



An early nineteenth century whaleman's view of his trade.

THE NARRATIVE OF EDWARD C. BARNARD

In the latter part of July 1831 I sailed from New Bedford in the Ship Mentor on a whaleing voyage to the Indian Ocean. The first cruise was to the East of the Grand Bank but seeing no whales I then ran for the Azores: the day that I saw Fayal got a whale that made 80 bbls of oil. two days after got another of the same size; after boiling them out put into Fayal and landed the oil to be shipped home after taking onboard a sufficient quantity of vegetation sailed for another cruise around the islands. I continued about the islands till the last of September without taking any more oil. At that time the weather got to be boisterous So that I took my departure from the Azores passed between the Cape Verd Islands crossed the Equator passed the Cape of Good Hope through the Mozambique Channell to the Comoro Islands. Stopped at the island of Johanna [Anjouan] obtained a few articles of refreshment. From that time to the first of March cruised between the Comoro Islands Madagascar Seychell and Zanzabar saw but few whales and took about two hundred barrels of oil. Then stood to the S.E. till I took the N.W. monsoon then put away for the coast of Timor and arrived at Copang on the 9 of April took in wood, water, and buffalo, and sailed on the 16. Passed through the strates of Aloo Bandy Sea [Alor, Banda Sea] and Moluccas with gentle breezes and pleasant weather till the 18 of May when off the N point of Morty [Morotai, one of the Moluccas] took a strong breeze from the S.S.W. with rain. steer N.N.E. till noon of the 20th then N.E. on the 21 strong gales at SW with rain the ship under double reef topsails I had got no Latitude after leaving Morty but from the course steered and distance gone through the water the ship ought to have been 150 miles to the N.W. of the Pelew Islands At Midnight the ship struck upon the rocks unhung the rudder and broached too, so as to have the sea two points on the Starboard bow and fell over on the larboard side. In a moment every man was on deck: and clearing away the boats to leeward, the waste boat was stove, but the larboard Quater boat was got off with ten of the crew including all my officers. After the boat was clear, as the ship continued to thump heavy, I cut away the Fore and main mast, to prevent the ship from oversetting The gale soon began to abate and the sea to fall but the ship might part before morning. as she continued to heel more after every heavy sea. towards daylight I attempted to lower the starboard boat but the sea broke into her broke her in two and carried away one man.³⁵ about that time we lost one of the spare boats it was then determined to wate till daylight. mean time the crew were inquiring where we were. I could not tell for a certainty But

thought that it was most likely that we were on the Pelew Islands. Yet we must have been currented a hundred and fifty miles in three days the next was were they inhabited and if so with what sort of people. I related to them the circumstance of Capt Wilson wreck several years before and the kind treatment he met with.³⁶ Thus passed the time looking for the dawn in hope of seeing land and the boat, no one doubting of her safety. But as she has not been seen or herd from since it is but too probable that they must have all perished³⁷ At length the long wished for dawn appeared but no boat was to be seen. but an island of considerable sise was seen to the S.E. and a small sand spit, the first, about ten or twelve miles off,³⁸ the other about three.³⁹We then got out the remaining boat, put in some bread, with Musket, Compass and a few other articles, and pull'd to the spit landed took the boat up to the top of it then spread out our clothes to dry we then kindled a fire amongst some drift wood, and after searching among the rocks a few shell fish were found and rosted. Near the middle of the spit was a hole partly fill'd with loos sand which we cleared out with a shell to the depth of four feet and found water, but it was very brackish only differing from the Ocean by its filtrng through the sand. near the well was some stones piled up in the form of the letter H so as to make a shelter against the NE or SW monsoons. Pieces of fishing nets coconut shells and fish bones were seen indicating that it had been the resort of a fishing party not long before. Through the day the weather continued to moderate; as the boat was old and leaked much, I determined to stope till the next day then return to the wreck and get some nails to repair her then go to the island to the SE. At Noon I found the Lattitude 8.16 N. Not till then was I shure that we were on the Pelew Islands At night all our things were put into the pen a watch set. T[h]us passed our first night after taking a little bread and half salt water. At dawn of day we mustered and discovered a sail to the E we soon saw that it was a lerge canoe standing to the S after geting to an opning in the reef they passed through and came towards the islet till they saw us they stoped apparently to hold a conculatation I then had some clothes held up on an oar at sight of which they came on shore, and began to pick up such things as they could find and inquiring for Muskets both by words and sines by the time it was light enough to see to any distance their was more than twenty, canoes, seen comeing from the island to the SE. wich led me to think that the first boat had reached their island. but could learn nothing from them by aney sighns that could be understood Their were eight or ten men in the canoe all in a state of nudity with long lank hair, theeth black as though they were Japanad, from the constant use of the beetle nut and lime,⁴⁰ armed with speers and battle axes their countenances bearing the most sinister determination mixed with cowardus and tretcherey of which they soon gave us Proofes. To resist would be the hight of folly as the only alternative was to put to sea in an

old and leekey boat or to land amongst them trusting to their humanity. After taking such thing as they fancied or as time permitted them to they left in such a hurry as to leeve one of their Kybattles, or axes with us, and proceeded to the wreck to secure the other Muskets. Takeing with them our Compass, Qudrant, Epitomy Musket and some clothes. After being left to ourselves we launched the boat picked up the remaining things and pulled towards the Ship. Amongst the few thing left was a canister of Powder that I empty out and broke off the top to Make a bailer for the boat after geting to the Ship found that we could not get on board without endangering the staving of the bot and many canoes ariving at the same time deemed it advisable to leeve for the island to the S.E. The canoe that first visited us having secured the Muskets, & feeling satisfied with their success left for the island calling along side of the boat for their kybattle which was given to them they then trimmed their sail beckoning us to follow but refusing to take us in tow, and steering a cours to avoid the other canoes we followed, the others too intent on the ship to off[er] any molestation, After passing the islan wher we had passed the last day and night we pulled for the island of Kyanyl [Kayangel] all the canoes going to the ship except one that kept under our lee till the others were out of sight when they came alongside, and after a delay of a few moments they concented to take our boat in tow. I endeavoured to make them understand that if they would take us on shoar they should have what was in the boat. But it appeared afterwards that they considered that all was in their power though they durst not make an attack on us till they were satisfy that we had no arms; during the time that we were in tow of them, eleven men only were to be seen the same number as in the boat After geting fairly under way one of the natives halled the boat up to the canoe stepped in came aft and took a seat another took a station in the bows then commenced a scrutiny of the contents of the boat their principle object being to ascertain if we had any fire-arms, as we had no Powder our Pistols were of no use, though they were kept out of sight after being towed about two miles and they being satisfyed that we had no means eithe[r] of defence or escape, they took in their sail and hall'd the boat up, when several more men rose up from the bottom of the canoe armed with spears, when the man that was in the stern of the boat seised the Powder canister and a jacket and jumped overboard the other following his example at which time the boat was within three feet of the Canoe when one of the Savages with a bamboo began beeting those in the head of the boat, their plans were so well matured that we were in their power before we thought that we were in danger and nothing but the interposition of an all wise Providence saved us from a cold blooded Massacre On seeing their intentions I ordered the wa[r]p⁴¹ to be cut the oars to be man'd and some clothes thrown over on both sides of the boat. thinking that if they went after the

clothes, I should be able to get to windward of them; which we did without any serious injury under a shower of spears & coconuts two men only being slightly hit. When we consider the precision with which the natives are accustomed to throw the Spear it seemed a miracle that we escaped, Yet so it was and some to meet death in the most horrid form Starvation. In the attack we lost one of the oars so that our progress was very slow, and had there been a little either more or less wind we must have been captured if more they would caught us with their sail if less with paddles. But after a chase of two or three hours they gave up and returned towards the wreck leaving us to pursue our course. That we must land amongst them and take our chance was certain as we had not more than one gallon of water. As the canoes came from the N.W. part of the island, I determined to pull to the S pass round the end of the island and try to land on the E side, as it was probable that their were different tribes I thought it would be the best chance to land amongst those who had not given us any proofs of hostilities. Through the day the weather was extremely warm, not a cloud to screen us from the Sun the allowance of water very short the boat old and leaky and many miles to pull before we could clear the reef that lay off to the W of the island.⁴² About three PM I saw land ahead, but said nothing to the crew for about an hour until it was plain to be seen by all. As they could know nothing of our situation I deemed it advisable to try to reach them without being seen by their canoes thinking that if we could get on shore undiscovered we should have a better chance of safety all were of the same opinion every nerve was exerted to reach the Much desired Spot. By night all hands were nearly exhausted for the want of water, some began to drink Salt water, but soon felt the ill effects of it, we had bread enough but could eat but little for the want of water. water! water! was in every sentence spoken by any one, by seven PM we lost sight of the land as the night was clear we were enabled to keep our course by the stars. whilst some toiled at the oars others sought, and I believe found rest in sleep, the intention was to relieve every hand, but my watch had got wet and stopped so that before daylight we found the exchange of pulling and sleeping had made many hours though I believe every one continued at his oar what he thought to be an hour I thought so. But it proved a long and anxious night. The thoughts of home the certainty that we must trust ourselves to a nation of savages, and from the specimen we had had of them caused much anxiety. But knowing the treatment that Capt Wilson received from them many years before led us to hope for the best. Then again I knew that a few years before they had made an attempt to cut off an English whaler Capt Coffin, but were defeated,⁴³ And fearing that they would think we were English and seek revenge for their defeat I cautioned my crew of the necessity of hailing as Americans.⁴⁴ But as it proved they knew nothing of America. The whole knowledge they had of the world

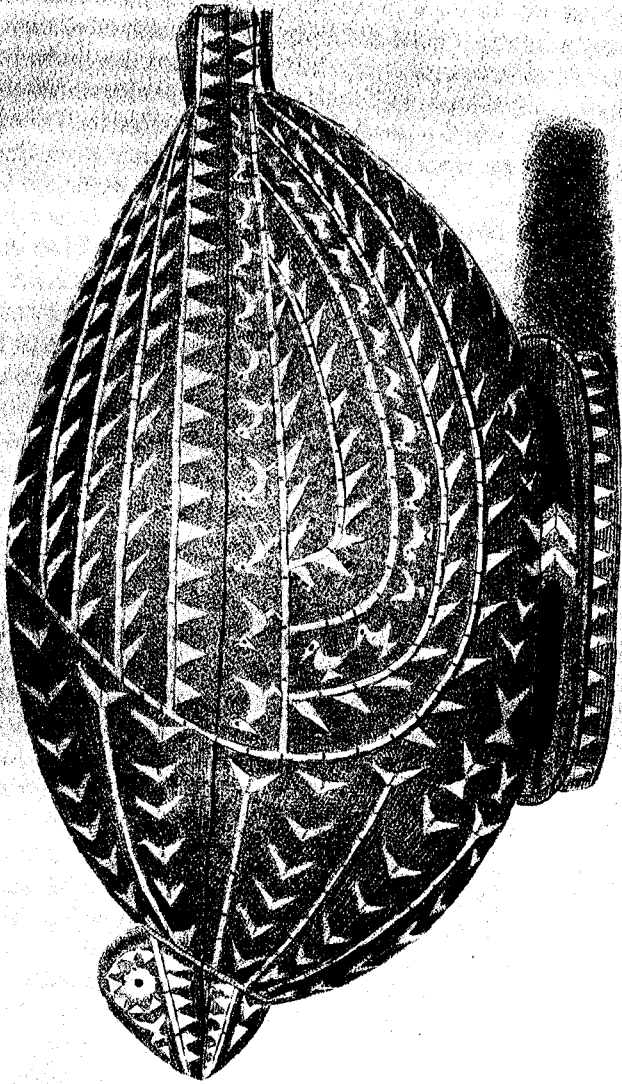
No business of importance was ever transacted
by them without first consulting with their Priests.
I frequently attended, and found one uniform
rule observed. First the chiefs met in front of
the fire and after talking over the business, they
repaired to the hut of the Priest on the half land
and seated themselves in silence. in a few moments
one of the members would make known their business
to him, in the middle of the hut was four posts forming
an oblong square about four and six feet apart
between these the would place his self when a
certain of mats was again round to receive him
upon the top of the posts in about five min-
utes he would begin to deliver his message, as the
narrated it from his god, at times a few questions
were asked. Programs were always made on the spot
generally a glass bead or a piece of stone resembling
brimstone of red glass and not watered.
It soon became apparent that this arrival was to
be considered of great importance as the chiefs
from the neighboring villages came over and requested
to be allowed to participate in the labors ^{for me} for the temple
the Priest was consulted and gave a favourable
answer several of the chiefs were at the work and
the men from their work of war between the a few
days so that no fire went out unburned. They were
continually talking about building the hut, but
was not begun in fact when the news could
be kept no longer they after a long parable
to me the following statement was given them
and since then to this day

A page of Captain Edward C. Barnard's original manuscript. Page size is 12¾ x 7½ inches.

was English Mannilla, Pelew willicops and Pelhow Our course was about S by E. by nine o'clock finding that we were drawing nigh the reef to the E. I kept off S then S.S.W. and S.W. After pulling about an hour came to an opening in the reef through which we passed then pull'd to the S.E. to regain what we had gon to the W. A short time before day light we saw the bottom and on lissening the surf could be herd in different directions but faintly which was convincing to me that we were within the large reef Owing to the different courses that we had been obliged to steer it was uncertain where the land was. As the water was shallow, it was thought advisable to try with the line that was in the boat to get it over some of the corral rocks and wate for day, the bight was thrown and hooked fast, the watch set, some slept whilst others kept the look out, at daylight we got under way the land bearing about S.S.W and distant ten miles. as the sun rose the wind did so that we were exposed to a scorching sun without shelter or water, but with great exertion we got to the land⁴⁵ about noon and on landing found water near the beach the island was small & not inhabited but before reaching it I saw a canoe off the NW point which disappeared behind the land before we reached the shore. After having satisfied our thirst and eaten some bread and whilst meditating on our future movements, the canoe that we had seen retire behind the point, again appeared making towards us and holding up a fish In the Cano was a man and boy naked having nothing with them, but a lot of spears, their usual fishing implements: they landed alongside of the boat, and began to pick up such things as they could find after having satisfied their curiosity they gav up the fish, put what things they had taken, into their canoe and started for the island to the S, beckong for us to follow saying Fal, Pelew. we endeavoured to keep company with them but they left us as though we had been at an anchor their light canoe sciming over the water was soon out of hail. but as long as they could be herd they seemed to encourage us to folly, at length they disappeared amongst the mangrove. It was now evident that we must soon be in their power. I had thrown my sword and pistols over board the night before I now threw my watch after them; One of the men put a raisor and knife to the ends of a roap yarn and doped them between the sceiling and outside of the boat.⁴⁶ They were afterwards recovered so that we had the means of shaveing whilst with them in a short time after the canoe disappeared among the trees a number of lurger ones well maned made their apperance and came directly towards us having from five to ten men in each all armed yet naked the head one was conducted by what I then thought one of the most savage looking beings I ever beheld on geting along side we found him all that his looks bespoke.⁴⁷ the first thing that fixed his attention after geting into the boat was a small chest of bread which he seiesed turned part of the bread out put some clothes into it passed it into his canoe and ordered her off; we were now prisoners with

a master on board who soon began striping us of our clothes but before that was accomplished many others were alongside, and from their looks & gestures I judged were demanding a shair of the Spoils after each canoe had received a trifle they gave room for us to proceede, the first border taking his station on the stern sheets and directing the cours, from which circumstance he was duded the Pilot At the distance of two miles from the small island was a causway extending from the shoar to the reef a distance of more than a mile their was one opening through which the tide flowed acros which was a bridge. To this bridge the Pilot directed me to steer, but before reaching it another canoe came from the Shore and after a few words to the Pilot, he ordered me to point the boat for the shoar which was obeyed and on turning a clump of mangroves that grew in the water, the seen that presented itself to the vie[w] was sutch as never to be effaced, whilst memmory holds its sway.

The landing was at the foot of a steep hill clothed with trees from the base of which was built two wharfs from 80 to 100 feet in length, and about the same dist apart on one was a Pye⁴⁸ or Public hall on the other a large shed for canoes, at a short distance from the canoe house stood a large tree under which was assembled a number of chiefs on a platform of stones, around was all the men women and children belonging to the neighbouring towns armed with spears and axes, but showing more curiosity than hostility in their looks.⁴⁹ On reaching within a few yards of the Pier the boat grounded we were then ordered on shoar by the Pilot and directed to the Platform, on reaching which and being seated they commenced their examination by words & sines the first that I could understand was whether we were English or Manilla on stating that we were Americans. They appeared entirely lost having no knowledge of sutch a Place they then wished to know how we came on their shore. With a few leaves on a flat stone I marked the situation of the islands the course that I had been steering the situation of the ship and the fate of part of the crew. their was one that appeared to comprehend all my meaning and he related it to the others on mentioning to them the loss of the men many of the women were seen to shed tears It was necessary to go through the explinations two or three time before they were all satisfied. At length they asked if we would eat but we declined at the same time asking for drink in a few moments a large wooden dish was brought down full of pure water! and a coconut shell of Molasses to sweeten it after having pertaken they gave seegars around whilst smoking one of the crew said that he had some money with him I recommended his giving it to one of them which he did I think their was a dollar and a half it was shown to all but not passed out of the receivers hand. At this time they made another call on our wardrobe thinking probily that one garment was enough at aney rate those that had two had to give up one, after the last disrobeing we were all put in motion



3 Feet in Length — 1 Foot 9 Inches in Height.

A Palauan wooden bowl, from Keate (1788). Barnard remembered that the thirsty Mentor whalers were served water from a wooden dish. Private Collection.

towards the interior escorted by the whole population The march was very toilsome at least to me my feet being much cut by the corral on the night of the wreck. Though the distance was not more than three fourths of a mile before we arrived at the town of, Ibule⁵⁰ the Principle vilage in that part of the Island being the residence of the chief Priestess The vilage of Ibule is built in a grove of coconuts the huts much scattered with a road running through it, paved with corral and other reef rocks from the reef, in front of the Priestest hut is a few rods of clear ground on the oppisite side is three or four huts and to the West two large halls called pyes, near the center is a platform of stones under the shade of a bread fruit tree to that we were conducted, and seated forming a motly group indeed, all bear footed and bear headed some with a shirt, some with trousers and some without either and surrounded with hundreds of naked savages, in a few moments after being seated, a tray was brought from the house of the Priestest on which has a hogs head boiled in salt water, another with tarro and a dish of Mollasses and water. Never was a meals victuals received with more thankfullness or eaten with a better appatite, for we now began to think that we had fallen into the hands of friends instead of foes. At this time I was startled to heer a voice behind the group say these are Englishmen and on turning around saw before me a man that had once been White and not entirely naked, one of the crew pointing said that is our Captain. as he approached me pleased and animated, with extended hand he said, what year of our Lord is it. On being answered he turnd with a thretning look and jesture to the younger part of the Group and with a flurish of his lime stick caused them to retire to a more respectfull distance. I then asked him what they intended to doe with us, after a few words with them he replied, they say you are poor fellows that they take pittty on you and will build a boat to carry you to your country. as you have got on shoar they will take care of you but had they caught you out side the reef they would have cut your heads off The stranger call'd his name Charles Washing said he belonged to Manchester England that he left England in the year 1800 on board the Lion man of war, that which cruising off Manilla he was put on board a tender and sent to the Pelew Islands to take some spanish vessels that were collecting beach-de-Mar [bêche-de-mer] that whilst they lay at Cororo [Koror] he diserted and had become inured to all the customs of the natives and had no wish to return to civelised life. one of the crew having the same name the Stranger was always after called Old Charly.⁵¹ By the time we had finished our meal and asked a few questions as to our future prospicts and feeling satisfied that they were supposed to be friendly I requested that they would get my Compass and Qudrant that were taken on the reef and my Epitomy that was taken at the last plunder which they promised to doe. We were then shown into the best pye each one furnished with a pair of mats to sleep, on a quantity of boiled fish

and tarro & another thing of sweet drink, after which we were left for the night Old Charly stoping with us, several of the chiefs stoped in the pye but gave up one end to us. About midnight I observed some of them get up and make a fire they then took a basket of fish which they began to rost I got up and join them and received a shair we then retired and all was quiet till morning On the morning of the 24 it rained and was to all intents unplesent, our feelings were in accordance with the weather. feeling ourselves free from personal danger yet our minds were far from being easey soon after it was light the most of the Chiefs retired and left us to our meditations.⁵²

At length Old Charly came in after an absence of about an hour call'd to me and said that the man who had plundered the boat sent him to tell me that if I would come to his house he would give me a suit of Clothes. To hear was to obey in such a case. I accordingly repaired to his hut and received a shirt and trousers, though not those that were taken from me. On asking for my own I was told that they were a present for the Priestest. On my return to the pye I found that some of the Chiefs had returned and brought a hog for us which was kill'd and dressed to our own likeing. in the cours of the day the most of us recieved some article of clothing and each one was selected by a chief as his friend or Sualice. Old Charly continued with us and in close intercours with the head chiefs who were continually makeing offers of friendship and assistance. In the cours of the day old Charly told us that their were two more Englishmen at Cororo called George and Dick and that as soon as they herd of our being their they would come to see us. But when they did come every thing was changed. No business of importance was ever under taken by them without first consulting with their Priestess. I frequently attended and found one uniform rule observed. First the Chiefs met in front of the pye and after talking over the business, they repaired to the hut of the Priestest on the half bend and seeted themselves in silence. in a few moments one of the number would make known their businy to her, in the middle of the hut was four post forming an oblong square about four and six feet apart between these she would place her self when a curtain of mats was drawn round to screen her from the gaze of the visitors. in about five minutes she would begin to deliver her message as she received it from her gods. at times a few questions were asked. payment was always made on the spot generally a glass beed or a piece of stone resembling brimston. pail green glass was not valued It soon became apparent that our arrival was to be considered of great importance as the cheifs from the neighboring vilages came over and requested to be allowed to particpate in the labour for our benifit the Priestess was conculced and gave a favourable answer. several of the chiefs were at the wreck and the news from them spoke of war between the diferent tribes so that no one went unarmed. They were continually talking about

building the boat but did not begin. in fact when the secret could be kept no longer, they after a long preamble made the following statement and gave their advice how to preceede About the eighth or tenth evening after our arival just as we had finished our evening meal an Old Rupack or Chief calld Kyra came and took a seat among us and began a long hurang to Old Charly the substance, of which, by his interpritation, was that information had reached them that King George [Ibedul] of Cororo with all his wariers were comeing to take me and my crew and carey us to Cororo. And now we must say to them we would not go. At this time the theeme of every converstation was, King George, Cororo, Inglees.³³ it was evident that they wished to retain us by fair means as we were supplied with hogs fish fowl and whatever the island produced and a promis in reserve that we should have wives from amongst them if we refused to go, For my part I told them I should give no promis but if King George came I would here what he had to say, that my object was to get home, that their promis were good if they could perform them. They appeared satisfied. At length the long expected visit took place as I was walking in front of the pye one afternoon one of the Crew exclaimed their comes a man up the road with clothes on. Old Charly, was with us at the time but on seeing the strange, he retired out of sight, in a moment all was hush the stranger approached to a cross road than turnd out of sight in a moment he came back sat down and beckoned to me. I went to him we sat down and had a long talk

He stated his name was George that he was an Englishman that he had been on the islands about twenty five years that he came by the order of the King and Chiefs to invite me and my crew to go to Cororo, that they would build a boat to take me from the islands that the Chiefs and waryers were on a small island and the next day they intended going to the wreck and wished to know what was in the ship I informed him. he was very perticular to enquire the number of Muskets and where they were After geting all the information he wanted and pressing me to go with him, which I would have gladly don but ferd the conciquences he said they would not hurt me but might kill him but I declined the attempt and he left me to rejoin his party on the island with the promis that he would call on his return.³⁴ he was accompanied by two boys who were regaled by the hospitality of the priestess during our talk

After he had left I returned to the pye when Old Charly and a number of Cheifs came to me and wished to know what George said to me. I told them that he came with an offer from the King and chiefs of Cororo that if I would go their they would build a boat to take me away. On hearing which they expressed the utmost indignation, exclaiming have we not wood have we not axes cant we work as well as they. I told them that they must know their own resourses better than I could. at length they became quiet renued all their offers of assistance and retired to rest Old

Charly was not the least interested of the group I now found he was acting a double Part Never was any thing undertaken with more confidence on one part and less on the other than was the building of a boat the wood part they might have accomplished but when I asked about the nails they had one invariable answer VIZ that men were at the wreck a getting them. The building the boat was a national affair^{ss} it was therefore requisit that the nation should be assembled at a feast every preparation being made the day appointed arrived the Chiefs and head men assembled in front of the pye the Chiefs of each vilage grouping together, the whole proceeding was as unlike a feast as any thing could be it is true that there was provisions in abundance but the tarro was as taken from the ground, the fish just from the sea coconuts from the tree each one received his share and took it home to cook and eat sweet drink and tobacco was passed round on the ground also beetle nuts and leaves. It was a great day for Pelhow (as they always call their nation) and Ingles did not lose their share, having allotted to us the largest and best fish the largest jar of Molasses a good share of nuts leave and tobacco. At night all retired to their respective stations in the pyes as they all determined to stay with us till the boat was completed The day after the feast the woods resounded with the noise of cutting and fitting plank and timbers for the craft a keel thirty feet long was got out, and taken to the beach a stem and stem post fitted, and flour timbers placed Planks were got out for the garboard Sill no nails could be got. after a long and anxious deliberation it was resolved to try to put them on with the spikes taken from the wreck after a trial of two days during which time several planks were split and not one got on they came to the conclusion that She Must be bewitched and the Pelewwillicops (visiteres from the Mitilotes [Ngulu Atoll, northeast of Palau]) were the witches, In the mean time the Cororo people returned to the island and George accompanied with one of the chiefs came to see me and Again tendered their services they spent the night with me and gave me an account of their visit to the wreck.

On leaving us the first time they repaired to the Island of Kyangle assembled the head chiefs and demanded the Muskets taken from the wreck they denied having any. On which they seized the head chief put a halter round his neck and took him to a coconut tree still the same answer, hoist him up was the word in a moment they let him down Sill he refused to tell and it was not till he had been up three times before he consented to tell where his was it was buried in the sand the others proved less courageous and delivered up the six Muskets without swinging. He likewise had got my Quadrant Compass and Sextant which he offered me if I would go with him to Cororo. In fact he gave me to understand that I should never be allowed to go from that part of the island. but to go with him was now impossible. The two parties were on the eve of a war relatives to us. one had us and wished to keep us the

othe[r] wished to get us. we were mere articles of barter amongst them as it soon proved. At daylight all was in motion Old Charly kept out of sight, of George the whole Population showed the utmost dissatisfaction viewing him as a spy. But the Chief that came with him was resolute and would lissen to no terms but that some of the Chiefs should accompany him to his superiours or that we should be deliverd up to him or a war would be the conciquence. For my own part I wished to go, their was my Qudrant and Compass To believe that a boat could be built where I then was, after what I had seen of their resources would be folly to think of, yet I was in their power, and they willed that I should remain so. At length it was determined that two of the Chiefs should go to the Island and meet the Cororo party but the two that were selected under took it with a very ill grace by nine oclock they were all under way. And I think did not return till next day. All that I could ever learn of it was that they had paid for us to be left with them. For some time after all was quiet the work went on slowly it is true still they were not willing to give up I remained passive knowing that they must give it up and thinking that when they did, they would let me go to Cororo But I was mistaken, Evry thing that lay in their power was dun but it was of no avail When they found that they had undertaken what they could not accomplish, their vexation was extreem and they attempted to fix the failure on me, and one evening about the last of July in full conclave of Chiefs after conculding the Proppetess they summoned me to an audience in front of the pye and began with saying it seems You, cannot build the boat what is to be dun I recapitulated to them my situation and my wish of geting to my country and left it for them to say what I should do hoping that they would give permission to go to Cororo. I had several times in conversation with them mentioned the want of Compass and Quadrant and they knew that mine were at Cororo and they had always promised to procure them for me but this time it was not so.³⁶ A Quadrant cannot be got but a Compass is at Artingal³⁷ that we can get and You can find the way home with out a Quadrant as well as the Pelewwillicops, seeing the exited state of mind they were in I left it all with them to do as they thought best. They then determined to abandon the boat and that they would build a Canoe such as was used by the Pelewwillicops and that I must not have aney thing to say about it but let them go on as they thought best which of cours was agreed to except that it should have two outrigers whilst the others have but one. Finding no objection made to their proposal but that I was willing to trust all to them, new life seemed infused into them another feast was decrede in conciquence. the nixt day the lergest tree in the district was selected and operations comenced it stood on the brow of a hill about two hundred feet high So that in falling as was to be expected it was too much rent to serve for the boddy of the canoe but was split in two makeing planks three feet wide and about

twenty five feet long another was than selected fell and the hollowing out comenced every Chief in that part of the island takeing a part in the work. during the time the work was going on every Chief was obliged to be on the spot though the work was don by a few of the best workmen in the nation. On one ocation one of the Old though not a high Chief was absent two days on the third a party of Chiefs by order of the (Mothalule Pelew, litterly head man of the town) was sent to his house and took from it all his movables for the publick good concistng of a jar of Molasses a sack of Tobacco Nuts & leves In about one month from the felling of the tree it was ready to move to the beach which was effected without inquiry and with as much Satisfaction displayed by the natives as would by a civilised nation on launching a Ship of the line

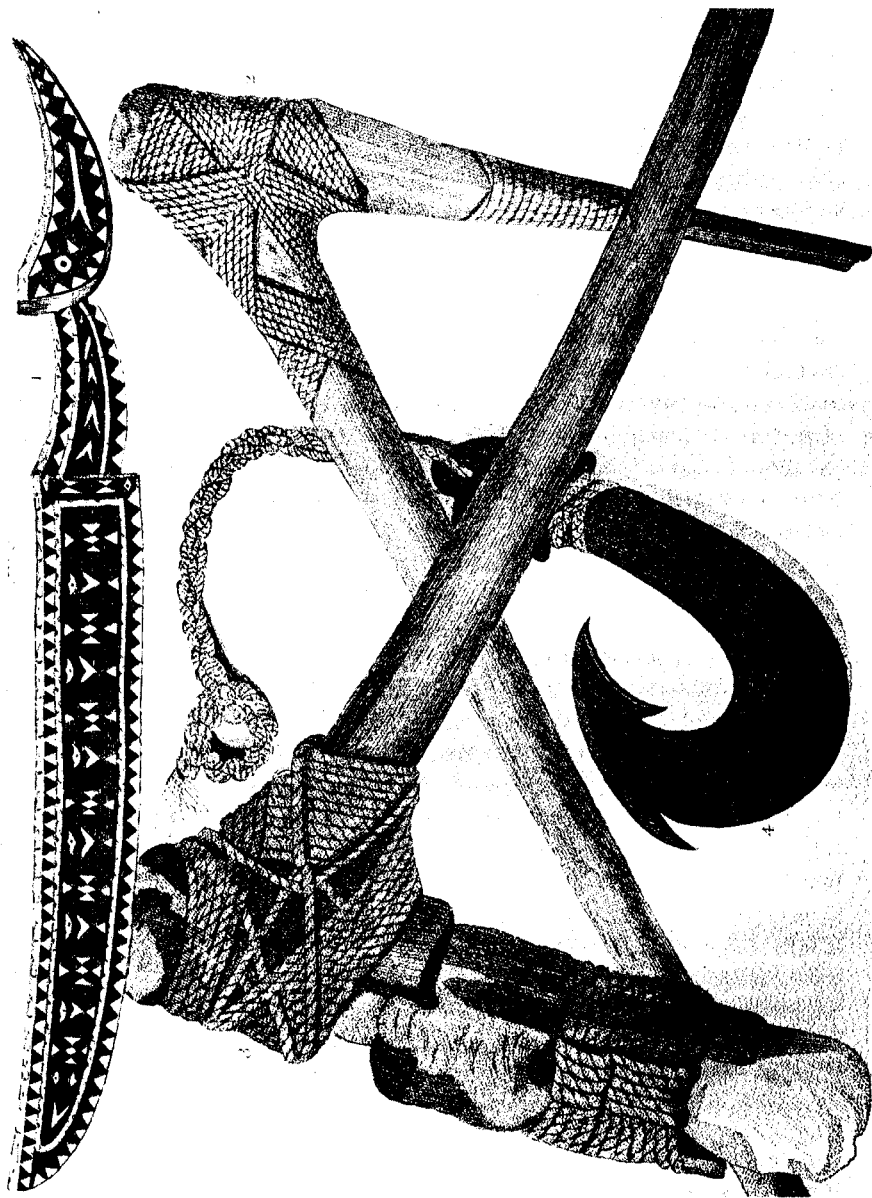
On its arrival at the beach it was placed on blocks a house erected over it to screen it from the Sun the planks put on, out riggers fitted and in fack the craft was completed about the first of October In a few days after the work was completed the Company at the pyes broke up and each retired to his own home and for a time all was calm amongst the different tribes and we looked forward to the change of the Monsoons as the signal for our departure

When they herd at Cororo that a canoe was finished they determined by some means to prevent her leaving the island various plans were suggested for the purpous one was to make a war come up with all their force and distroy her, another was to endeavor to get us by some means to join them, another was to watch the passagees through the reef and intercept us. To prevent their attempting to destroy her the People with whome we were boldly defyed them to come saying that the Inglees had fitted all their Musketts and would defend their boat which thret was effectual they thinking that ten Musketts in the hands of White men were more than a match for all that they could bring They next resorted to trechery to effect their purpous, It may be as well in this place to state why the Cororo people were so anxious for our Capture [and] defiet in 1783 Capt H Wilson of the East India Company Packet, Antilope was lost on the island of Orolong near Cororo and that in conciquence of the assistance recieved by Capt Wilson the India Company sent Comodore McClure with Present of Musketts hogs beeves horses &&c things highly valued by them at that time Cororo was one of the smallest tribes; but in conciquence of those presents they became the most powerfull and it was their policy to Keep So. As we were considered as English they thought that owing to former friendship we ought to be under their protection, On the Other side the Aragalo people said as we had fallen into their hands it was their business to protect and assist us expecting to get a reward simaler to what had been recieved at Cororo in the case of Capt Wilson. But alas our Government cares for no such things To effect their object by trechery Dick an Englishman that deserted from the Ship

Creiton [Creighton?] in 1822 and had resided amongst them ever since, was sent up with an invitation for us to join them in case of a fight or to come across the land to them, and they would protect us, but if we refused, we were to be informed that they were determined to take us as we left our Port and to show that they were in earnest canoes were seen continually on the reef as a look out Dick on his arrival was greeted with anathing but a wellcom, he durst not go from one house to another unless he was accompanied by a Chief On his arrival at Aragalo he was stoped in the town of Arrabow where I first landed, after a short time a chief came up to Ibule with him on his arrive I wass in the pye with all the chiefs of the West side of the island and in the othe[r] pye was the Chiefs of the East side. he came up to the stone platform and sat down one Chief with him, some of the crew and Old Charly went to him but it was evident that he was in danger and he felt so it was nessessary to delivery his message with much caution Old Charly kept close to him and the Chiefs would not let him come into the pye where I was. after an hours stay his friend took him away to Arrabow under pretence of his geting something to eat. In the afternoon I was walking towards the waterside in passing a house was hailed, on looking I saw Dick and his friend the Chief I went to the house and found Old Charly within. I began to quston [question] him Dick about how he came their how long he had been on the island and what he intended to do he said he had herd that I had got a boat and was going to Ternat [Ternate, Moluccas] and he wished to go with me Old Charly was much displeased that we had met, and in a mement said Capt Your friend the Stout man has come back from Acalap and is down at the water side, very well I shall go and see him, was my reply but finding I did not go as soon as he wished he geve two or three hints to the same effect and with the like result finding that I was not disposed to quit the ground he took up his tit, or basket, and left us After he was gon Dick made known his business Knowing that his life was in danger he was anxious for me to say that I would join his party, that he might carry the news to Cororo. But though I wished to go knowing that if I was their I could leve with out fear when the winds would permit, and have a compass and Quadrant But by staying where I was all was uncertainty. but I was not my own Master. As long as I stayed at Aragalo every thing was mine but to move towards Cororo was treason. The next day Dick was taken to Acalap by his friend and soon regained his friends at Cororo He was after wards sent with another message but was not allowed to enter the town where I was but he was visited by some of the crew. The amount of his message was that if we did not go to Cororo they would take us as we went to sea In a short time after the Canoe was finished the Chiefs made known their intention as to the method they intended to take to insure their pay for what they had dun I was told that six of the crewmen stop, and that the same number of

Chiefs go with me for the purpos of geting the musketts Powder &c We had many long and axious auguments on the subject but the same conclusion was all ways com to that six must exchange untill a short time be fore we were to try then they said that three would be enough I stated to them my inability to take those people with me. But they concidered it only a feint to get off without paying aney thing. finding that their had been a great deel said pro and con between the chiefs and my crew about pay after repeeting to them what I had often said be fore that they would get nothing from me as I had nothing that they wanted But as they had undertaken volentarily to supply our wants and had expressed their willingness to trust the liberality of our Governmt That was still their opinion. I then wished to know what they would concider a fair receompence, after a short concultation, so short I found that they had come to a determination before what to demand they said two hundred Musketts and forty boxes of Powder that was their deman, and we trusted to our government. and, they were satisfied. Shortly it appeared that their was another trouble whatever they might get must be devided between eight tow[n]s of different sise and force and without I fixed on some plan of division a war would be the consequence Situated as I was it was nessessary that I should agree to it. I accordingly gave to some of the Chiefs a few lines to show to aney visiters that they migh t have! it stilled the complaints of Old Charly with out being of aney more value that a blank one of the Chiefs thought that his could not meen Musketts as he did not see aney thing on it like a muskett on makeing the figure of a Musket he was satisfied.

As it was some time after the Canoe and boat was fitted before we left I will make a few remarks on their Manners Customs amusements &c. All the Chiefs are call'd Rupacks and in addition some are called Kyra the latter is equivelent to Esq On two persons meeting on the road they say Como or Comla, where are you from or where are you going. the greatest respect is paid to the rupacks by the people, though they use no titles wen addressing them but call them by their Propper name which is always significant. when a person has a communication to make to a rupack it is allways don squating down up on his heels. The Marrage cerimony is unknown. Amongst them two agree to live together and that is all about it. if they wish to part no more is nessessary, it is seldom that they have more than one wife though their are a few that do. In each pye are kept from two to ten females generally taken from distant towns frequently by force they are public property it at times happens that a chief will attatch one of the girls of the pye to himself, on the wives finding it out if she is disposed for revenge, and they generally are she will watch for an opportunity to cut off the Girls ears Dancing is a frequent amusement amongst them though the different sex never dance togetather. I attend one grand dance at a neighbouring town of all the



Magnum

1 a Stone Sword. 2 a Hatchet. 3 a moveable Hatchet. 4 a Fish Hook.

Artfully designed Palauan implements, as engraved for Keate's book. Private Collection.

young men of Aragalo. it was in rehearsal (for they sing and dance together) more than a month at length the all important day [ar]rived no national jubilee was ever celebrated in a civilized country with greater satisfaction than was the dance at Inreese A Platform or stage Eighty or Ninety feet long was erected on a spot of clear ground near the middle of the vilage, the dancers were divided into three classes of about fifty in each when all was ready one man brought out three speers and lay them in front of the stage at about forty yards distant the dancers that came out of a hut marching with a solemn step assended the stage formed a line in front of the audience all as nature formed them with the addition of only a little red paint in a few moments they began the song and dance they never change places with each other but jump back and forth a few feet s[t]omping with all their might at the same time giving what may well be called a wild Indian yell. if the quantity of enjoyment is to be judged by the wild sounds [sounds] of laughter that accompany'd their exhibition they must have had it in no small degree, After occupying the stage for about half an hour they retired in the same solemn manner as the assended it after the stage was clear, One man took a stand in the middle to prepare for another class before they assended the stage a person stepped from the crowd to where the speers lay and thre[w] them at the one on the stage as fast as he could take them up the other caught them as they flew past him than turned and threw them in-to the woods just behind him the other classes were smaller

Not to be out done in good times the females Ladies, resolved on a dance in which the prophetess was to preside it was to be held in front of her house and adjoining the pye. They began to collect about Noon from the distant towns the woods seemed all alive for from every path were seen coming men bringing in fish Molasses Nut leaves & tobacco the women with their children and mats &c the tarro was stacked up on different parts of the ground so as to show to the best advantage. I will not mention the quantity I guessed their was as I might be thought to exaggerate. by sunset their preparation were finished and the men all retired I wished Old Charly to stop with me to explain the meaning of what was going on. But he said he durst not as he was called a Pelew man if he was caught with us in the midst of their frolic they would but him to death. He retired leaving me and my crew except three that were at another town surrounded by about six hundred She-Savages, soon after dark they began the song & dance. To have a correct idea of the scene You have only to imagine some four or five hundred naked women standing close together jumping clapping hands and singing, many with children in their arms during the night there was two or three smart showers of rain but they would not quit the ground On such an occasion the customary rules of society was broken through, during the rain the old women took shelter in the old pye such an infringement of their rules

would not have been submitted to on any other occasion, as no female excepting those that belong, to pyes, were allowed to enter them. the ground was not cleared of them till after Noon. In shairing out the things Ingles got a large shair, during their stay I asked some of my friends where their husbands were but was always answered with the expressive work Macoodle, Macoodle Capata I.E. it would be a shame for them to be here Their was one group of juvenile dances that caused considerable merriment the burden of their song was in allusion to the Inglis

Of their Religion I can say but little further than what met the eye, and when I asked Old Charly about it "I cant find out all the time I am here what it is" was his reply Ajoining each house is a box that is call'd Ocilath Plye, or Gods house they are built after one form though of any size to suit circumstances they are of a oblong square at the base flaring out like an inverted bell with a thatch roof and stood on post t[h]ree feet from the ground, some are not more than a few inches others six feet their offering are placed in them if not given to the Prophetess One day a Chief of the town of Imatukle on the West side of the Island offered to be my friend. Friends were not so plentiful there as to be regretted and I of course accepted his offer. he soon went off and the next day returned and presented me a pair of trousers'

In a few days after his brother was taken sick and soon was very sick. My friend came to the Prophetess with a piece of money for her to cure him but he soon died. I was then told the cause of his death. It was because his brother belonging to another town from where I was had become my friend and the prophetess being the wife of my friend in Ibule she had spoken to her God and he had caused his death. I attended his funeral and witnessed that ceremony after his death he was taken to his brother's house when I entered the town it appeared like a fair many little huts were stuck up large enough to hold three or four individuals the large pye was filled with Chiefs cooking a hog, and a sack of tobacco ready for distribution, at the house of mourning for such it was in reality the Corps was laid with in the door the head on the sill red paint was strewed over the body by his side lay his basket with nuts leaves fire works &c and a sword belong to his brother, according to the universal custom a grave was dug a few feet from the door in to which the body and its ornaments were placed. On the tenth day after stones were placed over the grave then all Mourning ceases except that the females do not wash themselves for three Moons Like the most of the human race they have a tradition of a universal deluge, their tradition is that on a time the sea rose very high the low ground was overflowed all retreated to the hills the sea continued to rise till all but the highest hills were covered at length came on a Mountainous wave and swept all away. One woman was caught by her hair in the top of a tree and saved; from her the present race sprung they say the tree still stands

On the mountain of Iri is to be seen the stump of a tree from the boddys of which was made the Sun and Moon so says the tradition. They once wanted to build a pye, all was dark they went groping about seeking light but not finding it at length they all met and prayed to Accathinal that he would give them light hearing their prair he came down to assist them. With a lerge Keem shell⁵⁸ he cut down the tree and made two balls that he pounded his shell to a powder mixed it with salt water and covered them with it as they began to Glow A Young God and Godess that they call Couth and Madamusa came along at the time and asked him what those were for, and said it was not wright to have them here as they would spoil the peoples eyes Accathinal not likeing to be interrupted took up one and threw it to the West before he could take up the other the Youths had stepped upon it so that he threw all to the E the first is the Sun the othe[r] the Moon

In witchcraft they are firm belevers. The boat that they began to build was bewitched aney thing that they undertook and failed in was owing, to some ones bewitching it. A Brig from Manilla a few years before I was their was collecting Beach-de-Mar that had a Chaplain on board and were in the habit of having evening service on board but the Chiefs told them they must quit that or leve the place as they were about to bewitch them

They tell of boat that came to Cororo some years before with I think eight white men they all had blue eyes and lerge noses, so big said the Chief putting his two hands to his nose. And when they were offered food they did not eat as we do with our double teeth but with their front teeth and they were Witches so we killed them cut all their heads off, put the heads at one end of the pye and and boddys at the other, and in the morning they had all join'd togeather again and when we went to cut them off again they flew right away out side of the reef and neve[r] came back.

Their is an Old pye at Ibookuth that was built before they had aney iron tools, in it are said to be a number of English names cut in the frame but I was not their

But to return to our own affairs the latter part of October was fixed on to sail, I have forgotten the day but when I spoke to the Chiefs on the subject they must wate till the prophetess said it would be a good time but I was anxious to be off. At length we began to prepair foor our departure, the numbe[r] to be kept was fixed at three Jas. Meader was selected by the chiefs when Calvin Alden and Horatio Davis volunteered to stop⁵⁹ the three to go with us was Tit, Cobock, and Omry.⁶⁰ Several times I attempted to dissuade them from this purpos but they were determined not to be put off, mean time preperations were going on bamboos for water we cut and prepaired in proper lengths. hogs were killed fryed and packed in jars with their fat breadfruit prepared by

being boiled in Molasses all the arrangements made as privately as possible. Yet there was much fear of the Cororo people, but we must go in the night to avoid them the eventful night arrived, high tide about 8 PM the hour arrives we shove off, it is calm after getting a short way from the shore those in the canoe find her filling with water, in putting the things into her she [l]oaded so deep that where the top board was joined on was under water as well as the balances that was to keep her upright we were accompanied by many canoes of warriors to defend us in case of attack but we could not move without wind, from the situation of things it was advisable to return to make some alteration in the canoe at last I proposed to the head chief of the squad to return with reluctance he consented the canoe was moored to the trees with the boat we returned to the creek from whence we sail'd, and retired to our former lodging for the night. In the morning all was in uproar because we had not got to sea but go we must now for the Cororo Canoes would be out as soon as they heard of the attempt and the canoe would be stopped or taken, the gang that was to go in the canoe started I stopped to get a few more coconuts intending to follow immediately I took in the boat with me Rollins Nute and Holden⁶¹ on leaving the creek we saw the canoe coming back, it was no use the wind was a head they took the canoe up the creek and let us know that she should not leave till the Prophetess said the word, it was a judgment on us for not asking her consent, their anger and disappointment was extreme, We found that we were not our own masters yet we got the things out of the canoe and had some alterations.

All the Nautical instruments in the Mentor had been carried to Cororo and could not be obtained but Neicly the King of Artaingal had a compass that was taken from a Spanish brig that had been cut off⁶² at Pillalew that was purchased by Cobock the rupack to insure his going

From the time of our first attempt till we did leave nothing of note occurred.

Nov 23 was set for our departure every preparation was made and early in the day we left accompanied by the greatest part of the canoes to convoy us out side of the reef. the latter part of our stay much was said of Cororo and what they intended to do songs were made on the occasion anticipating what they meant to do their plans were well conceived but badly executed before getting to the reef the rudder got a drift from the canoe but was soon replaced

At sunset the land bore about ESE dis 25 miles with a brisk gale at NE my course was SW for Ternat just before dark the rudder was adrift again and it could not be replaced before dark through the night the wind blew strong and the rain poured down in torrents a real tropical shower In the canoe was Boukett, Hewlett, Siddon and Peter the black, of the ships crew,⁶³ of the Natives was Tit Cobock & Omry. we had provisions and water for twenty days. The first night was a most dreary one the natives

not being use to exposier suffered much but I found that when my clothes were wet through by takeing them off and dipping them into the sea to was[h] out the fresh water that it made them much warmer so that I found employment every half hour undressing washing my clothes and dressing again Thus passed the night of the 23 of Nov 1832 on the same day of the same month 1799 I made my appearance into this world of tryal. With the day came fair weather after fixing the ruddr with heel roaps we were unable to get sail on the craft and procicute our voyage steering S.W. hear we are once again afloat with an old whale boat and a canoe with water and coconuts for twenty days and a distance of six or seven hundred miles to the nighest place that was inhabited with civilized people with a Compass to steere by but no instrument to determin at any time where we were for several days it was nearly calm On the 29 the sixth day after sailing when going on with a fine little breeze at NW the Pelew Man that had charge of the sheet of the sail had made it fast a squall struck her hove her on her beam ends so that She filld it was not quite dark at the tim so that we could see to pick up the things that washed from her the first and most important was the Compass which we saved. As to the remainder of that night it was the counterpart of the night we left Pelhew but with the day good weather again returnd, but owing to the heavy sea and the straining of the canoe She could not be free'd of the water but we took from her as much provisions and water as the old boat would bear then took all hands eleven in number into the boat and took leve of the canoe the object of so much care labour and trouble. and steered to the SW the next day it was calm so that we began to pull it was now nessessary to go on an allowance of water and divide the coconuts. Our allowance of water was a shell holding about a half pint, full night and morning. Though our situation was unplesant enought, Yet it was not to be compared with what maney others have had to suffer I think I suffered more from the confined and crowded situation that from any other caus, every cloud was watched hoping it would bring a little rain which was sometimes the case though we had no mean of catching it except holding a bamboo erect and receiving the water in our mouth as it trickled down every day we made a little progress but our anxiety caried us, faster, than the wind and ours caried the boat My reckoning was up and no land in sight I knew that if I did not see Gelolo [Djailolo, one of the Moluccas] I could not go far beyond without seeing some of the islands⁶⁴ Thus we continued our cours to the SW untill the 6th of Dec. when at daylight we saw the land bearing SSW distant about ten miles⁶⁵ I steered direct for it and soon saw the canoes preparing to leve the beach, we could neither fight nor run the only thing was submission. it was not more than two hours after seeing the land before we met their canoes. the first that we came up with contained but three men who held up their coconuts expressing their wish to barter.

But in a moment we were surrounded with more than a hundred naked Savages when the work of distruction commenced every one anxious to obtain a shair of the Spoil.⁶⁶ The canoes were so nigh that many tutchted each other⁶⁷ I staped to the nighest and upset her as she was going over I got into another with an old man and two boys and advised them by signs to make for the shore after geting a little clear of the snarl we stoped nor could I prevail on him to move further On looking round i found that one man had got into the same canoe with me some were in the water swimming and some had got into their canoes One of their canoes was making direct for the one in which I was with a fellow standing ready to jump into her. A perfect picture of a devil incarnate before he could get to us one of the men in the canoe jumped over board swam to him on geting aboard took the devil in his arms at length succeeded in calming his fury in a measure on geting his canoe alongside of that in which I was he ordered me into his canoe, as the one where I was made no objections I obeyed. he was still held by the one that had swam to him on my seting down in his canoe he made a stride towards me and struck at me evidently not intending to hurt me. From that moment I was his property. seeing me more naked than him-self he caused one of the young men to give me his marro or girdle a strip of bark three feet long & six inches in brea[d]th by the time that I was settled and had an opportunity to look around I could see that the old boat was nearly in peaces and that my crew were in diferent canoes and all makeing for the land.⁶⁸ Seeing some coconuts in the bottom of the canoe I took up one I looked at my master as much as to say may I have it on which he knocked it out of my hand over board. I then took some salt water to wash my mouth on seeing which he took another coconut broke it and gave me to drink. On reaching the reef the tide being low the canoes were moored out side till high water⁶⁹ On landing I was escorted by my owner on one side and a brother on the other to their temple whlst standing their an old man came up and gave me a pice of rost fish. And I soon found that the one into whose canoe I furst got. The one that took me on shore and the one that gave me the fish were my Masters. Through the remainder of the day I was taken from hut to hut by beauty . . (the name by which my savage master was all-ways known amongst us) and exhibited as his shair of the booty at evening we were taken to the temple by the side of which all the male inhabitanc were assembled to a sort of feast each one taking from his hut what he intended to eat though they seldom eat what they caried by genarally exchanged with each other. For the first few nights we all slept at the temple. One and the last night that I slept their I was aroused about 10 oclock by one of the preast howling three of them then roused me up to go with them from the whole circumstance I had a missgiving that their proceedings forboad no good but they said I must go. On passing a hut where two of them were kept I

herd them talking I call'd to them and told them that if they did not see me again they might know that I was murdered that night as they were taking me away. we passed on to the North end of the island down to the beach they their spread a mat for me to sit on they then placed themselves in a circle round me the Moon was at the full the night pleasant and serene. Not so with me as I had no doubt but that I was taken their to be sacrificed One of them took a bunch of coconut leaves and began waving it about over me at length he gave it to me to do the same in a few moments after I intimated by signs that I wish to return to the village they all got up and went with me to the temple where we slept the remainder of the night. What was the meaning of that ceremony I never knew, it was never repeated. that was the last night I slept at the temple For some days we were exhibited to the public gaze they frequently took their evening meal in front of the temple and as a sense of the dependence on Yaris (God) before they began to eat they all muttered a short prayer, at the same time throwing small bits of their food about the ground and into the temple. A few days after my capture we had a strong wind from the S.W. so that the canoes did not go out to fish, on its abating the whole of the male part of the inhabitants assembled on the beach in the morning. then divided into two gangs one to the South the other to the North end of the Island. From each point they proceeded to the outer reef in a line then towards each other till they met forming a semicircle which they continued to narrow. thrashing the water with poles to drive the fish towards the shore the water being about two feet deep, after getting them surrounded a few of them entered the ring with spears & nets. though they took but few fish. At the time I had a part of a shirt that one of my Friends gave me which I wore (though entirely out of fashion) to keep the Sun from my shoulders. but before I went with them they made me take it off and tie it up on my head, the same was the case whenever I attended with them at the temple (The above method of fishing I saw but twice during my captivity. Once a large fish of the blackfish species came over the reef which they took.⁷⁰ but I was not present the next day after his capture he was hauled on shore near the temples, and all the inhabitants with the exception of ten or twelve, took up their abode on the spot. My master & family were out with me, the rest of my crew were all kept in for four days there was no intercourse between those out and those in, On the fourth afternoon the fish was cut up and divided and each returned to his own home. The meaning of their proceedings I could not understand though they attempted to explain.

The most successful manner of fishing was by touch light; they frequently asked me to go with them but not wishing to be useful I always declined till they compelled me to go but I still determined to be of no use, After receiving all their orders, I accompanied them to the beach we launched the canoe and got through the surf I was placed in the

middle of the canoe and furnished with a paddle but I only hindered the others they then ordered me to bail the water out that I did not understand. They all seemed to enjoy my awkwardness and were very merry on the subject after a cruiz of about two hours we returned to the shore with two flying fish one was rosted and given to me the other taken by one of the others they did not ask me to go again. It would have been some passtime to have gone with them at times but I knew that if we became usefull they would be less willing to Part with us. All that we had to doe was wandering about seeking food. It was my usual custom every morning to go to the Old mans into whose canoe I first got to get my dole of grub from him the rest of the day wander about at random

On the third of February I went as usual and recieved my pitance. on returning in company with the old man we met a boy upon the run who spoke to the old man but did not stop in a few moments all was in motion I left the rode and turned down to the beach, And as I expected, saw a sail in the offing and that she was heading for the island the most of the men were on the beach geting their canoes ready others were bringing down coconuts and preparing for a visit. seeing that my master did not intend to take me with him I repaired to his brothers canoe and got in he was not willing I should go and attempted to throw me overboard but I promised them some Iron and an old man that was in the canoe spoke to them. when they concented to let me go. the rest of my crew were not able to get off except one. At the time we left the beach the Ship was about six miles to the South of the island and heading nigh the island, the wind at NE. the most of the canoes were a head of us and some close to the ship before we left. After geting off they made me take off the apology for a shirt that I might be in the fashion their orders were no quicker given than exicutean that case thinking that my color might draw attention. it was sometime before I could get along side or before I was seen, by the Captain who I saw standing on the tafrail his attention being taken up by the canoes alongside and under his stern on seeing him look towards me I beckoned to him he answered and hove the Mizzen topsail to the Mast in a few moments I was on deck To discribe the feelings with which I assended his side would be imposible. But I soon found myself. that I was on board the Ship Sabina of Manilla Capt D. A. Somes from Calcutter for Macao Capt Somes furnished me with some iron hoops which I gave to them they passed the news to the other canoes and the one that had BJ Rollins in came alongside so that he got on board. *Have since learned it was as much from fear of being surrounded by these savages and cause trouble, on account of this small compliment of men that dicided Capt Somes.*⁷¹ Capt Somes having had a long passage and being short of water could not stop to get the others on board. On asking the day of the month I found that I had lost the run one day it being the third of February and my time was the fourth in a short time after geting

on board all sail was trimed for Macao with sorrow I looked back on the situation of those left behind but I could render them no assistance. before the canoes lef for the shoar they were very anxious to get me back to them expressing much dissatisfaction at my stoping on board. but from what they had got from the ship *I did not think those remaining would meet with any worse treatment on account of our escape, and fervently hoped they would soon be able to reach some passing ship, but from later accounts it seems the natives were far from satisfied and visited their vengeance upon them in consequence*⁷² I thought they were well payed for staveing my boat, robing me of my clothes and keeping me two months "naked and a prisoner" And not doubting at that time but what the others would meet with good treatment and be taken to the first passing ship. But from later accounts it appeared that they were far from being satisfied

It was On the third of February I got on board and on the 23 we arrived in Macao, during my stay on board I was treeted in the Kindest manner by Capt Some

The next day after our arival in the rodes I went on shoar where I soon found F[r]iends Mr John R Latimer of Philadelphia called upon me and proved himself a friend to the distressed. for which kindness I shall ever retain the most greatfull recollection. From the day I landed at Macao till I arived at home, I found friends, at every place, the afternoon of my landing I became acquainted and experienced the friendship of Capt Jennings of Brig Lancaster, and Mr George R Sampson the next day Mr Lowe of Salem the Senior partner of a house at Canton called upon me and finding that I intended to go to Canton invited me to make it my home at their hous during my stay which I did. On the 27 I left Macao and arived at Canton the next day During my stay at Canton I found many friends Strangers till we met on that distant shore, amongst them, I would mention in addition to those already namd Messers Hurd, Gordon, Galispie Butler, S. Sturges Ca[p]t Engle Caps Dixey, Little, Domines and Holbrook with whome I took passage to Baltimore in the ship Covington. On the last of March I left Whapae [Whampoa] for home on the first of May we passed Anger point in the strates, of Sunday [Sunda Strait] and arivd in Baltimore on the 13 of August and on the 18 I arivd in New Bedford and found my family all well thus ending a voyage of 25 months in which time if I had seen some troubles I had experienced many Mercies and found many friends

*The sufferings of those remaining on Tobi or Lord North's Island are graphically described in "Holdens Narrative" written soon after his return (a copy of which is in my possession) as is his almost miraiculous escape described in the article which brought out this account of the voyage.*⁷³

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