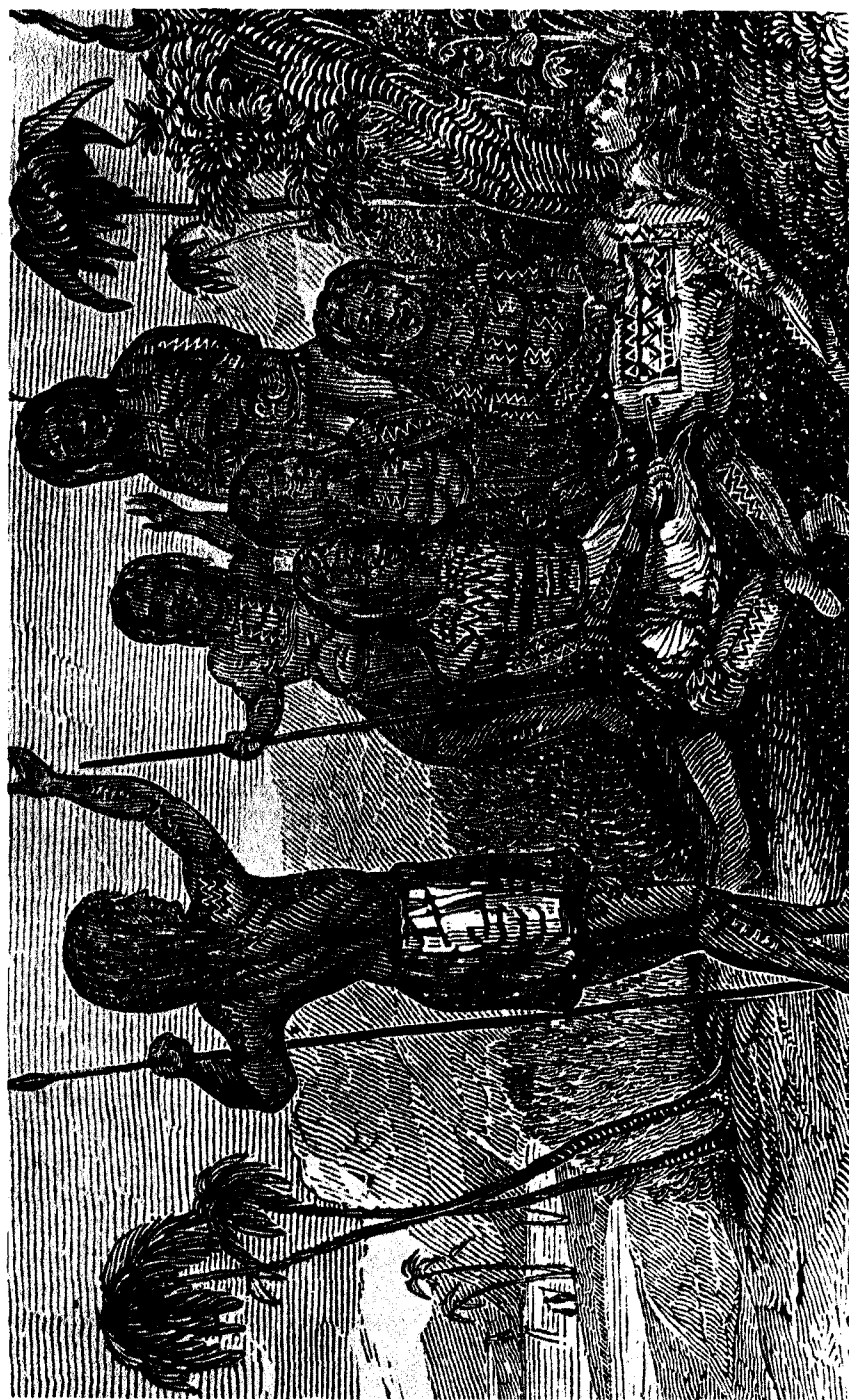


A POSTSCRIPT BY ONE OF CAPTAIN BARNARD'S DAUGHTERS⁷⁴

Of the 22 persons who left N.B. July 1831 in the Ship Mentor for a whaling voyage to the South Seas 10. were drowned in the first boat to leave the wreck shortly after she struck on the rock, One was drowned in the next attempt to lower a boat. the Capt himself saved almost miraculously by the heculian efforts of those still remaining on board the wreck. 6 were murdered or died of starvation on Lord N's island⁷⁵ before The escape of Mr Holden and Nute, leaving ther Cohack the Pelew Chief to whom they had become greatly attached. Of the three left on the island of Bablethaup as hostages, one escaped,⁷⁶ the other two remaining were rescued some time in the year 1836, by the USS Vincennes which had been sent for them, and had to land in force to get, Sailing them to Lords N to rescue any that might be found there. They found none, but most humanly took the Pelew Chief por "Cohack" back to his native island and set him on shore among his own kindred. The Capt [Barnard] was afterward lost on Lake Erie off "Point Abino" during the great gale of late 1844. One of those rescued by the Vincennes has since died in N.B. [New Bedford]⁷⁷ and Mr. Horace Holden of Sant[iam], Ore is the only survivor so far as can be learned of the 22.

If this account should meet the eye of the person (if living) or friend of Mr. B. J. Rollins, Horatio Davis or Calvin Helm [Alden], the only ones whose fate is not know by the writer, if they would communicate with her it would greatly oblige the Capts Daughter, [illegible word] of [blank].⁷⁸



Following *Barnard's* escape from *Tobi*, the remaining *Mentor* whalers were forcibly tattooed. This view is from *Horace Hoiden's* famous

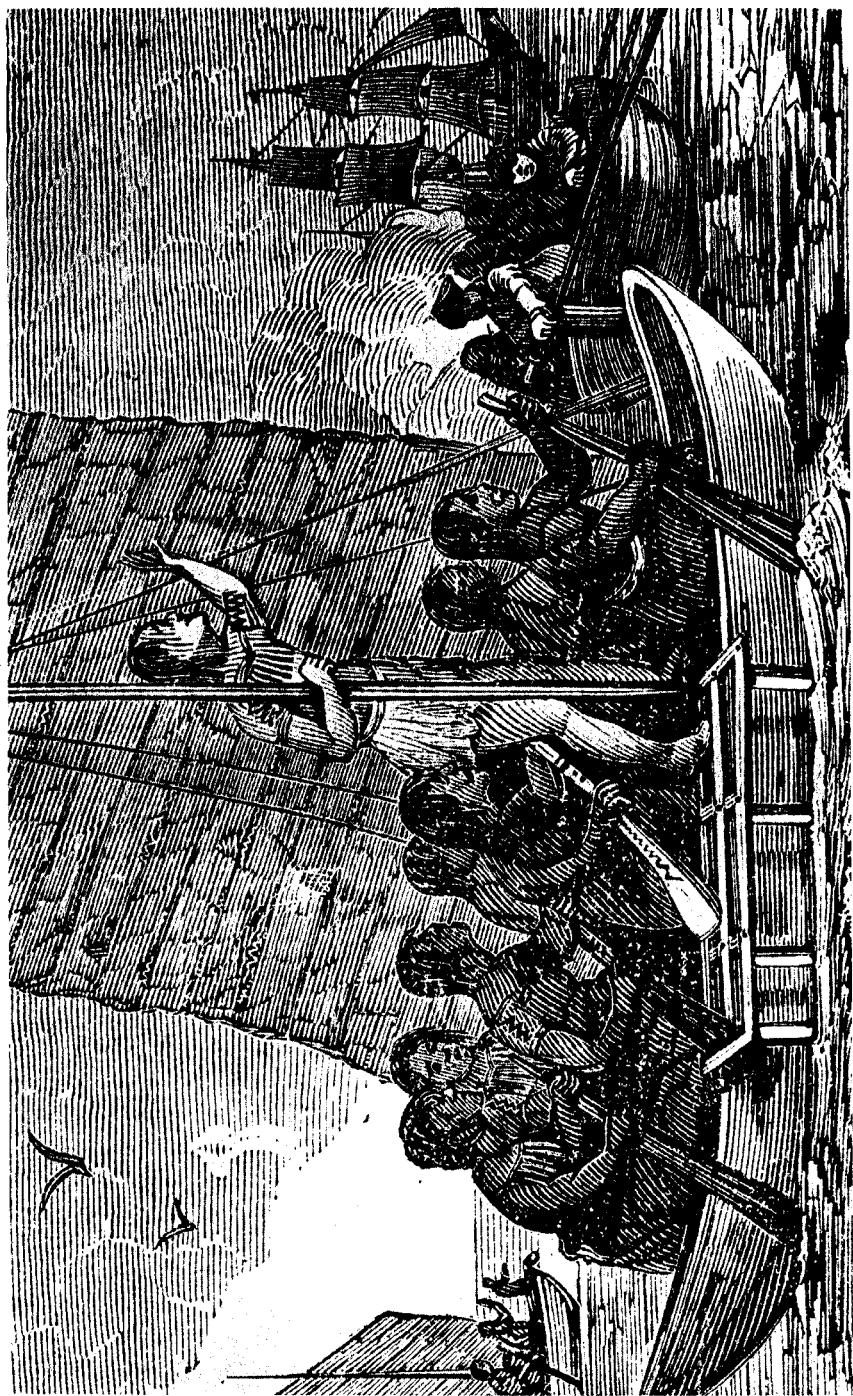
EPILOGUE

Barnard arrived home in New Bedford on 18 August 1833.⁷⁹ His story and statements received wide publicity. En route home he had contacted the U.S.S. *Boxer*, then at Batavia, in hope of promoting a naval mission to rescue the *Mentor* survivors still in island captivity.⁸⁰ Upon his arrival in the United States he made the same request of Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, but it was not until spring of 1834 that the navy responded and the U.S.S. *Vincennes* was ordered to proceed (indirectly) from Callao, Peru, to Palau.⁸¹ The *Vincennes* did not arrive at Palau until November 1835, and did not call at Tobi until a month thereafter, too late to help most of the captives. On Babeldaob, only two hostages remained, the third having escaped to a passing vessel.⁸² Harsh news awaited on hardscrabble Tobi: Horace Holden and one companion, forcibly tattooed and near death, had managed to get safely aboard a passing ship a year before.⁸³ Of the remaining seven captives, six had weakened and died or had been executed.⁸⁴ The sole, starving, overjoyed survivor, Cobac, was ransomed by U.S. naval power and a few pieces of hoop iron, and the *Vincennes* returned to Palau.⁸⁵

Anchoring at Koror, the *Vincennes* was quickly enmeshed in Palau's power struggles. Koror and Aracolo had lately gone to war over the latter's hostages and their ransom value of two hundred muskets.⁸⁶ Confounded by the mediations of Old Charley and Dick, the *Vincennes* officers cut the Gordian knot by landing a substantial force to seize James Meader and Horatio Davis. Careful, statesmanlike negotiations between the landing force, Aracolo and Koror avoided a confrontation, and the last two *Mentor* survivors were exchanged for Cobac and an innocuous present of "axes, hoes, adzes, chisels, drawingknives and other tools . . . instead of the powder, and good feeling was restored . . ." ⁸⁷ Those tools must have seemed bitter consolation for the dashed designs of Aracolo.

But what of Barnard? While the *Mentor* survivors were escaping, abiding or succumbing, their former skipper had gone whaling again. Barnard spent only three months at home before taking the New Bedford bark *Winslow* to the Pacific in December 1833.⁸⁸ It was probably during the *Winslow's* thirty-seven month voyage that Barnard drafted his narrative. Perhaps other vessels passed news to him concerning the fate of his onetime crewmembers. In any case, he doubtless felt he had done all he could for them by pressing the navy into (rather sluggish) action, and, before that, acting on their behalf at Palau, although his legal authority had ended with the shipwreck.

Others did not agree. Barnard returned the *Winslow* to New Bedford in July 1837 to find the *Mentor* incident very much alive. Horace Holden's published *Narrative of . . . Shipwreck, Captivity and Sufferings*



Whaleman Horace Holden's 1834 escape to the ship *Britannia*. From Holden's *Narrative*.

(1836) had stirred great interest and some controversy. Holden's was as much a timely, formula period piece as Keate's had been, gratifying a public desire for exotic adventure, non-fiction blood-and-thunder and, as before, exotic, true-life *Robinson Crusoe* tales. (In the dynamic half century since Keate, the Western reading public had come to prefer a genre based on realism to documented platitudes.)⁸⁹ Holden claimed to have published his *Narrative* to finance an appeal for the rescue of his unluckier shipmates.⁹⁰ His book sold well: four editions in 1836 and several thereafter;⁹¹ although, thanks to Barnard, rescue operations had already been carried out.

In the wake of the book's popularity, public questions were raised about Barnard's role. The influential *North American Review*, in a long article on Holden's *Narrative*, put it this way:

And we cannot but think that Captain Barnard owes to his character fuller explanations of his course on this occasion, than have yet . . . been given to the public . . . We do not presume that he is unable to clear himself from all question. But if he can do it, he ought. No one will read the story of this poor sailor's horrible captivity, without wishing to know . . . whether his captain did all that was possible to prevent the person [Captain Somes of the *Sabina*] who rescued himself from abandoning his companions in misfortune; how he came to suffer the natives' boats to return with presents so trifling, as to bring further cruelties upon those still in their power; and above all, what he did, when he got back within the borders of civilization, to save his men . . .⁹²

It was probably in response to such public questions as these that Barnard composed his afterthoughts. He (or later, his daughter) may have intended to publish his account, but a logical search has revealed no evidence of publication. In any case, Barnard was unjustly criticized. His description of the *Mentor* disaster, complete with names, had been published in American newspapers from Baltimore to Boston, and his words had been included in a European anthology even as Holden's *Narrative* appeared.⁹³ But in view of Holden's altruism, it may have seemed callous of Barnard simply to have notified the navy and gone whaling again. Had the navy acted promptly, Holden's story would have been different.⁹⁴ Holden's *Narrative*, incidentally, includes no criticism of Barnard; in fact it agrees remarkably with Barnard's account. In sixty-five years of reflection, Holden did not change his tune.

An ironic fate awaited Barnard, who left New Bedford and whaling after his *Winslow* voyage. He had never been especially successful financially, and notoriety over the *Mentor* incident may have persuaded him to vacate. He moved west to become a skipper on Lake Erie, far from the ill winds of the Pacific which had cast him onto Palau, only to be killed in a storm off Point Abino, Ontario, in 1844. On the other hand, Holden, who had almost died on *Tobi*, was still alive and kicking, tattoos and all, into his nineties.⁹⁵ The ironic fate of a few other *Mentor* seamen must be noted. Four who had sailed with Barnard in 1830-1831 thought enough of him and the *Mentor* to ship again.⁹⁶ Three did not return. Unluckiest of these was Peter Andrews, a free black who had lived in two slave nations, only to be enslaved and beaten to death on *Tobi*.⁹⁷ Luckiest of all was one John Christian, who after signing aboard had apparently changed his mind at the last minute, letting the *Mentor* sail without him.⁹⁸

The *Antelope's* and the *Mentor's* stories have interesting similarities. Like the former, the latter soon became a popular addition to maritime annals.⁹⁹ Whaleship libraries are known to have included Holden.¹⁰⁰ No less a whaleman than Herman Melville is said to have read the *Narrative* while at sea, later emulating one passage therein for his own *Typee*.¹⁰¹ The *Mentor* story may have had an economic as well as literary effect: whalemens' familiarity with it might partially explain why the western Carolines were so seldom visited as that industry grew.

The *Mentor* incident has been perennially intriguing. In 1958, J. C. Meredith published his novelized version, *The Tattooed Man*,¹⁰² in which limited evidence and poetic license cast Barnard as a craven incompetent. The questions that seem to have troubled Barnard are still with us. With growing interest in maritime history and Micronesia, there are bound to be other studies of the *Mentor* disaster.

The disaster's effect on Palau was more subtle than the *Antelope's*, for it did not net the people of Aracolo the firepower they sought to battle Koror. The *Mentor* incident did precipitate outright hostilities, however, as Koror attempted to seize the *Mentor* hostages for its own advantage. More important, the incident further committed Palauans to the use of firearms, a policy which gave beachcombers, traders, and visitors powerful bargaining leverage and which perpetuated the islands' disunity for decades to come. Barnard's narrative is a precious look at a unique Pacific culture confronted and changed by outside pressure.

APPENDIX A: THE CREW OF THE MENTOR, 1831¹⁰³

NAME	BIRTHPLACE	DUTY	AGE
#Alden, Calvin O.	Fairhaven, Mass.		17
•Andrews, Peter	Santo Domingo	Steward	
*Bailey, John T.	Hanover, Mass.	Green Hand ("Boy")	15
★Barnard, Edward C.	Nantucket	Captain	31
*Blackmer, James	Rochester, Mass.	Green Hand ("Boy")	16
*Bourgin, Lewis	Boston	Green Hand	21
•Bowkett, Charles	England	Able Seaman	32
*Colesworthy, Thomas M.	Nantucket	First Mate	22
‡Davis, Horatio		Able Seaman	24
*Duff, William	Boston	Green Hand	27
*Fish or Fisher, James H.	Nantucket	Boatsteerer	
*Haskell, Benjamin F.	Nantucket	Boatsteerer	19
§Hewlett, Milton	Virginia	Ordinary Seaman	19
‡Holden, Horace	Hillsboro, N.H.	Green Hand	21
*Jenkins, David	Nantucket	Cooper/Boatsteerer	22
‡Meador, James	New Bedford	Able Seaman	
*Mullons, Augustus	Africa	Cook	25
‡Nute, Benjamin H.	New Hampshire	Green Hand	22
*O'Connor, Peter	New Bedford	Second Mate	18
★Rollins, Bartlett	New Hampshire	Green Hand	21
§Seddon, William		Able Seaman	
*Taylor, Thomas	Scotland	Able Seaman	21

*Killed in the *Mentor* shipwreck, May 1832.

★Escaped from Tobi on the *Sabina*, February 1833.

#Escaped from Babeldaob on a passing vessel, date uncertain (before December 1835).

‡Escaped from Tobi on the *Britannia*, November 1834.

‡Repatriated from Babeldaob by the U.S.S. *Vincennes*, December 1835.

§Died of starvation at Tobi, 1834.

•Put to death at Tobi, 1834.

APPENDIX B:
PALAUANS WHO ACCOMPANIED THE
MENTOR SURVIVORS TO TOBI¹⁰⁴

NAME	HOME
* Cobac (Hobac)	Babeldaob
★ Kyes (Omry)	Babeldaob
★ Tit	Babeldaob

* Repatriated from Tobi by the U.S.S. *Vincennes*, December 1835.
★ Died on Tobi, 1834 (one from starvation, one by execution).

NOTES

1. By George Keate, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. (London: G. Nicol, 1788).
2. For discussions of the stigma of early fiction see James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 53-54; and Edmund Pearson, *Queer Books* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928), pp. 43, 231.
3. Keate, pp. 330-331.
4. Ronald Louis Silveira de Braganza and Charlotte Oakes, *The Hill Collection of Pacific Voyages* (annotations by Jonathan A. Hill, San Diego: University of California at San Diego Library, 1974) p. 160.
5. Keith Huntress, *A Checklist of Narratives of Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea to 1860, with Summaries, Notes, and Comments* (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1979, hereafter *Checklist*), pp. 37-38 and *passim*.
6. *Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Antelope East-India Pacquet, on the Pelew Islands etc.* (Perth: R. Morison and son, 1788), p. 224.
7. *Affecting and Interesting Narrative of the Loss of the Antelope Packet . . . including Curious Particulars of a Race of Islanders till then Imperfectly Known to Europeans* (London: Champante & Whitrow, n.d.).
8. Huntress, *Checklist*, pp. 61, 88 and *passim*.
9. Keate, pp. 339-364; *Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Antelope*, pp. 239-268; *The History of Prince Lee Boo, a Native of the Pelew Islands, brought to England by Captain Wilson* (new edition, Philadelphia: B. Johnson & J. Johnson, 1802). This last title went through numerous editions and variants. The unfortunate Lee Boo personified the Noble Savage done in by unwholesome Civilization.
10. *The History of Prince Lee Boo*, p. 40.
11. For an example of how far the *Antelope* story had penetrated popular culture in the West, see *The American Lady's Pocket Book for the Year 1815. Containing an Almanac. Ruled Pages for Memorandums . . . Account of Pelew etc.* (Philadelphia: A. Small, n.d. [ca. 1814]).
12. Palau Community Action Agency, *A History of Palau, Volume One: Traditional Palau, the First Europeans* (n.p.: Palau Community Action Agency, 1976, hereafter *History of Palau, I*) 7, 42 ff.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 70 ff.
14. Madan Blanchard (Keate, pp. 226, 254-255). Blanchard appears to have abused his status, for which he was executed (Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels . . . in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands* [Boston: E. G. House, for the Author, 1817], p. 67; Reverend John Pearce Hockin, *A Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands; compiled from the Journals of the Panther and Endeavor etc.* [London: Printed for Captain Henry Wilson, by W. Bulmer and Co., 1803], pp. 8-9). Despite this a view of Blanchard as a would-be Noble Savage has persisted until the twentieth century (E. M. Forster, *A Letter to Madan Blanchard*. The Hogarth Letters. No. 1 [London: Leonard & Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1931], p. 8 ff.).

15. Delano, p. 68.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
17. Samuel Snook to Amasa Delano, Bombay, 6 May 1800, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 75. "McClure" was Thomas McCluer, one of two skippers of the 1791 expedition, who settled temporarily in Palau — well armed, of course (Hockin, pp. 24, 50).
18. An early example is the missionary ship *Duff* of London, which called at Palau in 1797. Trying to converse with islanders, the *Duff's* complement found that "their language was quite unintelligible; nor could we, even with the help of Captain Henry Wilson's vocabulary [in Keate], make them understand one word, except a few of their proper names . . ." (London Missionary Society, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, Performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff*, etc. [London: S. Gosnell for T. Chapman, 1799], p. 306).
19. Francis X. Hezel, S.J., *Foreign Ships in Micronesia: A Compendium of Ship Contacts with the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Saipan: The Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office and The U.S. Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 1979), pp. 4-5.
20. Index of Whalemens and Seamen (Melville Whaling Room, New Bedford Free Public Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts, hereafter MWR/NBFPL).
21. *Ibid.*
22. Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876* (1878; rpt. 2 vols., New York: Argosy — Antiquarian Ltd., 1964), I, 238-239.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-249; Index of Whalemens and Seamen (MWR/NBFPL).
24. Starbuck, I, 254-255; Index of Whalemens and Seamen (MWR/NBFPL).
25. Eliza Barney, Genealogical Records (manuscript, 6 vols., Peter Foulger, Museum, Nantucket Historical Association, Nantucket, Massachusetts, hereafter PFM/NHA), I, 90.
26. Starbuck, I, 256-257; Reginald B. Hegarty, comp., *Addendum to "Starbuck" and "Whaling Masters," New Bedford Customs District* (New Bedford: New Bedford Free Public Library, 1964), p. 56; Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration of Massachusetts, *Whaling Masters*. American Guide Series (New Bedford: The Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1938), p. 311.
27. Survey of Federal Archives, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration, *Ship Registers of New Bedford* (3 vols., Boston: The National Archives Project, 1940) I, 210, no. 2066.
28. Crew List, Ship *Mentor* of New Bedford, 4 June 1830 — 16 June 1831 (Record Group 36 [Records of the Bureau of Customs], National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereafter RG 36 [RBC]/NA).
29. Ledger, William Rodman & Co., 1831-1857 (The Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Massachusetts, hereafter KWM).
30. The last point is confirmed in H. S. Lyman, "Recollections of Horace Holden." Corrected by Horace Holden, *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, III (March-December 1902), 167.
31. Starbuck, I, 280-288.
32. See Appendix A.

33. *A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity and Sufferings of Horace Holden and Benj. H. Nute; who were Cast Away in the Ship Mentor, on the Pelew Islands* etc. (Boston: Russell, Shattuck and Co., 1836).
34. *Salem Gazette*, 13 April and 5 November 1824; quoted also in R. Gerard Ward, ed., *American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870; A History, Geography and Ethnography . . . taken from Contemporary Newspapers, etc.* (8 vols., Ridgewood: The Gregg Press, 1966), I, 144-149.
35. The lost man "was soon after seen floating in the water apparently dead" (Holden, p. 24). In 1833 Barnard identified this man as William Jones of Boston (*New Bedford Mercury*, hereafter NBM, 10 August 1833). No such name appears on the *Mentor's* crew list, although the man had apparently sailed with the *Mentor* from New Bedford (Holden, p. 16). Barnard is probably describing the fate of William Duff of Boston, about twenty-eight years old (Crew List, *Ship Mentor* of New Bedford, 20 July 1831 [RG 36 (RBC)/NA]). Barnard does not mention that of the men who lowered his boat, only he was protected by a lifeline to the ship. A third seaman almost drowned when the boat was lost (Holden, p. 24).
36. The famous *Antelope* incident of 1783.
37. See Appendix A.
38. Kayangel, a northern atoll of Palau (Mark Berg, "Notes on Horace Holden, A Narrative of Shipwreck" [unpublished typescript, Micronesian Seminar, Moen, Truk, Caroline Islands]).
39. Probably Ngeruangel Reef, at the northern tip of the Palaus (*ibid.*).
40. The blackening of Palauan's teeth was produced by systematic application of an herb paste (Keate, p. 319; *History of Palau*, I, 2).
41. The tow line.
42. The eleven men in Barnard's six-man whaleboat had only three oars between them (Holden, p. 38).
43. The *Syren* of London was boarded and attacked by Palauans off Angaur in 1823, but escaped after a fierce skirmish on deck in which two whalers were killed (*Salem Gazette*, 13 April 1824; or see Ward, I, 144).
44. Barnard's official command of the *Mentor* crew had ended with the shipwreck. Nonetheless, the survivors apparently continued to regard him as their leader.
45. Ngerechur, an island north of Babeldaob (Berg).
46. The ceiling is the inner lining of a boat.
47. According to Holden, this man "Sprung into our boat, seized the captain by the shoulder, and struck him several times with a war-club. . . . He then commenced swinging his club over our heads with great apparent ferocity, for the purpose, as it seemed, of awing us into submission; occasionally striking some of our number" (Holden, pp. 44-45).
48. This structure, with its adjacent stone seats, was a meeting house for village elders (*History of Palau*, I, 9).
49. Barnard is describing Ngerebau, a town on the east coast of northern Babeldaob (Mark Berg to the Editor, Tamuning, Guam, 4 July 1980).
50. Ngebei, now uninhabited (Berg). Years later, Holden remembered the town as Aiburel (Lyman, p. 179).
51. The crewman mentioned was Charles Bowkett, thirty-three, like "Old

- Charly" an Englishman (Crew List, Ship *Mentor* of New Bedford, 20 July 1831 [RG 36 (RBC)/NA]).
52. Reporting from Canton in 1833, Barnard praised these people for their kindness: "Their treatment to me and my crew was of the most hospitable kind, not only sharing what they might have, but giving up the best house in the town to us, and furnishing us with pigs and goats when they had no fish" (NBM, 10 August 1833. This widely-published letter appears in somewhat different form in Ward, V, 412-421).
 53. The *Mentor* castaways were becoming pawns in Palau's longstanding regional power struggles, notably that which existed between their captors' federation and Koror, to the south. In 1783, assisted by the *Antelope's* well-armed British castaways (and later with subsequent gifts of British arms), Koror had established pre-eminence. The arrival of the *Mentor* crew on Babeldaob suggested that a redress of that imbalance of power was now possible (Holden, pp. 59-60; Palau Community Action Agency, *A History of Palau, Volume Two: Traders and Whalers, Spanish Administration, German Administration* [n.p.: Palau Community Action Agency, 1977, hereafter *History of Palau, II*], 138-139; Francis X. Hezel, "The Role of the Beachcomber in the Carolines," in Niel Gunson, ed., *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude* [Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978], hereafter "Beachcomber," pp. 262-263).
 54. George's offer was a covert attempt by Koror to maintain its hegemony by monopolizing any and all sources of foreign firearms.
 55. The project involved the villages of Aracolo, a northern federation on Babeldaob, also referred to as Ngerechelung.
 56. In order to get his way, Barnard may intentionally have played upon regional rivalries, a crafty but dangerous game (Holden, p. 15; Hezel, "Beachcomber," p. 263).
 57. A Babeldaob district which had been trounced in battles with Koror because of British military assistance to the latter (Keate, p. 167 ff; Hockin, p. 31 ff.; Delano, p. 60 ff.).
 58. A cockle shell; 'Kim,' according to Captain Wilson's Palauan — English vocabulary (Keate, p. 368).
 59. See Appendix A. Meader was Barnard's brother-in-law.
 60. In 1833 Barnard gave the names of these three Palauans as Tit, Cobac and Kyes (NBM, 12 August 1833). Holden recalled them as "two chiefs, and one of the common class" (Holden, p. 71).
 61. See Appendix A.
 62. 'Cut off' was a mariners' phrase meaning 'massacred.' The vessel is unidentified.
 63. See Appendix A.
 64. Djailolo, largest of the Moluecas, would be a likely landfall for a boat on Barnard's intended course for Ternate.
 65. Tobi (Lord North's Island), about two hundred miles east northeast of Morotai. In 1833, Barnard described the island as "a spot about three forths of a mile long by half a mile in width, with about three hundred inhabitants" (NBM, 10 August 1833. Barnard's lengthy description of Tobi appears in slightly different form in Ward, V, 418-421; and in French translation in G.L.

Domeny de Rienzi, *Océanie ou Cinquième Partie du Monde* etc. [3 vols., Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1836-1837] II, 106-108).

66. An American naval officer's first sight of Tobi islanders (in 1835) descriptively echoes Barnard's distaste: "They wore their hair long, flowing on their necks and shoulders, and many of them were naked, excepting a narrow belt round the waist, a string of beads round the neck, and toadstool ear-rings, all of domestic manufacture, showing little skill and less taste. The entirely naked ones were repulsive, as their bodies were filthy with dirt, cocoanut oil, and unskillful tattooing . . . their teeth were white" (Robert Lee-Wright Browning, "The Cruise of the United States Sloop-of-War 'Vincennes,' Circumnavigating, 1833-1836," *The United Service*, XIII-XIV [1885], *passim*, XIV [1886], 265-266).
67. "Their longest canoes will not carry more than sixteen men, but they are heavy and sharp, and they use them for ramming. It may easily be conceived how Captain Bernard's [sic] whale-boat was quickly cut down . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 266).
68. "They fell upon our boat and immediately destroyed it, breaking it into splinters, and taking the fragments into their canoes. While this was going on we were swimming from one canoe to another, entreating them by signs to spare our lives and permit us to get into their canoes. This they for a long time refused, beating us unmercifully, whenever we caught hold of anything to save ourselves from sinking" (Holden, p.78).
69. In 1833 Barnard remembered that when "we drew near the shore, I could see the women and children running along the beach, dancing, and capering, and singing and shouting" (NBM, 10 August 1833). Throughout his captivity on Tobi, the disoriented Barnard supposed himself to be somewhat west of Morotai. Had he escaped by canoe, he would have sailed east, probably to oblivion (*ibid.*).
70. Possibly a pilot whale, a cetacean known as 'blackfish' to whalers.
71. The sentence in editor's italics, like the italicized passages below, is an afterthought by Barnard, intended for insertion at this point in his narrative. One of Barnard's two daughters recopied her father's manuscript, correcting many misspellings and punctuation lapses (KWM). The afterthoughts, apparently dictated or jotted by Barnard, appear after the last page in his daughter's copy. Barnard's widely-publicized letter from Canton, written shortly after his escape, says little about Captain Somes's abandonment of the nine captives still ashore on Tobi, but contains one point omitted in the narrative: "Captain Somes . . . could not stop to receive the remainder of the crew, as it would have detained him 24 hours" (NBM, 10 August 1833). In 1836, public criticism of that abandonment probably motivated the additions.
72. See footnote 71.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Probably Sarah, the older of two daughters born after 1827 (Eliza Barney Genealogical Records [PFM/NHA], I, 90).
75. See Appendix A.
76. Calvin Alden. See Appendix A.
77. Presumably James Meader, the postscript writer's uncle.

78. The postscript, which internal evidence dates after 1844, appears as a final comment in the Barnard daughter's recopied version of his manuscript (KWM).
79. NBM, 19 August 1833.
80. *Ibid.*
81. Charles Oscar Paullin, "The Early Voyages of American Naval Vessels to the Orient. VIII. The Cruise of Commander Aulick: 1835-1836," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, XXXVI, 2 (1910), 725.
82. Browning, XIV, 210.
83. Holden, pp. 112-117; Logbook of the U.S.S. *Vincennes*, 1835-1836 (Record Group 24 [Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel], hereafter RG 24 [RBNP]/NA, 10-11 December 1835).
84. Holden, p. 104 ff.; Browning, XIV, 266-269.
85. Cobac had been refused rescue earlier in 1835 by a London-bound vessel (Browning, p. 267).
86. *Vincennes* logbook (RG 24 [RBNP]/NA), 17-21 December 1835; Browning, XIV, 272.
87. Browning, XIV, 275-276.
88. Starbuck, I, 298-299.
89. Other Micronesian examples are William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey, *A Narrative of the Mutiny on board the Ship Globe. . . . And . . . a Residence of Two Years on the Mulgrave Islands* etc. (New-London: Wm. Lay, and C. M. Hussey, 1828); and James F. O'Connell, *A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands* etc. (1836; rpt. Boston: B. B. Mussey, 1841).
90. Lyman, p. 216.
91. Horace Holden, *A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity & Sufferings* etc. (1836, rpt., introduction by Keith Huntress, Fairfield, Wa.: Ye Galleon Press, 1975), pp. xx-xxi, title page.
92. *The North American Review*, XLIII (1836), 216-217.
93. NBM, 10 August 1833; Ward, V, 410-428; Domeny de Rienzi, I, 102-108.
94. In the uproar over Holden's book, Secretary of the Navy Levi Woodbury came under criticism for "apathy" (Ward, V, 437).
95. Lyman, p. 165.
96. Thomas Colesworthy, Peter O'Connor, James Meader and Peter Andrews, all career whalers (Crew List, *Ship Mentor* of New Bedford, 4 June 1830 [RG 36 (RUSCS)/NA]; Affidavit of Edward C. Barnard on Crew Additions and Subtractions [*Ship Mentor* of New Bedford], New Bedford, 17 June 1831 [*ibid.*]).
97. Browning, p. 266; Holden, pp. 105-106.
98. Crew List, *Ship Mentor* of New Bedford, 20 July 1832 (RG 36 [RUSCS]/NA).
99. [Epes Sargent], *American Adventures by Land and Sea* (2 vols., New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1842), II, 172-199.
100. Pamela A. Miller to the Editor, State College, Pa., 6 January 1980.
101. Wilson L. Heflin, "New Light on Herman Melville's Cruise in the *Charles and Henry*," *Historic Nantucket*, XX, 2 (October 1974), 16; see also

Huntress' introduction to the 1975 edition of Holden, pp. xiv-xviii.

102. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

103. Compiled from Crew List, *Ship Mentor* of New Bedford, 20 July 1831 (RG 36 [RBC]/NA); and Ledger, William Rodman & Co., 1831-1857 (KWM).

104. Compiled from Barnard, Holden and Browning, *passim*; and NBM, 10 August 1833.

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INDEX

- Alden, Calvin O., 30, 37, 43, 51
Andrews, Peter, 31, 42-43, 52
Angaur, 9, 49
Antelope, 3, 5, 9, 24, 42
Aracolo (Aragalo), 22-25, 28, 39, 42,
50
Artingal, 23, 31
- Babeldaob, 17ff., 37, 39, 43, 50
Barnard, Edward C.: childhood and
early career, 7; marriage, 9; later
career, 39, 41-42; death, 37, 42
Barnard, Mrs. Edward C., 9
Barnard, Sarah, 37, 51-52
Blanchard, Madan, 5, 47
Bowkett, Charles, 31, 43, 49
Boxer, 39
Britannia, 40, 43
Butler, Mr., 36
- Christian, John, 42
Cobac (Cobock), 30, 31, 37, 39, 45
Coffin, Frederick, 14
Colesworthy, Thomas M., 43, 52
Columbus, 7
Covington, 36
Creiton (Creighton?), 24-25
- Davis, Horatio, 30, 37, 39, 43
Delano, Amasa, 5, 8
Dick (beachcomber), 20, 24-25, 39
Dixey, Capt., 36
Domines, Capt., 36
Duff, 48
Duff, William, 43, 49
- Eagle, Capt., 36
East India Company (British), 3, 5,
7, 24
- Galispie (Gillespie?), Mr., 36
George (beachcomber), 20, 23, 39
George and Martha, 9
Gordon, Mr., 36
- Hewlett, Milton, 31, 43
- Holbrook, Capt., 36
Holden, Horace, 9, 31, 36-43, 51-52
Hurd, Mr., 36
- Ibedul, 3, 5, 7, 21
Ibule (Aiburel), 19, 29, 49
- Jennings, Capt., 36
- Kayangel, 13, 22, 49
Keate, George, 3-6, 48
Koror, 5, 7, 19, 21-25, 30-31, 39,
42, 50
Kyes (Omry), 30, 45
Kyra, 21
- Latimer, John R., 36
Lee Boo, 2, 47
Lion, 19
Little, Capt., 36
- McCluer, Thomas, 7, 48
Meader, James, 30, 39, 51-52
Melville, Herman, 42
Mentor, 9, 11-13, 21, 31, 42-43
Meredith, J. C., 42
Mirabeau, Honoré-Gabriel, Comte
de, 3
- Nantucket, 7
Neicly, 31
New Bedford, 9, 36, 39
Ngerebau, 49
Ngerechur, 49
Ngeruangel Reef, 49
Nute, Benjamin, 31, 37, 43
- O'Conner, Peter, 43, 52
- Peleliu, 31
Persia, 9
Point Abino, 37, 42
- Rollins, Bartlett, 31, 35, 37, 43
- Sabina*, 35-36, 43

Sampson, George R., 36
Seddon, William, 31, 43
Snook, Samuel, 7
Somes, D. A., 35-36, 51
Sturges, S., 36
Syren, 9, 14, 49

Tit, 30, 45
Tobi, 32-43, 45, 65-66

Vincennes, 37, 39, 43

Washing (Washington), Charley,
19-23, 25-26, 28-29, 39, 49-50
Wilson, Henry, 2, 3, 5, 7, 12, 14,
24, 48

Winslow, 39, 42

Woodbury, Levi, 39, 52