting the harbour for biche de mer—to erect curing houses on it. I did so on the 8th and had proper deeds made out, which being duly interpreted and explained were signed by the King and principal chiefs. I wrote Capt'n Somes the same evening that I had purchased the island, and requested him to remove his people and things from it in 12 hours, as I was on the eve of sailing. He replied in writing as follows:—

‘Malackan’ May 9th 1844

‘Capt'n A Cheyne
Dear Sir

‘Your letter of yesterday's date was duly rec'd in which you give me notice of having purchased the Island of Malackan from the King and chiefs of Corror, and the request of my withdrawing my beechlemer party from the shore, in the short notice of twelve hours.

‘This sudden change being injurious to my interest, and extremely inconsequent as respects the king and his chiefs (after having given or granted me permission to build a Camarin in the island two years in succession, in which their own people have assisted, and have been handsomely paid) has obliged me to enquire into the case previous to my answering your letter, which I did last evening in your presence, the result was, they are, or pretend to be, ignorant of part of the contents of the Deed you presented for my inspection, and as near as I can find out (as the contents was properly explained) desire to make a total devolution of the articles received by them.

11 Babelthuap, the largest island in the Palau group, to the north of Koror.
‘However I wish to have it understood that I shall not interfere in the slightest in the purchase or sale of Malackan, and that as soon as the case is ventilated and confirmed by the king and chiefs, I shall withdraw my people from the shore (if still requested) with the materials of my Camarin as my property.’

‘I remain Dear Sir

‘Yours respectfully

(Signed) ‘M.A. Somes’

Seeing that the King and chiefs were—(owing to Capt’n Somes’ persuasion)—inclined to haul back from their agreement, unless I would permit him to remain, I deemed it advisable to rescind that order, so as to make the bargain a valid one. The agreement therefore as to my being the purchaser of Malackan was confirmed by the King and chiefs.

The Naiad anchored in the outer roads or bay formed by the reefs on the 7th, and the Koroar natives, together with John Davey Interpreter, and the Yap chief, were landed, and paid off the same evening. The five lascars that had been carried off at Yap from the biche de mer houses had been sent over here in a proa, and were waiting our arrival. They attributed their safety and release, to my having the Yap chief on board. They assured me that the fleet of Proas at Tomal would have cut us off the morning we sailed, had it not been for the precautionary measures I adopted. The few guns we fired, so thoroughly frightened them, that by 10 O’clock that night the whole town was deserted, and they did not return until we were clear out to sea. No damage whatever was done by our firing.

I sent Charles Dunn my old biche de mer curer to take charge of the station on the North Island,12 and relieve the gunner, who was anxious to return to China. I still left a party of lascars with Stanford, and gave him what remains of trade I had.

We sailed from Koroar for China on the 10th May, and arrived at Macao on the 28th having had light Easterly winds and fine weather during the passage. The only occurrence worth noting, which took place during the passage, was Thomas Boyd’s being put in irons for stealing a shoulder of Goat Mutton from the galley which had been cooked for the cabin dinner. He

12 i.e. Babelthuap.
May 1844

apologised about 24 hours afterwards, and was released. He was exceedingly quiet from the time he embarked until we left the Pallou Islands—but after that he got very insubordinate. He did not do a hands turn the whole passage up.

About an hour after we anchored in Macao Roads, Thomas Boyd came aft demanding money—saying I had not paid him to his satisfaction for his losses through being carried off the island, and for the services he had since rendered. I was perfectly astonished at the man's assurance in making such a demand, after having received double the amount he was entitled to, and saving his life by taking him away from the island. Indeed had I acted right, I should have charged him passage money. I of course refused to pay him a cent in addition to what he had received. On hearing which he immediately left the ship in a tanka boat. On the following day, the British consular Agent's constable came on board, and handed me a letter from Capt Ricketts—requesting me to come on shore at once to his office, and bring the ship's papers along with me. I did so, and on handing him the papers, I apologised for not having lodged them with him sooner, thinking that had been his reason for sending for me. In this however I was mistaken; as he informed me that a man named Thomas Boyd whom I had brought up from the islands, had lodged a serious charge against me—on oath—of having committed different piratical acts during my last voyage—the substance of which were as follows:—

In the first count he charged me with firing so many rounds of ball and grape, on a town at Yap the night prior to my leaving.

2nd That on my arrival at Ascension from Yap, I wore a gold band round my cap the day I went to visit the King, and hoisted a pendant on board the brig.

3rd That I on my passage from one island to another—at the Massacre Islands, did attack some fishing canoes, and destroyed them.

4th That I embarked a number of natives at the Eddystone Island, for the purpose of going to war with their enemies, and assisted them to destroy a number of canoes and people at New Georgia.

The two first counts happened while he was on board the Naiad. The two last he did not witness, he being on shore at the time on Ascension. The two last charges were therefore made on hearsay evidence only, referring to his informants to substantiate
May 1844

it. They were two Europeans, to whom, out of charity I had given employment, and a passage up from the Islands. They were with me at the Massacre Islands, and New Georgia. They it appeared had, during the passage to China, been relating to Boyd their personal adventures among the islands, and amongst other things boasting how many natives they had shot at New Georgia. Boyd noted all this, and tried as I have already shown to form a charge against me out of it.

Captain Ricketts read over the charges Boyd had preferred against me, and in the most gentlemanly manner allowed me to return on board on parole—remarking that he had been at New Georgia himself, and knew the character of the natives pretty well, and supposed Boyd’s charge was merely founded on some skirmish I had with them in self defence. He desired me to bring my Log-Book and witnesses on shore at 10 O’clock the following morning—and to send Boyd’s witnesses on shore pr return of his boat, which I did.

At 10 A.M. on the 30th I attended at the Consular Agents’ office, with my chief and third officers, and several of the crew as witnesses. Capt’n Ricketts then informed me that he had examined Boyd’s two informants, on oath, and that they had denied in toto the charges they were brought on shore to prove. He then read their depositions, in which they denied ever having seen a native hurt during the voyage, nor any aggression whatever committed on them or their property during the voyage; and that my having attacked fishing canoes at the Massacre Islands, was utterly unfounded, we never having met with any on our passage across from Island to Island. With regards to the fourth and last charges, of having embarked a number of Eddystone natives, for the purpose of going to war with their enemies, they declared that such was a mere fabrication of Boyd’s and that they had never seen a shot fired at a native, farther than a few muskets fired over their heads, to frighten them away, and deter them from fighting, but they had invariably seen me treat all natives with whom I had had intercourse with the greatest kindness and humanity, and not so much as a cocoa-nut had ever been taken from them without payment, during the time they were with me.

Boyd was then called in, and the depositions of his witnesses read over to him. He was then sworn and the following questions, relative to the 1st count, put to him by Capt’n Ricketts:—
May-June 1844

'Can you swear that you ever saw any natives fired at or injured while you were at Yap'. 'No'. ‘Did you ever see any thing taken from them without payment’. ‘I cannot say that I did’. ‘On what grounds then have you founded this charge’. ‘Because several guns were fired in the direction of the shore, the night before we left’. ‘Can you swear that any people, houses or canoes were injured by the firing’ ‘No’.

‘You then confess that you never saw a native hurt during the time you were in the Naiad’. ‘I never saw any one hurt’. Captain Ricketts then said. ‘Well you must be a consummate scoundrel to enter such unfounded charges’. ‘I shall now send you on board the Naiad, and hand you over to Capt^n Cheyne to be dealt with on his arrival at Hongkong’. He immediately delivered up my papers saying that I left his office without a stain on my character. Captain Ricketts is now (1853) in Hongkong, and can vouch for the truth of what I have now stated.

The second count charging me with wearing a gold band round my cap, and flying a pendant,13 was ridiculous, and showed that Boyd must have been hard up for charges against me, when he brought that in as one. I believe I did have a gold band round my cap the day I visited the King, and the only time during the voyage. The chief mate certainly hoisted an old pendant after I left the brig—at Boyd’s suggestion I was told. It was not however made by me, but was found in the brig when she was purchased, and had stars and stripes in the head of it. That was the only occasion on which any thing in the shape of a pendant, or a gold band was ever displayed during the time I was in command of her.

I found that M^r Burn had gone to England during my absence, and left the management of the Naiad to M^r Fessenden one of his clerks. What biche de mer I had on board was landed at Macao, and the crew paid off on the 4th of June. Preparations were then entered into for making another voyage. M^r Fessenden—on hearing that Stanford was likely to have 300 piculs by the 1st July—proposed to charter the schooner Will O’ the Wisp and send her down for it at once. To this I objected, as it would only incur an unnecessary expense, even should he have 300 piculs.

13 It seems very possible that Boyd was at Ponape during the Lambton affair (see Introduction, p.12) and remembered the charge against Captain Hart (which so enraged the naval authorities) that he had lent to his ‘trial’ and execution of the native chief an air of officialdom by flying a pendant and wearing gold braid.
piculs by the time she arrived, which was by no means certain.
The voyage I had planned out for the Naiad was as follows:—
To proceed from China to the Pallou Islands with stores and trade for Stanford, and embark Charles Dunn and what biche de mer had been collected: Then go to Ascension—form establishments there, and at the Raven Islands. From thence proceed to Stewart’s Islands, leaving Charles Dunn and a party there; then to the Eddystone, and to trade round New Georgia for biche de mer and tortoise shell until the N.W. monsoon set in. From that proceed to the Loyalty Islands and fill up with Sandal Wood, and go on to Sydney—tranship my cargo for China, get the brig recoppered and repaired—fit out from there, and return to the Loyalty Islands to procure another cargo of Sandalwood; when loaded to proceed to China touching at Stewart’s Islands, the Eddystone, Raven Islands, Ascension and Pallou, for what biche de mer had been collected, landing a portion of Sandalwood at each station to make room for it—and leaving them trade and stores to go on with. Such was my proposition to Mr Fessenden; but he in conjunction with Capt Walker, and in direct opposition to my views, decided on sending the schooner at once to Koroar.

They also decided that Mr Mackie, my late chief officer, should proceed in her as super-cargo, or trading master—should it (on account of Stanford’s want of success) be found necessary to send her farther. In that case it was proposed that she should proceed to Ascension, and that an assortment of goods suitable for that place should be put on board, to be at his disposal on her arrival there.

I shipped a crew of Manila men for the Naiad; and left Macao roads for Hongkong on the 7th of June, where I arrived the following day. I brought Thomas Boyd over with me, but having neither time nor means to prosecute him, I allowed him to go on shore on our arrival. I found the Schooner Will O’ the Wisp nearly ready for sea. By the evening of the 11th I had purchased and shipped what goods I thought would be required at Ascension, should she proceed there. A quantity of stores and trade were also put on board for Mr Stanford. She sailed on the 12th and was instructed to await my arrival at Koroar; and should they be detained there, to render Stanford every assistance in their power.

On the 13th I received a summons from Major Caine chief
Magistrate to appear at the police court the following day, to answer a charge preferred against me by *my evil genius* Thomas Boyd. He swore that I had not refunded the losses he sustained through being forcibly taken off the island of Ascension in Decr 1842, nor paid him to his satisfaction for what services he had rendered since. The chief Magistrate on referring to the Police Records for June 1843, found that this case had been already settled before him by compromise, to Boyd's satisfaction, who had then withdrawn the charge, and the case declared dismissed. He at once ordered Boyd to leave the court, saying the case could not be tried a second time, having been already settled. On asking Major Caine if there were no means of punishing this man for his unfounded accusations at Macao, he told me there was a supreme court now established in Hongkong, and that I ought to seek redress there. Boyd—on hearing this—immediately left the court, and entered on board one of the ships of war then in harbour. Major Caine remarked that he thought I had acted very foolishly in bringing the man up again from Ascension. I granted him a passage to save his life knowing that he had no just claim against me.

Finding that the goods I required for the different Islands were not to be had in China It was decided by Mr Fessenden that I should call at Manila on my way down to procure them. I therefore returned to Macao for letters to Manila, and instructions; and was ready for sea at Noon on the 21st.
CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Proceed to Manila—Arrival there—Sail for the Pallou Islands—find the schooner Will O' the Wisp waiting our arrival—I form a biche de mer establishment at the town of Arramanyons—meet with unexpected success—Mutinous conduct of my second mate—Leave the Establishment in charge of Mr Stanford & make preparations for sea—Discharge my chief mate having discovered him to be a man of bad character—Sail for the Caroline Islands, with the schooner in company—Pass The Kama Isles—Arrive at Ullieye—proceedings there—Touch at Evalook—Proceed to Hogoleu Group—Cool reception by the natives—Proceed to the Easternmost large Island.

On the 21st of June 1844, at 5 P.M., I weighed from Macao Roads, with a fresh breeze from S. by W. At 9 P.M. The flood made up, when we came to in 6 fathoms between the island of Samcock and Ladrones.

1 Ngaramlungui. On the west coast of Babelthuap: 7°29'N, 134°30'E.
2 Eauripik, 6°41'N, 143°05'E, lying about 180 miles east of Sorol and 320 miles south-east of Yap. It is an atoll about five miles long and two miles wide and consists of six small islands.
3 Woleai: 7°22'N, 143°55'E.
4 Ifalik: 7°15'N, 144°27'E.
5 Truk atoll, consisting of a number of islands lying about 7°25'N, 151°53'E. The atoll is itself surrounded by numerous other atolls and small coral islands stretching between longitudes 148° and 154°E.
6 Ladrone Islands or Wan-Shan Chu'un-Tao, south-east of Macao, about 22°N, 113°45'E. Cheyne was presumably anchored in the channel to the north of the group.
June-July 1844

Weighed at daylight on the 22nd with a fresh breeze from S.W., and beat out between the Island of Potoe and the west coast.

Noon the Grand Ladrone bore N. 1' distant. 7 P.M. The Asses Ears N. by W. 1/2 W. 20 miles. Secured anchors, boats &c.

Sunday 23rd Fresh S.W. winds and cloudy throughout. Noon Lat.obs. 20°51' N. Long. 115°7' E.

24th Steady S.W. winds and cloudy. Employed painting the cabins. Carpenter repairing the whale boat. Noon Lat.obs. 19°16' N. Long. 116°24' E. Influenced by an Easterly current since yesterday at noon, and passed through several strong ripples.

25th Fresh S.W. winds and squally. Employed painting the cabins. Carpenter repairing the whale boat. Noon Lat.obs. 18°34' N. Long. 117°47' E. A strong current setting to the N.E.

26th Fresh S.S.W. winds and gloomy. Employed as before. Noon Lat.obs. 17°54' N. Long. 119°31' E. 4 P.M. saw the land.

27th Strong S.W. winds and squally. Tacking occasionally. Noon Lat.obs. 17°22' N. Long. 119°7' E.


29th A continuance of S.S.W. Gales. Working to windward under close reefed topsails, but making no progress owing to a strong N.N.E. current. Noon Lat.obs. 17°46' N. Long. 117°52' E.


July 1st Commences with light Southerly winds, and ends with variable airs and calms. Noon Lat.obs. 17°29' N. Long. 119°21' E.

2nd Light Variable airs and calms throughout. Noon Lat.obs. 17°15' N. Long. 119°22' E.

3rd Light Airs, and frequent calms throughout. Noon Lat.obs. 16°58' N. Long. 119°20' E.

4th First part Calm, middle and latter light S.E. winds. Noon Lat.obs. 16°32' N. Long. 119°5' E.

5th Strong S.E. winds & squally throughout. Made and

7 Probably Putue, or Hsaio-p'u-t'ai, a tiny island to the west of the Ladrones; hence 'west coast' probably refers to the west coast of the Ladrones.
shortened sail as required. Noon Lat.obs. 15°32' N. Long. chr. 118°39' E.


Sunday 7th A.M. Gale moderating. Noon Lat.obs. 15°58' N. The land bearing as yesterday. P.M. Out all reefs and set top-gallant sails.

8th Fresh southerly winds and squally. All sail set. Noon Lat.obs. 15°56' N. The land bearing as before. Making no progress on account of a strong N.N.E. current which we have daily experienced.

9th Light Easterly winds throughout. Noon Lat.obs. 15°10' N. Point Capones⁹ in sight bearing S.E. by E. ½ E., 30 miles.

10th Variable winds throughout; tacking occasionally to take advantage of the shifts. Noon Lat.obs. 14°24' N. Point Capones N.E. ¾ N. Current setting to the northward.


12th Light Easterly winds and calms. A Barque in sight at daylight. She having expressed a wish by signal to communicate with us, we hove to at 8 A.M. to allow her to close. They sent a boat on board at 9—when we found it was the British Barque Margaret Pointer from Singapore, with the New Governor of Manila. They were in want of fresh provisions, and I supplied them with five small pigs, for which I never received any acknowledgement. 4 P.M. Mount Mariveles in sight bearing E.N.E., 30 miles.

13th N.E. winds throughout. Working up for the Corregidor. 6 P.M. entered Manila Bay, and kept underway during the night.

At Noon on the 14th came to an anchor in the roads in 4 fathoms, distant from the City of Manila 1½ miles. P.M. Went on shore, and waited on my consignees, Messrs Russell & Sturgis. This was our Sunday, reckoning our Longitude East from Greenwich; but we found they were a day behind having come round Cape Horn, and kept this as Saturday. When I last visited Manila in 1853, I found they had altered the day, and that their time agreed with ours.

⁸ Mt Iba, near the central western coast of Luzon, Philippines.
⁹ Mid-western coast of Luzon, 14°54'N, 120°3'E.
By the evening of the 23rd, we had completed our purchases, and got every thing ready for sea. I found a Bornabi boy here, that had been shipwrecked on Bordelaise Island. In the little schooner that my mate Du Pernet commanded. He had come up from Guam in the Bermondsey Whaler, and I took him on board as he was anxious to get back to Bornabi. I also engaged 5 manila men as seapoys to complete our complement of men. They had been in a native regimental band, and brought musical instruments with them; which I thought might prove an acquisition amongst the islands; as it would be something new to the natives to hear music; besides being at no extra expense whatever on that account.

We sailed on the 24th for the Pallou Islands; but owing to fresh S.W. gales, were obliged to put in to Mariveles Bay, where we remained until the 30th. On the 31st we rounded Point Santiago and entered the Straits of St. Bernardino. At 8 A.M. on the 3rd August rounded the S.E. point of Luzon; and at noon passed through between the Isle of St. Bernardino and Baliquatro into the Pacific. Wind westerly, moderate and clear; steering E.S.E.

Aug 4th Steady S.W. winds and fine clear weather throughout. Steering S.E. by E. Noon Lat. obs. 12°45' N. Long. chr. 125°5' E. Sunset passed Cape Espiritu Santo.

5th Northerly winds throughout. Steering S.E. by E. Noon Lat. obs. 12°2' N. Long. chr. 126°35' E.

6th Fresh westerly winds throughout. Steering S.E. ½ E. Noon Lat. obs. 10°32' N. Long. chr. 128°8' E.

7th Wind S.S.W., light breeze and fine weather. Noon Lat. obs. 9°20' N. Long. chr. 129°47' E.

8th Fresh S.W. winds throughout. Steering S.E. ½ E. Noon Lat. obs. 7°54' N. Long. chr. 131°43' E. Employed repairing sails &c.

9th Westerly winds and fine weather. Steering E.S.E. Noon Lat. obs. 7°42' N. Long. chr. 133°45' E. Experienced a strong northerly current since yesterday at noon. 3 P.M. saw the Island of Koroar bearing S.E. by E., 30 miles distant. During the afternoon standing towards Angour. Midnight Angour bore S.E. distant 2 miles.

My chronometer this afternoon gave the long. 15' west of the

10 Oroluk, an uninhabited island about 170 miles west of Ponape.
11 This was the schooner Shaw. See pp. 212-13n. Du Pernet had shipped as mate for Cheyne at Macao.
position assigned to the Pallou Group by Horsburgh. Having been only six days from the straits of St. Bernardino—where it was correct—I consider Horsburgh’s positions to be 15’ too far east—measured from Manila.

10th A.M. variable winds with heavy rain. At 8, passed Pillilew, and stood to the northward for Koroar. Noon, heavy rain. At 2.15 P.M. came to an anchor in 18 fathoms in Koroar Roads. Found the schooner ‘Will O’ the Wisp’, and Spanish Brig. ‘Magallanes’ lying at Malackan. Capt’n Killett, & Messrs Mackie and Stanford came on board shortly after we anchored. The ‘Will O’ the Wisp’ had been there nearly a month, and I was astonished to learn that all the biche de mer Stanford had collected did not amount to 90 piculs.

11th Westerly winds and fine weather. obliged to remain at anchor in the roads the wind being foul for getting into the harbour. The king—Abba Thulle—paid us a visit in the forenoon. Saluted him as customary with 7 guns.

12th Light easterly winds and clear weather. 11 A.M. weighed, and stood in through the passage in the reef. At noon anchored off the island of Malackan, within 400 yards of the biche de mer house. In the evening, Charles Dunn—the man whom I left with Stanford to cure the slug—arrived from his station at Babelthouap, and informed me that 2 or 300 piculs of biche de mer might have been ready, had he had a sufficiency of men to cure it; and, that an additional quantity could have been procured since the schooner’s arrival, had they given him the assistance of her crew, who were doing nothing on board. He had made application to Killett & Stanford for men, but they had rendered him no assistance whatever. He had lost piculs of the slug daily, which had become putrid, through want of hands to cut firewood; while the lascars I left with Stanford—and the schooner’s crew—were doing nothing. Stanford it appeared had never even visited the station, but had left Dunn with four hands to manage the best way he could. Killett, Mackie and Stanford had been constantly quarrelling, as to whom should be master; and Killett, the day I arrived, lodged a complaint to me in writing, against Mackie, saying that he had been a great annoyance to him during the voyage; and protested against his holding the situation of Super-cargo, in the Schooner, any longer. I was grieved at such a want of unanimity amongst them; as the grounds of their quarrels were so frivolous, that a man of sense would have taken no notice of it.
August 1844

To prevent any further bickering, I at once told Killett that Mackie should have no further charge over the schooner while I was present, but that he should receive his orders from me, and at the same time informed Mackie of my determination in writing; which in a few days elicited the following reply; corroborating the statement I have now made, as to nothing having been done previous to my arrival.

‘Capt'n A Cheyne’
Brig ‘Naiad’
Sir

‘As you informed me the other day that I had nothing whatever to do with the trade here, and no business to interfere in any way with your, or Mr Stanford’s arrangements, my instructions being merely to come down here as supercargo of the schooner “Will O’ the Wisp” and upon your arrival attend entirely to your directions. I beg therefore to enquire what your instructions are, as we have been here now somewhere about six weeks, and little or nothing has been done in that time.

‘I wished some time ago to get another establishment on foot at North Island, and put it in charge of one or more of the Englishmen we have on board; and who at present are quite idle, although receiving large pay.

‘Mr Stanford however objected to this, as he thought it would merely be dividing the biche de mer between two stations, and not increasing the quantity brought in by the natives, besides causing perhaps some Jealousy at Corror. I then of course said no more on the subject, knowing Mr Stanford to be better acquainted with the natives than I am.

‘Now however it appears you have succeeded even beyond your expectations in forming another station at North Island, at least so Mr Reynolds informs me, as I am kept, or rather left in the dark about the whole affair.

‘I should therefore feel much obliged if you would inform me what your intentions are with regard to the schooner; that is—whether she is to remain here to collect biche de mer, or proceed to some other Island.

‘My reason for requesting this is, that I may make myself useful in some way or other, either here or elsewhere; being at present only a mere cipher, and doing good neither to myself or my employers.

335
'If my services can be of use in any way be so good as to inform me, and oblige'

Your obedient Servant.'

'W. Mackie'

'Will O' the Wisp'

'Aug 19th 1844.'

On the 13th I went to Koroar, and requested permission from the King and chiefs to form another establishment at the North Island, which—after some consultation was granted; and Gospangan—the chief next in rank to the King, was appointed to accompany me, to protect our trade and stores, and keep the natives in order.

I started on the following morning for the town of Aramanyons, on the west side of Babelthouap with a party of men from both vessels, and trade and materials for purchasing and curing biche de mer. We arrived there at 5 P.M.—the station being 25 or 30 miles north of Koroar—and had the council house at the water side allotted us to reside in. On the 15th the natives erected a curing house, and commenced fishing the following afternoon. They had a considerable quantity of the slug already cured, which we purchased during the first 2 or 3 days. The slug must have been very plentiful at this place, as the canoes brought in—on an average—about 10 piculs daily, while the weather continued fine. I therefore succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations, and procured in ten days 140 bags, equal to 100 piculs, which clearly proved that had the parties there exerted themselves—as they should have done—previous to my arrival, the schooner might have been on her return passage to China, with three or four hundred piculs on board. As bad weather then set in, which prevented the natives from fishing; and the season for making a quick passage to the eastward amongst the Caroline Islands,12 being far advanced, I deemed it advisable to leave; as Mr Stanford could procure equally as much biche de mer without the vessels as with them, if he exerted himself. I therefore returned to Koroar, and made preparations for sea; leaving a sufficiency of trade with Stanford to procure 140 piculs, which I considered would be as much as he would collect during the Schooner's absence.

12 By which he apparently designates all the smaller of the Micronesian groups to the eastward of Palau.
August 1844

I was compelled to discharge my mate here—(a Frenchman—named Du Pernet, whom I shipped at Macao) having proved him to be a deceitful and dangerous character. On engaging him he led me to believe—that previous to being ship-wrecked on Bordelaise Island—he had visited Dory Harbour, on the north coast of New Guinea, where he had procured a large quantity of biche de mer and tortoise shell; and after visiting various islands he at last went to Hogoleu, where he represented the slug as being exceedingly abundant, and assured me I could in a very short time procure a cargo of the first quality. He stated that after leaving Hogoleu he was wrecked on a reef which extends a considerable distance S.E. of Bordelaise Island, to which it is connected, where he and his crew remained 5 months building a small craft in which they reached Guam. In corroboration of his statement, he showed me a Journal or rather description of the Islands he said he had visited, and which I have since learned had been copied from a Capt’ns Dudoit’s Journal. However his representations so completely blinded me, that I engaged him, believing he would prove an acquisition. Much to my surprise, I learned from the Bornabi boy shipped at Manila that his statements were false; as he was wrecked on the 3rd day after leaving Bornabi, and of course had neither procured biche de mer, nor visited any group, with the exception of the Raven Islands where they touched for a few hours. The Captain of the Spanish Brig advised me to get rid of him as soon as possible, as he considered him a dangerous companion. Indeed I had strong reasons for supposing that he and the 2nd mate (an Italian named Silvestre) contemplated murdering me, and running away with the brig, a few nights prior to our leaving Koroar. The want of wind, or some other cause prevented them from carrying their diabolical design into execution.

Silvestre—the 2nd mate—was desperate character. While I was absent [north island, he flourished a handspike] [Reynold’s head—the mate of the schooner—and threatened to take his life. On my return I reprimanded him on the quarter deck when he seized the Carpenter’s broad axe, and threatened to cut

13 In Geelvink Bay, the deep bay behind the ‘bird’s head’ of north-western New Guinea, well known to British seamen as a former trading post of the East India Company in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

14 Quite true—see pp. 212-13n.
me down if I approached him. I had in self defence to present a pistol to his head, until I secured him. He was kept in Irons till the Frenchman was discharged when he apologised and returned to his duty.

We sailed from Koroar on the 7th Sept with the schooner in company, and shaped a course for Ullieye. Wind northerly.

8th Westerly winds and fine weather throughout. Noon Lat. obs. 7°0' N. Long chr. 134°55' E. Found the brig making a great deal of water. The schooner in company.

9th Fresh westerly winds and fair weather, steering to the eastward. Noon Lat. obs. 7°47' N. Long. chr. 136°33'E. Employed repairing boarding nettings, and cleaning small arms. The schooner in company. The brig making nearly 14 inches water per hour.

10th Fresh westerly winds and fair weather. Noon Lat. obs. 7°5' N. Long. chr. 138°32' E. Employed overhauling and refitting gun gear. The schooner in company. Vessel making the same water. S.W. winds and fair weather. 13'N. Long. chr. 141°15' E. The schooner in company. The brig making 14 inches water per hour.

12th Northerly winds and clear. Noon Lat. obs. 6°58' N. Long. chr. 142°52' E. 2 P.M. saw the Kama Islands15 bearing S. by E. bore down to examine them. At sunset the group bore S.W. distant 3 or 4 miles. 7 P.M. light Variable airs, [a] canoe came alongside with a few cocoanuts for sale. The natives are similar in appearance to the inhabitants of Yap, but the language is different. Kama consists of two low coral islands — the easternmost and largest is only [about] a mile in length east & west; the other is much smaller. They are connected and surrounded by coral reefs, which form a [ ] lagoon of an oval shape. The islands are visible twelve or thirteen miles from a ship's deck. The population amounts to about one hundred and fifty souls, who live chiefly on cocoanuts and fish. I made the islands in Lat. 6°40' N. Long. chr. 142°59' E.

[Here the journal ends]

15 See note 2, this chapter. Cheyne apparently grouped several of the Eauripik islands together, seeing them as two islands only.
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INDEX

(Page numbers are given in parentheses when a person or place is not mentioned by name on that page)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abba Thulle, see Ibedul</td>
<td>209-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham, 209-10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achilles, 64n., 76, 82-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acis, 24, 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar, H.M.S., 226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmené I., 32n., 33n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amly, Captain, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Anatam', see Aneityum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aneityum, 4, 5, 12, 15, 16, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angaur I., 231, 333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita, 322</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniwa, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ant Is., 168, 202, 215, 290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antelope, 10, 14, 237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms, see Weapons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Artingall', see Ngaelngal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension I., see Ponape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic, 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austral Is., 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avon, 205n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awak, 182n., 184, 190; tribe, 205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babelthuap, 21, 238n., 322-3, 330n.; station at, 334, (335), 336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon, Mr, 26n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balade, 9, 28, 49n., 135-42, 143 (map)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball's Pyramid, 30-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks, Captain, 112-13, 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barlow, Billy, 209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnacle, Mr (shipwright), 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batavia, see Djakarta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bates, Joe, 287, 292</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baxter, Richard, 242, (251-62 passim)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beachcombers and castaways: European (Palau Is.) 14-15, 233, (Ponape) 10-13, 156-61, 165, 173, 181, 192-3, 203-22 passim, 286, 289-90, 318, (Sikaiana) 316, (Simbo) 303-14 passim; Filipinos, 257-8; Malays, 204; N.Z. Maoris, see Maoris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beagle, H.M.S., 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaufort-Beaupré (‘Beaupré’s’) I., 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bêche-de-mer: description of varieties, 194-6; method of collecting and curing, 196-9; price in China, 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bee, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermond-ey, 333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard, Captain, 233-4n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black River Packet, 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Swan, 82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blake, Commander P. L., 10-11, 204n., 205n., 209n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonin Is., 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

343
Botany I., 35, 42
Bougainville, 294n.; Strait, 302-3
'Boumulli', see Pumali
Boyd, Thomas, 157; at Yap with Cheyne, 256-76 passim; forms Pakin station, 289; makes trouble on Ponape, 159-63 passim; neglects duty, 317-20; not permitted to land (at Hong Kong) 219, (on Ponape) 288; prefers charges against Cheyne (Hong Kong, June 1843) 226-8, (Macao, May 1844) 325-7, (Hong Kong, June 1844) 328-9; prisoner (on the Bull) 165, 200, (on the Naiad) 324-5
Bridget, Charles, 108, 109, 110, 113-14, 115, 132n., 146; quarrel with Cheyne, 119-20, 121, 122
Briggs, James (3rd mate, Naiad), 251, 268, (277), (297-8), 313
Britannia, 93n.
'Britannia' Is., 93n.; see also Uvea
Brown, John, 205-6, 209-10, 213-14, 217; feud with Cheyne, 290, 291-2
Bula, brother of Hwenegi (Uvea), 115
Bula ('Bulah') of Lifu, 105, 108
Bull, 8, 9, 12, 86-165 passim, 221, 223, 287; Boyd prisoner on, 226; cargo, 220, 222
Bull's entrance, Uvea, 124, 125
Burials and funeral rites: Isle of Pines, 56; Ponape, 190
Burn, David Laing, 81, 86, 134, 222, 224-5, 226, 227, 241, 319, 327
Butcher, ?, 161
Caine, Major, 226-8, 328-9
Callao, 19
Camden, 4, 32, 35n., 56
Cannibalism, 27; Isle of Pines, 51-2, 57; Lifu, 105-6, 117; Mare, 114; Ponape, 192; Uvea, 117, 131, 152
Canoes: Isle of Pines, 8, 38n., 40-2, 56, 129; Lifu, 96, 104, (Gaiça) 93; Loyalty Is., 38n., 40, 56; Marianas, 282-3n.; New Caledonia, 38, 40, 56, (Balade) 135, 138; Palau Is. (Koror), 236; Ponape, 169, 184; Uvea, 129, 130; Yap, 253n., 272, 281n., 282-3
Canoe sails, Pakin famous for, 169
Caroline, 89
Caroline Is., 9, 10, 13, 15, 67, 174n., 281, 336; see also individual islands
Champlin, Captain, 160
Cheyne, Eliza, 17-19
Cheyne, James, 3, 16
Cheyne, John, 3, 4
Cheyne, William Watson, 18, 19
China: British authorities at, 13, 157, 158, 165, 219, 325-7; description of coast, 80, 81; merchants of ports of, 8, 13, 230; see also Hong Kong, Macao
Chinese: crew, 224, 292-3, 310, 311; labourers, 16, 21; of Macao, 28, 79-80; of Manila, 72
Choiseul Bay, 302
Circumcision: Balade, 135; Isle of Pines, 52, 104; Lifu, 104; Uvea, 128
Clementine, 205n.
Coconut toddy, 157, 181, 204, 237
Coggatt, Lewis, see Corgat
Cook, Captain James, 6, 9, 31n., 35n., 56, 66n.; and Loyalty Is. discovery, 102
Cook, James, 285, 319
Corgat, Louis, 18, 204, 206, 215
Corsair, 290n.
Council house: Isle of Pines, 39; Palau Is., 236; Ponape, 182, 183n.; Uvea (Fayoud), 129, 130; Yap, 265
Crew, Captain, 87, (108), 163-4
Dancing, Ponape, 187-8
Dacre, Ranulph, 6, 64, 65, 83, 84
Dash, 233n.
Dauk ('Talk'), 182n., 286
Davenport, Captain, 212-14, 221
Davey, John, 233, 236, 258, 264-5 passim, 290, 318, 324
Dent & Co., Messrs, 78, 81
Diana, 4, 5, 30-86 passim, 87, 165
Diseases: Isle of Pines, 55; Palau Is., 180; Ponape, 180-1, 191-2, (dysentry epidemic) 286, 288-9; Uvea, 111, 127; Yap (influenza epidemic), 270-4
Djakarta (Batavia), 83, 84-5
Dogs: New Caledonia, 37n.; Ponape, 173; Uvea (gift to Hwenegei), 153
Domino, Captain, 224, 227
Dornin, James, 304-13 passim
Dory Plarbour, 337
Dress: Isle of Pines, 50, 53; Lifu, 104; Manila, 73-4; New Caledonia (Balade), 135; Palau, 239n.; Ponape, 159, 180, 185, 189; Uvea, 128, 131; Yap, 257, 259, 261-2, 281-2
Drummond's I., see Tabiteua
Dudoit, Captain Jules, 205, 213, 337
Dumont d'Urville, J. S. C., 93n.
Dunn, Charles, 203, 204, 286, 288-9; at Simbo, 303-9 passim; at Tauu, (296), 299; in charge of Babelthupan station, 324, 334; to be stationed at Sikaiana, 328
Du Pernet, Captain E., 212n., 213, 215, 333, 337, (338)
Duus, Mr, 230

East India Company, 6, 10, 14, 337n.
Eauripik (Kama Is.), 15, 330n., 338
Ebon, 15
Ebrill, Captain T., 89, 90, 145, 146-7
Edward Carey, 217
Eddystone I., see Simbo
Efate, 5, 16, 18
Elgar, Henry, 4, 64, 65
Elizabeth, 17
Elizabeth (Salem whaler), 218
Embret, Captain, 219
Embuscade, 213n.
Entrecasteaux, J. A. R. Bruni d', 135n.
Eromanga, 4, 5
Eronan, see Futuna
Erskine, Captain John Elphinstone, 92-3n.
Eskelson, Christian, 165
Espritu Santo, 5, 9
Etal, 315n.
Etelokul, 258, 261, 264, 268, 276-7
Falcon, 12, 205n.
Fanning, William, 81, 86
Fataka (Mitre I.), 66

Fayoué ('Fitzaway'), 110n., 125, 127, 129, 150; 'king of', see Hwenegei
Fessenden, Henry, 225, 322, 327-9
Fiji Is., 5, 129, 203, 296
Fijians, on Isle of Pines, 56
Fishing: Isle of Pines, 42, 53, 56, 57; Manila, 74; Ponape, 173, (for turtle) 206
‘Fitzaway’, see Fayoué
Food: Isle of Pines, 53-4; Lifu, 104-5; Palau, 237; Ponape, 185-7; Uvea, 131-2; Yap, 283
Food production, see Horticulture
Food tabus, Yap, 253
Forbes, John, 16
Fortune, 221
Foxall, Edward, 4, 7, 28, 34, 44, 63, 83n.
Frazer’s Is., see Ant Is.
Freeman, ?, 207
French policy in Pacific, 213n.; rumours of, 213, 215-17
Futuna (Eronan), New Hebrides, 4, 66

Gadji (Victoria Harbour), Isle of Pines, 41n., 42n., 46 (map), 47, 87, 142
Gaica (‘Kygha’), 93, 94n., 95n., 96, 101 (map), 117n.; chief murders subject, 97; enemies to Wet, 98-9n.
Garrett, A., 82
Ghant Serang, 225-6, 230
Gibson, John, 159, 160, 161, 162, 204, 215
Gilbert Is., 290n.
 Gill, John, 207-8n., 257, 262, 265, 269, 271n., 272-4; murdered, 319
Goliath, 219, 287
Gospangan, 336
Gourds, Isle of Pines, 53
‘Gro en Wene’, see Kirou en Wene
Guadalcanal, 315-16
Guam, 18, 67, 213, 333, 337
Gulick, Rev. L. H., 204n., 207n., 214n., 219n.
Gwiet (‘Gweeath’), 98, 99-100, 105
Hadley, James, 18, 209, 286, 290, 301-2
Hagerty, Captain, 217
Harris, William, 209
Hart, Captain (of Black Swan), 82
Hart, Captain (of Lambton), 12, 209n.
Hawaii (‘Sandwich’) Is., 5, 205n., 213; see also Oahu
Hazard, H.M.S., 207-8n.
Headhunting, Simbo, 303-4
Hedge, Captain, 218
Henderson, Gideon, 90
Henderson, William, 90, 91, 102, 147
Henry, Samuel, P., 7, 56n., 147n.
Hobart Town, 18, 20, 89
Holmes, William, 209
Hong Kong, 18, 219, 222, 224, 226-8, 230, 289, 327-9
Hope, 316n.
Horticulture: Isle of Pines, 49, 56, 88; Lifu, 103; Mare, 103; Ponape, 171-2, 185-7; Uvea, 115, 126; Yap, 283
Houses: Isle of Pines, 39, 48n., 52n.; Lifu, 104; Palau (thatching compared with Ponape’s), 235; Ponape, 159, 163, 184; Uvea, 129; Yap, 282, (thatching compared with Ponape’s) 254
Hughes, Captain, 5, 34, 84
Hunter, Captain John, 6, 293n.
Hunter, Captain Robert, 302-3
Hussey, Captain, 218
Iwencegei (‘Whiningay’, ‘king of Fitzaway’), 110-23 passim, 125-31 passim, 142, 150-4
Ibedul (‘Abba Thulle’), 20-4, 231-41 passim, (323-4); opinion of Yap people, 247; relations with English, 247-9, 334, 336
Ifalik, 15, 25n., 330n.
Isle of Pines: 4, 6-9, 18, 82, 84, 141; Cheyne’s visits (first) 28-9, 30-45, 59-64, (second) 27-8, 87-91, (third) 142-6, 150; description of island and people, 24-5, 45-58; dress compared with Balade, 135; ‘government’, 38; houses compared with Uvean, 129; island compared with Lifu, 103; ‘king’, see Touru; language, 8, 93; people (compared with Lifuans) 93, 104, (compared with Uveans) 111, 127, (give information about Loyalties) 103; sailing directions for, 47-8
Jane, 64n., 82-3
Java, 221
Jeffreys, Thomas, 209
John Bull, 10n., 192n.
Jokaj (‘Joquoits’), 167, 168, 184, 204, 318n.; tribe, 182, 190n., (station formed among) 290
Jokwie (‘Joqui’, ‘prince of Fitzaway’), 15, 110, (111), (151-2)
Jones, Captain, 222
Jones, James, 313
Jones, Richard, 64, 84n.
Joqui, see Jokwie
Joseph Peabody, 224
Juno, 109-19 passim, 147n.
Juno’s entrance, Uvea, 124, 125
Kama Is., see Eauripik
Kauma (‘Koumah’), 111-12, 116, 117, 125, 126, 131, 150
Kava, Ponape, 172, 182-3, 187, 191-2, 203
Keating, Captain, 233
Keenan, George, 12, 192n.
Keys, Midshipman, 34, 35
Kilinailau, 294n.
Killett, Captain, 334-5
Kipar (K-par), 174, 212
Kirou en Wene (‘Gro en Wene’), 182
Kiti (‘Kiddi’) tribe, 182, 214; epidemic among, 286; shore station formed among, 290
Koror, 10, 14, 20-4, 328; Cheyne’s visits, (first) 231-41, (second) 321-4, (third) 333-8
Kunie, see Isle of Pines
Kusaie (‘Strong’s I.’), 174, 193-4, 207-8n.
‘Kygha’, see Gaica
La Billardière, J. J. Hoton de, 49n.
Lady Montague, 18-19, 146n.
Lalla Rook, 221
Lambton, 12, 209n., 285n.
Language: Isle of Pines, 8, (compared with Lifuan) 93; Lifu, 93, 98, 132n., (vocabulary) 106-7; Ponape (vocabulary) 175-9; Uvea, 129, (on New Caledonia) 137, (vocabulary) 132-3
Laplace, Captain C. P. T., 205n.
Larne, H.M.S., 11, 12, 174, 204n., 209n.
Leathly, Mr, 227
Leok, 244, 246-50, 254-78 passim
Levi Starbuck, 219
Lifu, 9, 41, 51n., 109, 129, 150; Cheyne’s visit, 92-102, 107-8; description of island and people, 102-7; Ebrill’s visit, 89; sandalwood inferior, 112, 151
Lifuans: account of massacre (Martha) 114, (Star) 146-7; at Isle of Pines, 144-5; at Uvea, 117-18, 119-21, 122; compared with Mare people, 113; compared with Uveans, 111, 127, 129; name for Uvea, 109
Lillie, Rev. John, 18
Lobie, 304-11 passim
London Missionary Society, 4, 7, 9, 32n., 56n., 87n.
Lord Howe L, 30-1, 64
Lot Harbour (‘Lord’), 167, 204
Lorio, 257-8, 270, 271
Lot Harbour (‘Lord’), 167, 204
Loyalty Is., 9, 15, 18, 38n., 40, 83, 86, 88, 89, 220; Cheyne’s description, 101-2; confusion on charts, 92-3n.; voyage planned to, 328; see also individual islands
Lucinda, 133
Lukunor, 315n.
Lunar, 91, 146
Lütke, F. P., 11, 67n.
Lymington and Liverpool Packet, 156, 161
Macao, 15, 28, 77, 222, 224, 226, 337; description of, 78-81; Naiad at, 325-8, 329-30
McCluer, Captain J., 21
McFarlane, Captain, 89, 90
McFarlane, John, 208-10
McKellar, Dr, 87n., (108), (163-4)
Mackie, W., 230, 238, 273-4; at Pakin station, 289-90; Cheyne’s complaints against, 317-20, 322, 334-6; left in charge at Ponape, 290-1, 293; made supercargo, 328
Maclean, Watson & Co., Messrs, 83
McLeod, George, alias Jock, 313
Maconochie, Alexander, 148-9
McVicar & Co., Messrs, 81, 225
Magallanes, 233, 241, 323, 334
Magellan, Ferdinand, vii, 282-3n.
Magnet, 89, 91, 146
Magnet (Amer. whaler), 160
Mairget, Father Désiré, 208n.
Malaita (‘Malanta’), 316
Malakal (‘Malackan’) I., 21, 233, 241; Cheyne’s purchase of, 323-4, 334
Malays: on Ponape, 204, 209; seamen on Oahu ship, 208
Malekula, 50n.
Manila, 9, 16, 19, 20, 24, 64, 65, 81, 84, 233n., 234, 329, 334; description of, 71-5; Diane at, 68-76, 82-3; market for bêche-de-mer, 195; men from (crew of Naiad) 328; Naiad at, 332-3; vessels from, 231, 234, (cut off at Yap) 241, 245-7, 257-8, 261, 269
Mant I., 168
Maoris (‘New Zealanders’), 207-8n., 286-7, 291
Mare (‘Mari’), 9, 92-3, 103, 150; Martha massacre at, 89-90, 113-14; people at Uvea, 113
Margaret Pointer, 332
Mariana Is. (Ladrones), vii, 9, 10, 222, 282
Mariano, 257, 270
Marquesas Is., 5, 213n.
Martha, massacre of crew at Mare, 89, 113-14
Martha (Amer. whaler), 212, 221
Martin, John, 209
Marshall Bennett, 303n.
Massachusetts, 203, 219, 221
‘Massacre Is.’, 294n.; see also Tauu
Matalanien, see Metalanim
Matap, 208, 210
Matelotas Is., see Ngulu
Matthew’s Rock, 65-6
May, George, 206, 207, 207-8n.; confesses to murdering McFarlane, 208-10; murders N.Z. Maoris, 287; supposed attempt to murder Cheyne, 213-14; spreads false rumours, 217

Mazarro, Matteo, 217n.

Melenecio, 238n.

Meno, 311, 313

Mentor, 233-4n.

Metalanim (‘Matalanien’), 204; harbour, 166-7, (description) 218, (sailing directions for) 170-1, see also Nanmatol ruins; tribe, 182, 190, 205, 208, 209n., (Cheyne visits) 217-18, 291-2, (shore station formed among) 290

Millidge, George, 165, 204, 219

Minerly, Warren, 313

Missionaries: Catholic (at Hawaii) 205n., (at Isle of Pines) 18, (at New Caledonia) 49n., (to Carolines) 9; Protestant (at Hawaii) 205n., see also London Missionary Society, Polynesian teachers

Mitre I., see Fataka

Mokil, 169

Moore, Josiah, 70

Morecroft, John, 165

Morrell, Benjamin, viii, 294n.

Mortlock, Captain, 315n.

Mortlock Is., 315n.; see also Nomoi Is.

‘Motuka’, see ‘Touru’

Mou, 102n.

Mount Vernon, 219

Mourning: Isle of Pines, 51; Ponape, 190

Moxon, George, 165

Muli I., 16

Mumford, 108n.

Music, Ponape, 187-8

Mutok I. (‘Mudok’), 18, 204n., 286, 291

Na (‘Naa’) I., 167 (map), 208, 209

Nahniepe (‘Nanaby’), 182

Nahken (‘Nannikan’), title, 182n.

Nahken of Metalanim, 291

Nahken (‘Prime Minister’) of Ronkiti, (157-8), 161, 202, 203, 207, 213, 215; death of, 286; his successor (Solomon), 288

Naid: Agreement of owners, 224-5; at Jokaj in 1844, 168; at Uvea, 126; first voyage, 226-32; second voyage, 328-38

Nanmatol, ruins at, 11, 174, 218

Nanpei, Henry, 209n.

Narlap (‘Naalap’), 167 (map), 170, 212, 285

Nauru (‘Pleasant I.’), 66-7, 316n.

Nautical Magazine, 1, 11, 19, 24, 303n.

Neave, Thomas D., 225

Nekelo (‘Nicoló’), 113, 116; his tribe (at war with Hwenegi’s tribe) 117, (inhabit Beautemps-Beaupré 1.) 123, (located on map) 124

Net (‘Nut’), 182n., 184

New Caledonia, 4-9 passim, 15, 28, 35n., 41, 129, 131; breadfruit trees, 49; canoes, 40; Cheyne sails for, 123, 134; first visit to, 135-42, 144, 148, 150; introduction of dogs, 37n.; sexual mores, 51n.; south-eastern end (Tuauru), 38; see also Balade, Isle of Pines, Loyalty Is.

New Georgia, 13-14, 208, 292, 312-13, 319, 320; Boyd’s charges of misconduct at, 325-6; Cheyne sails for, 293, 301; first visit to, 305-9; head-hunting in, 304; people considered treacherous, 304-5, 315; possibilities of trade with, 311

New Guinea, 2, 5, 20, 133, 337; see also Bougainville, Kilinaialau, Tauru

New Hebrides, 4-7 passim, 12, 15-16, 18, 66n.; see also individual islands

New I., non-existence of, 30

‘New Zealanders’, see Maoris

Ngabuked, 21

Ngaramlungui (‘Arramanyons’), 232 (map), 330n., 336

Ngatelngal (‘Artingall’), 21, 23-4, 232 (map), 238-9

Ngatik (Raven Is.), 207-8n., 285, 287, 328, 337

Ngulu (Matelotas), 13, 223n., 242-3; wreck of the Dash, 233n.

Nickerson, Captain Seth, 203-4, 207, 219, 221

348
Nicobar Is., 204
Noahs ('Noach'), 182, 218, 285
Nomoi Is. ('Young William's Group'), 320-1
Norfolk I., 34, 45, 134, 147; convicts from, 158; pine, 49; stay at, 148-9
Novara, 181n., 190n., 285n.
Nye, Captain, 219

Oahu, 157, 194; ships from, 212-13, 216, 217; ships of, 205, 208
O'Connell, James, 11, 12, 192n.

Omega, 217

Opium War, 77

Oroa, Don Marcelino, 72-3

Oroluk (Bordelaise I.), 333, 337

Orwell, 4, 30-45 passim, 59, 60, 63, 84

'Paceapo' (Pouéro?), 136, 143

Paddon, James, 12, 15, 16

Pakin atoll, 13, 14, 166n., 289, 320; description of islands and people, 168-9

Palau Is., 13, 20-6, 180, 193-4, 223n., 267, 278, 281, 320, 325, 328; Cheyne's visits (first) 321-41, (second) 321-4, (third) 333-8; position corrected, 231; stone money from, 248n., 28In.; voyage planned to, 329; wreck of the Antelope, see Antelope; see also individual islands

Palau islanders: at Ponape, 290, 318; at Yap, 247-8, 257, 260-1, 265, 269

Palikir ('Pallager'), 167 (map), 318

Param ('Barham'), 167 (map), 200n.; chief of, 203

Parker, Admiral Sir William, 222

Peleliu ('Pillelew'), 231, 334

'Pelew Is.', see Palau

Peng, 95n.

Perseus, H.M.S., 24

Petit Thouars, Admiral Abel du, 213n.

Philippine Is., 9, 67-76 passim; see also Manila

Physical appearance: Eauripik people, 338; Isle of Pines people, 49-50; Lifuans, 104; New Caledonians (Balade), 135; Ponapeans, 158, 159, 179-80; Simbo people, 303; Tauu islanders, 295-6; Uveans, 127-8; Yap people, 281; see also Dress, Tattooing

Piggin, 6; Ponapean, 175n., 176n.

Piggington, Edward, 208-10

Place, Captain, 156-7, 159, 161

Pleasant I., see Nauru

Polynesian teachers, 4, 7, 9, 34, 55-6, 82, 87; at Isle of Pines, 145, 146-7

Ponape ('Ascension I.', 'Bornabi'), 9-13, 18, 25-7, 257, 278, 284, 312, 316, 317, 327n., 328; Boyd's charges of misconduct at, 325 (327), 329; boy picked up at Manila, 333, 337; Cheyne's visits (first) 156-65, 200-22, (second) 284-93, (third) 317-20; description of island and people, 166-94; failure of station at, 322; 'king' of, see Ronkiti, chief of; new stations planned at, 328; thatching (compared with Palau) 235, (compared with Yap) 254

Population: Eauripik, 338; Isle of Pines, 27, 52, 52n.; Lifu, 103-4; Philippines, 72; Ponape, 183; Uvea, 132

Port Resolution (Tana), 16, 66

Port Stephens, 64-5

Potomac, 218

Pottery, Lifu, 104

Pottinger, Sir Henry, 226-7

Poultry, Ponape, 173

Pumali ('Boumulli'), 126n., 131

Quiros, P. F. de, 9, 10n.

Ralik Chain, 288

Randall, Frederick, 209

Ratak Chain, 288

Raven, Captain W., 93

Raven Is., see Ngatik

Ray, Captain Nathaniel, 316n.

Reid, Richard, 202, 204, 209

Religious beliefs and observances: Isle of Pines, 53, 57-8; Ponape, 191; Uvea, 130-1; Yap, 245, 253, 254, 258-60

Reynolds, Mr, 335, 337

349
Ricketts, Captain, 325-7
Robertson, Elizabeth, 3, 16-17
Robinson, ?, 214
Rogers, Captain, 216-17, 218
Ronkiti (‘Roan Kiddi’), 18, 156, 157, 161, 218, 222, 290, 292; chief (‘king’) of, 163, 203, 207, 215, 235, 327; harbour, 168, 174, 205, 285, 288, 290-1, 317, 319, (sailing directions for) 169-70; see also Kiti tribe
Rose, 290-1
Rull (‘Rule’), 250-78 passim, 280 (map)
Russell & Sturgis, Messrs, 65, 70, 78, 82, 84, 332
Salter, George, 205-6, 210, 319
Sam, Henry, 209
Samoan teachers, see Polynesian teachers
San Cristobal, 315
Satawan, 315n.
Schank I., non-existence of, 316
Semper, Karl, ix, 22
Senyavin, 11, 67n.
Sexual mores: Isle of Pines, 51, 55, 56-7, 57n.; Lifu, 51n., 104, 129; New Caledonia, 51n.; Ponape, 188-9; Uvea, 128-9, 131
Shawe, 212-13n., 333n.
Shetland Islands, 3, 4, 16, 17, 19, 22, 81, 90
‘Shou Shabert’, 182, 202, 215, 221
Shugru, 209
Sikaina (‘Steward’s Is.’), 14, 16, 293, 316, 317, 328
Silvestre, ?, 337
Simbo (‘Eddystone’), 14, 279n., 293; Boyd’s charges of misconduct at, 325-7; Cheyne’s visit to, 303-14; feud with New Georgian tribe, 305-9; voyage planned to, 328
Simpson, Captain T. B., viii, 11, 12
Simpson, Jack, 214
Smith, ?, 209, 238, 240, 267-8, 270
Smith, Dr, 290-1; at Simbo and New Georgia, 304-10 passim; at Tauu, 298-302 passim
Solomon Is., 14, 66n., 279n., 293n., 315n.; head-hunting in, 304n.; see also individual islands
Somes, Captain, 233-4, 241, 323-4
Sonsorol, 9
Sorol, 330n.
‘Souk’ (‘Soak’), 253, 262-3, 274
Spanish voyages, 9, 174, 315n.
Sphinx, H.M.S., 21, 22n.
Stanford, Mr, 235, 240, 241, 327-8; neglects duty, 321-3, 334-6 passim
Star, 89-90; massacre, 28, 145n., 146-7
Starling, 16
Steel, Mr, 220, 222
Stevens, Captain, 24, 25, 26-7
Stewart’s Is., see Sikaiana
Strong’s I., see Kusaie
Sturgis, Mr, 70
Sydney, merchants of, 4, 5, 8, 13, 44, 64, 83
Tabiteuea, 290n.
Tahiti, 89, 147, 213n.
Takatik (‘Tekatek’) I., 167 (map), 209
‘Talk’, see Dauk
Tana, 4, 5, 16, 66, 89
Tapak (‘Tawbak’), 200n., 202, 205, 206, 318; chief of, 205; people, 213, 216, 217, 290, 291-2
Tauu (‘Massacre Is.’), 14, 294n.; Boyd’s charges of misconduct at, 325-6; Cheyne’s visit, 295-302
Tattooing: Ponape, 159, 188; Yap, 282
Tetens, Captain A., ix, 21, 22, 22n., 25n.
Thomson, Charles, 209
Thomson, James, 208-9
Thomson (‘the pilot’), (156), (157), 164-5, 218; murder of, 287, 292
Thomson, William, 165
Tikopia, 66n.
Tinian, 222
Tobi (‘Lord North’s I.’), 233-4n.
Toby, Captain, 217
Tomil, 244-78 passim, 280 (map)
Tomorolong, 212
Tonga: origin of Uvean chieftainship, 126n.; people, on Isle of Pines, 56n.
Torrn, Captain Ditter, 26
Torres Strait, 133, 134
Touru (‘Motuka’, ‘king’ of Isle of Pines), 34-63 passim, 87-8, 91, 142-3, 147
Townsend, ?, 205-6
Trepang, see Bêche-de-mer
Truk (Hogoleu), 15, 330n., 337
Turner, Rev. George, 108n.
Uh, 167 (map), 182n.
Ukeneso, 93n.
Ulawa (‘Island of Contrarieties’), 316
Ulithi (‘Mackenzie’s Group’), vii, 9, 246
U.S. Exploring Expedition, 70
Uvea (‘Britannia Is.’), 9, 16, 108, 134; canoes compared with Balade canoes, 135; Cheyne’s visits, (first) 109-23, (second) 150-4; description of island and people, 123-33; languages, 96n.
Uveans, 15, 142
Veale, Captain, 82
Vincentes, U.S.S., 70, 75n.
Waaksamheyd, 6, 293n.
Walker, Captain John, 81, 222, 224-5, 328
Wallis I. (Futuna), 113n.
Walpole I., 149-50
Warfare: Isle of Pines, 55, 57, 58; Lifu, 105-6; Ponape, 190-1, 291-2; Uvea, 127, 128, 129-30
Wasai (‘Wajy’), 182
Wassau I., 16, 124, 126
Watson, Captain, 5, 33, 34, 36, 44, 45, 59, 64
Watson, Rev. William, 4, 17
Wave, 13, 219-23 passim, 286, 288n.
Weapons: Guadalcanal, 315; Isle of Pines, 51, 54, 145; Lifu, 94, 104; New Caledonia (Balade), 199, 140;

New Georgia, 305, 306, 307; Palau (Ngatelnal), 299; Ponape, 190; Simao, 303; Uvea, 129; Yap, 272, 283
Webster, Rev. David and Christian, 19
Wellesley, H.M.S., 222
Wellington Is., see Mokil
Wene (‘Womah’, ‘Wonah’) tribe, 182, 215, 216, 288
Werngren, Captain, 86, 87, 119, 165, 200; relations with Cheyne, 107-8, 134, 164
Wet (Lifu), 93n., 94n., 98-9n.
‘Whiningay’, see Hwenegei
White, J., 34, 35, 43, 44, 59-64 passim, 82-3, 87
Wild Wave, 19, 20
Wilkes, Lieutenant Charles, 70n.
Will O’ the Wisp, 327, 328, 334, 336
William and Eliza, 216-17, 219
Williams, Rev. John, 7
Wilson, Captain Henry, 14, 121, 231n., 237
Woleai (‘Ullieye’), 15, 330n., 338
Women: position of (Isle of Pines) 51, 53, (Lifu) 104, (Ponape) 188, (Yap) 283; used as lure (Mare) 114, (New Georgia) 309
Wonah, see Wene
Woodin, Captain Edward, 20, 21-2, 26
Workman, Edward, 205, 210, 319

Yam cultivation, see Horticulture
Yap: 13, 14, 15, 20, 22, 26, 27, 241, 319, 338; Boyd’s charges of misconduct at, 325-7; Cheyne sails for, 242-3; Cheyne’s visit to, 245-78; Chief, hostage on Naiad, 290, 318, 324; description of island and people, 279-84; people inhabit Ngulu, 243; stone money, 248n., 281n.
Young William, 315n.
Young William’s Group, 315n.; see also Nomoi Is.

Zeula (‘Zoulah’), 97-100, 105

351
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Dr Shineberg, with her special knowledge of the history of early contact in Melanesia and Micronesia, is an ideal person to introduce and annotate Cheyne’s work. A graduate of the University of Melbourne and of Smith College, Massachusetts, as Dorothy Munro she lectured at the University of Melbourne and at the Australian School of Pacific Administration. While a Research Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, she published They Came for Sandalwood (Melbourne, 1967). She is currently Senior Lecturer in the Department of History, School of General Studies, A.N.U.

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