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***Review and Evaluation of the use of  
Tobacco, Alcohol and Opium in the  
pre-colonial Marshall Islands***

by  
Dirk H.R. Spennemann



ALBURY 2000

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# ***Introduction***

**T**he objectives of this report are to review and evaluate the use of tobacco, alcohol and opium during the period prior to the German Protectorate of the Marshall Islands drawing on cotemporary accounts and to put this into context using information about the volume of tobacco trade.

## **Embargo**

This document is one of four reports researched and written for the law firm Munger, Toller & Olson, Los Angeles (California), to serve as a background document in a legal case currently before the courts of the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

For this reason, the contents of this report are embargoed until 30 June 2001, after which date the document will become a formal and unrestricted publication in the report series of the Johnstone Centre, Charles Sturt University.

## **Copyright**

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## **Scope**

- Search traders' diaries (J.L. Young etc)
- Search the records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions pertaining to the Marshall Islands

- Review of Louis Becke stories set in the Marshalls
- Search published travel accounts pertaining to the Marshall Islands
- Review, analyse and evaluate the material pertaining to the Marshall Islands

### Outcome

Assessment of tobacco, alcohol and opium use in the Marshalls before they became German colony (pre 1886), drawing on trader's diaries, whalers logbooks, travel accounts, missionary letters, fictionalised accounts of eyewitnesses and so on to provide a

- general impression of the role of tobacco, alcohol and opium as a trade good; and a
- general impression on the smoking and drinking habits of the Marshallese before the beginning of the German colonial period.

### Structure

While each chapter has a section summarising the salient points, chapter 4 provides an integrated review and evaluation of the information contained in this report.

References to assertions and documents quoted are made in the form of numbered endnotes, which are compiled at the end of each chapter.

## ***The Sources***

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A wide range of sources were consulted for the completion of this report. For example:

- In 1999 Spennemann compiled 482 German Period and German-language reference sources on the Marshall Islands.<sup>i</sup> While resources in this compilation could be drawn upon, only few provide any reference to tobacco, alcohol or opium use.
- A nine-volume compilation of newspaper clippings from a variety of American newspapers until 1870, regarding the American Activities in the Pacific.<sup>ii</sup>
- The records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions ('Boston Mission') pertaining to the Marshall Islands as microfilmed by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (Australian National University, Canberra).<sup>iii</sup>
- Logbooks of U.S. whalers microfilmed by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (Australian National University, Canberra) with records of visits to the Marshall Islands.<sup>iv</sup>



- Fiction published in the 19th and early 20th century , written by authors who had prolonged first-hand experience in the Marshall Islands, such as the Australian author Louis Becke.<sup>v</sup>
- Relevant secondary literature.<sup>vi</sup>

## ***Endnotes to the Introduction***

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# 1

## ***Tobacco & Alcohol in the pre-19th Century Marshalls***

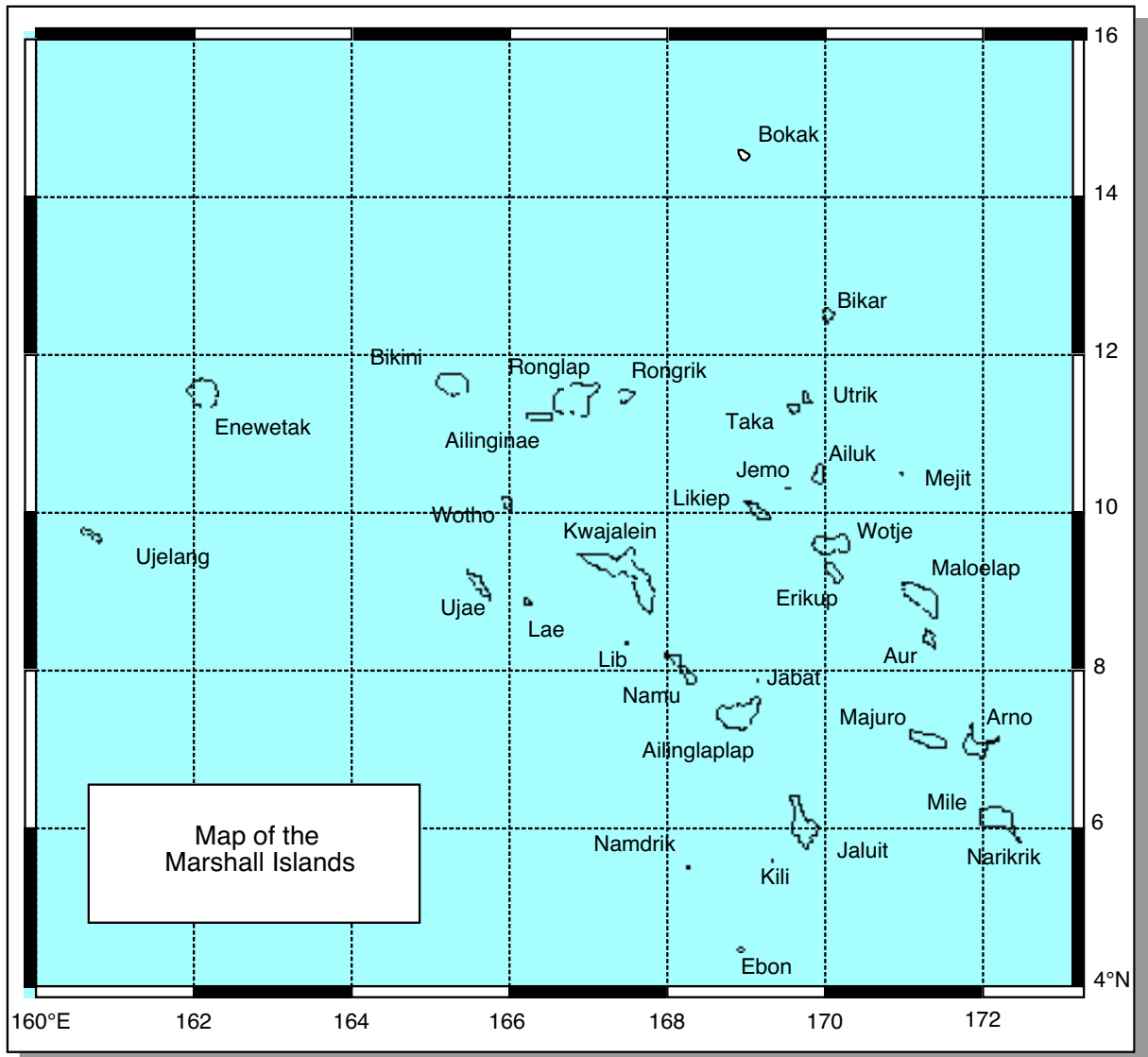
# A

As far as can be reconstructed, the various atolls (or their parts) were each under the control of the *irooj laplap* and their warlords (*irooj erik*). Warfare was seen as a legitimate extension of politics and thus seems to have been relatively common. Some atolls were controlled by chiefs from other atolls, and had been either subdued by force or were forced into an alliance by blood relationships. This warfare led to a mixture of people, especially in the southern part of the Marshall Islands, while the political situation in the more northern parts of both the Ralik and the Ratak Chain appears to have been more stable. People from

some northern atolls, such as Mejit or Ujelang, are known to have very characteristic physiognomy, such as the high eye-bros of the Mejit people, features which are indicative of limited contact and/or population exchange.

The Marshallese were in frequent, but not regular contact with the surrounding island groups, namely Kiribati in the south and the eastern Caroline Islands in the west. Voyages to Kosrae<sup>vii</sup> and Pohnpei appear to have been reasonably common. Other oral traditions indicate that on occasion voyages occurred as far afield as Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro.<sup>viii</sup> A common feature of these far-flung voyages seems to have been dispersal in storms or disorientation during overcast skies, often leading to fatal results. By the same token, strangers from other island groups arrived in the Marshalls. Castaways from Kiribati<sup>ix</sup>, the Central Carolines<sup>x</sup> and even as far afield as Yap<sup>xi</sup> were sometimes washed ashore on the coasts of the

Marshall Islands. Castaways, as well as — later — small groups of European visitors were either killed or kept as semi-slaves.



*Figure 1-1 Map of the Marshall Islands*

## ***Early Contact***

Even before the Marshall Islands were discovered for European eyes, they had been allocated and claimed by a European nation: based on a decision by Pope Alexander VI, and formalised by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Spain was vested with the ownership of all land west of the meridian 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, thus including Micronesia in its entirety. Although Micronesia was owned by Spain, Spain did little to establish administrative

control or even develop the eastern parts of Micronesia, such as the Marshall Islands.

The northern and central Marshalls lay in the route between 'New Spain' in Central America and the spice islands of Southeast Asia, and especially the Philippines. Hence Spanish ships plying this route were the first non-indigenous vessels to sail in these waters and encounter land. In July 1526 Garcia Jofse de Loaysa encountered the northernmost atoll of the Marshall Islands, Taongi, which he named San Batholomé. Around the year 1528 Alavaro de Saavedra in the *Florida* sailed through the northern Marshalls and saw Uterik, Taka, Rongelap and Ailinginae. Being found on 6 January 1528, the latter were named 'Los Reyes' for the Three Kings of Epiphany. Saavedra landed on one island where he traded for food and water. It is possible that on his return voyage in 1529 Saavedra encountered Enewetak and Ujelang.

In December 1542 Ruy Lopez de Villalobos sailed a fleet of ships through the Marshalls. Little is now known about the route taken, except that it was further to the south than previously taken. He named two islands (most probably Jemo and Likiep) the 'Piscadores Islands'.<sup>xiii</sup> Villalobos landed on Likiep to take on water and food. His observations are the first descriptions of a Marshallese island.

Between 9 and 12 January 1565 a fleet of three ships under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legaszpi sailed through the Marshalls at approximately 10°N. They encountered five atolls, most probably Mejit, Ailuk, Wotho, Jemo and possibly Ujelang.

Table 1-1 Spanish 'discoveries' in the Marshalls

Loaysa	1526	Taongi
Saavedra	1528	Uterik, Taka, Rongelap, Ailinginae
Saavedra (return)	1529	Enewetak?, Ujelang?
Villalobos	1542/3	Likiep
Legaszpi	1564	Mejit, Ailuk, Wotho, Jemo, Ujelang?
Arellano	1564/5	
Arellano (return)	1565	Likiep, Kwajalein
Lope Martin	1566	Ujelang?
Medaña	1569	Namu, Wake?

A fourth ship, the *San Lucas*, under the command of Aloyso de Arellano, was 'lost' shortly after departure from New Spain. Sailing independently on a course further to the south, the *San Lucas* encountered Likiep and then most probably also Kwajalein in December 1564 and January 1565.

A year later, Lope Martin and the mutineers of the *San Geronimo* most probably landed on Ujelang in 1566, where they were abandoned when the crew retook the vessel.

Hermann Gallego, chief pilot of Alavaro de Medaña y Neyra's vessel *Los Reyes* encountered Namu Atoll in September 1568, coming from the south, and then continued on to sail past Wake Atoll. On Namu they found some rope and a nail fitted to a stick, probably relics of Villalobos or the *San Geronimo* in 1566.

As they were too far south for the galleon route, the southern and much more populated atolls remained undiscovered for European eyes. Yet, it is likely news of the Spanish vessels travelled to the southern and more fertile islands, which were the centres of chiefly power in the Marshalls.<sup>xiii</sup>

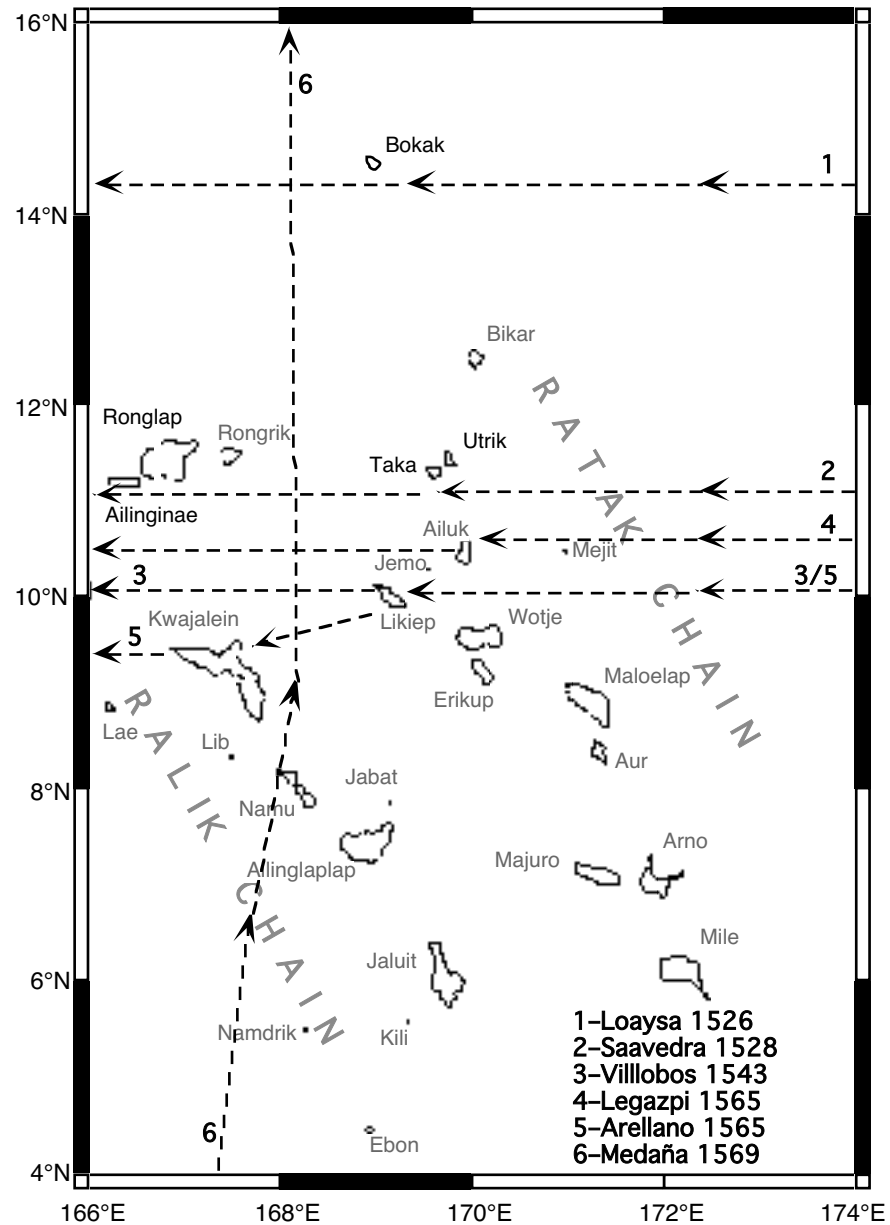


Figure 1-2 Partial map of the Marshall Islands, showing the Spanish discoveries.

Figure 2 shows the frequency of European ship visits to the Marshall Islands, 1879 to 1885.<sup>xiv</sup>

### Thomas Gilbert and John Marshall 1788

The ‘discovery’ of the southern atolls by the crews of the British transports *Scarborough* and *Charlotte* in 1788 is closely connected with the establishment of the British settlement of Australia.<sup>xv</sup>

Both vessels formed part of ‘The First Fleet,’ tasked with transporting the first contingent of convicts from England to form the settlement of the British colony of New South Wales at Botany Bay (now Sydney). Some of the transports, the *Scarborough*, the *Charlotte* and the *Lady Penrhyn*, were chartered by the British government for the voyage to Australia, and then chartered by the British East India Company to take a cargo of tea from Canton in China to the United Kingdom.<sup>xvi</sup> In the absence of commerce to be taken from Australia, or later, the South Sea Islands, to China (such as sandalwood or bêche-de-mer), the vessels sailed in ballast to China. It was on this voyage to China that the southern Marshalls were encountered.<sup>xvii</sup>

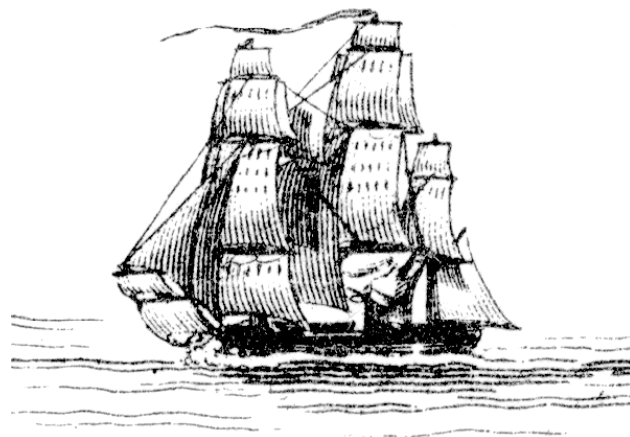


Figure 1-3 Sketch of the Scarborough.<sup>xviii</sup>

Detailed knowledge of the Pacific north of Australia in the direction of China was limited, with much of the information in the hands of the East India Company. A number of largely untried routes to China were available to the navigators at that time: north from Sydney through the gap between New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, and then north-west to China; a more favoured route steering north-east from Sydney, passing between the Solomons in the west and New Caledonia and the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) in the east, and then north-west to west towards China; and an even shorter route east of the St. Cruz Islands and then northwest to China. Along the route the Marianas, namely Tinian, became a frequent stop-over location to allow the crews to replenish water, wood and food. The latter route was recommended by the East India Company cartographer George Robertson, though all routes were initially deemed hazardous, as many uncharted reefs existed in these waters.

The three ships destined for Canton chose to sail initially even further to the east in the hope of avoiding the perils altogether. Of these, the *Lady Penrhyn*, took the longest route and detoured via Tahiti. Both the *Charlotte* and the *Scarborough* sailed well east of New Caledonia and the New Hebrides. While a normal Sydney to China run via Robertson's route would (later) take between 50-60 days, the *Charlotte* and *Scarborough* took 120 days to reach their destination.<sup>xix</sup>

In company, the vessels sailed from Lord Howe Island via Norfolk Island (22 May), Matthew's Island (26 May), and the Charlotte Bank (4 June). On 18 June they encountered the southern atolls of Kiribati, namely Aramuka and Kuria. There the first encounter between the ships and the Pacific islanders could have gone badly wrong. When faced with 30 canoes heading for the *Scarborough*, Marshall fired a shot which brought the advance to a temporary halt. In the end this did not prevent a friendly intercourse and some much needed bartering for provisions. The following day they sailed past Apaiang and Tarawa. Butaritari was seen on the 21st. The *Charlotte* and *Scarborough* cleared the northern atolls of Kiribati on 22 June and encountered the first of the Marshalls in the early afternoon of 24 June.



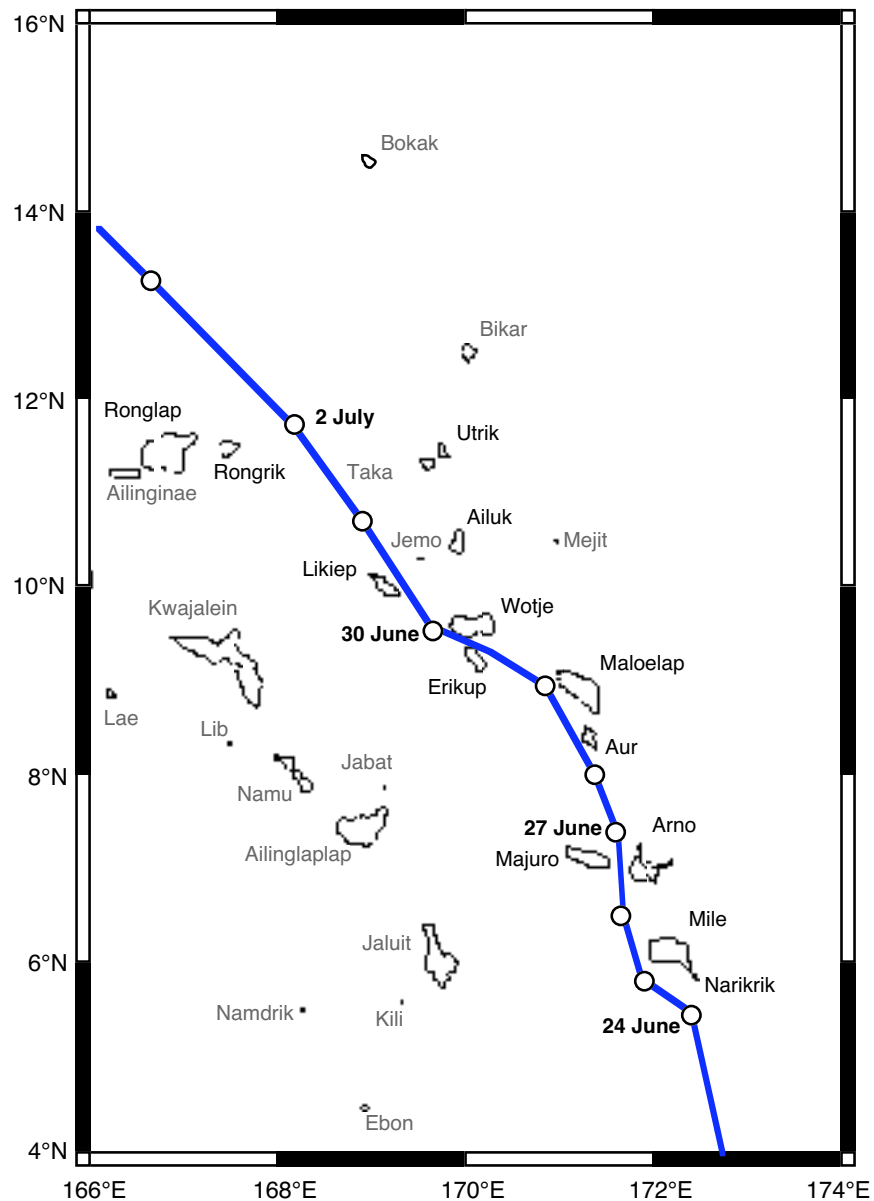


Figure 1-4 Partial map of the Marshall Islands, showing the reconstructed track of the Charlotte and the Scarborough.<sup>xx</sup>

The available descriptions of the islands are limited as neither Gilbert nor Marshall landed. Gilbert conducted limited trade off Mili. It is doubtful that tobacco was exchanged.<sup>xxi</sup>

The voyage is significant because it alerted a number of British sailors to the presence of the islands. While Gilbert hoped that the islands would prove, upon further investigation, to possess suitable harbours for ships stopping over *en route* to China, this was not followed up. Of the number of return routes available, the route via the Marshall Islands, 'pioneered' by Gilbert and Marshall, sometimes described as 'the easternmost route to China,'<sup>xxii</sup> was not the most favoured. Given the navigation hazards posed by the Marshall Islands, this was not

surprising. Nonetheless, in subsequent years a number of British ships, likewise *en route* from Port Jackson to China, encountered the Marshall Islands, such as the *Royal Admiral* in 1792, the *Walpole* in 1794, the *Britannia* in 1797, the *Rolla* in 1803 and the *Ocean* in 1804.<sup>xxiii</sup>

### Ann and Hope 1799

In 1799 the *Ann and Hope*, an American trader from Providence, R.I., on a voyage to Canton, encountered what they believed to be ‘Hooper’s Island’ or ‘Mulgrave’s Range’ (Mili),<sup>xxiv</sup> but which was most probably Butaritari in Kiribati. On December 27th, the vessel encountered low islands at 4°29’N and 168°45’E,<sup>xxv</sup> most probably Ebon Atoll. The islands, some 12 to 14 were seen, are described as thickly covered with trees; smoke was seen rising from one of them. On the following day three islands were seen at 5°30’N 168°E, most probably Namorik,<sup>xxvi</sup> while on December 31st a horseshoe-shaped group of islands was seen at 8°56’N 166°24’E, most likely Lae.<sup>xxvii</sup> At none of the places contact was made with the Marshallese.

## European Explorers of the early 19th century

Just as in the previous centuries, the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century appears to have been a period of unrest throughout the Marshall Islands, with frequent wars fought between various atolls and atoll alliances. Chiefs from Majuro and Arno waged war against the chiefs from of Maloelap, with the battle taking place on Aur.<sup>xxviii</sup> Because of successful warfare by 1816, the chief Lamari (Lemari) of Majuro reigned over Aur, Kaben (Maloelap) and the north of the Ratak chain while residing on Aur.<sup>xxix</sup> The people from Majuro, apparently led by another *irooj*, and Arno were fighting against Lemari, in campaigns ranging as far as Wotje. Conflicts between Mile and Majuro,<sup>xxx</sup> as well as between Majuro and Arno appear to have been a rather common occurrence at the time. It is not clear which party was the main instigator, but Majuro appears a likely candidate. A few years before the Germans seized political control of the Marshalls, the entire atoll of Majuro was under the domination of a single paramount chief named Lerok.

### Kotzebue 1816/17

The Russian Exploring expedition under the command of Otto von Kotzebue visited the Marshall Islands in 1816 and again in 1817. On the way to the Kamchatka and Beering Straits Kotzebue’s two ships, the *Rurik* and the tender *Nadesha*, sailed through the Marshalls, sighting Mejit and Uterik. While the ships lay off Uterik a canoe came out. As the vessels sailed the next day, interaction was limited.<sup>xxxi</sup> On the return trip Kotzebue spent two months in the islands (from 1 January to 13 March), visiting Mejit, Wotje (four weeks), Maloelap (two weeks), Aur, Ailuk, Uterik and Taka.<sup>xxxii</sup> Later that year Kotzebue returned to Wotje from Alaska for another week in the Marshalls, visiting Wotje and Likiep.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Kotzebue's stay is significant as his was the first prolonged European visit to any of the atolls of the Marshall Islands. He was accompanied by the German poet and naturalist Adalbert von Chamisso<sup>xxxiv</sup>, the artist Louis Choris<sup>xxxv</sup> and the naturalist F. Escholz.<sup>xxxvi</sup> The descriptions of the Marshallese, their appearance, customs and habits, are detailed but flavoured by a romantic sense of a paradise discovered.

None of the reports and descriptions make mention of tobacco being smoked in the Marshalls, or tobacco being offered to the Marshallese. Chamisso, however, makes comment on tobacco as a trade item on the occasion of his stay in Kamchatka,<sup>xxxvii</sup> Hawaii,<sup>xxxviii</sup> and Guam in the Marianas.<sup>xxxix</sup>

During his stay in Kamchatka, Adalbert von Chamisso reflects on the wide-spread adoption of the custom:

*"The strange custom of smoking tobacco, the origin of which is doubtful, came to us from America and began to become popular about a century and a half ago. Spread abroad by us, it has unexpectedly become the most widespread human custom. For every two who nourish themselves on bread, one could count five who owe the comfort and joy of life to this magic smoke. All the peoples of the earth have shown themselves equally eager to adopt this custom, the delicate, cleanly lotophagi of the South Seas and the dirty ichtyophagi of the Arctic Sea. Anyone who does not suspect its inherent magic should watch the Eskimo stuff his little stone pipe bowl with the valuable weed, which he had economically mixed with sawdust; should watch him carefully light it and then with closed eyes and along deep breath greedily draw the smoke into his lungs, and then blow it out toward the sky while all eyes are resting upon him, the next in line already stretching out his hand to receive the instrument and in the same way draw a joyous draft from it."<sup>xl</sup>*

Chamisso's attitude to smoking suggests that he would have happily offered anyone who have asked for it, a smoke. It would appear, however, that he did not offer tobacco to the Marshallese, or if he or the crew did, it did not leave a lasting impression. During the visit to Wotje by the German gunboat *Eber* in 1888 an old man, Taboruo, was presented to the Imperial German Commissar Franz Sonnenschein. Taboruo, who claimed to be the only person still alive who could remember Kotzebue's visit, said the following:

*"All [Europeans] were very nice, did not present us with any tobacco though (by now one of the most important luxury goods), but [gave us] axes, knives and other useful items."<sup>xli</sup>*

Table 1-2 The atolls of the Marshall Islands and dates of early European contact.

Atoll	Spanish	European 'discovery'	first prolonged stay
Ailinginae		Kotzebue 1824	
Ailinglaplap		Bond 1792; Dennet 1797	
Ailuk		Gilbert 1788	Eisenhardt 1878
Arno		Gilbert 1788	
Aur		Gilbert 1788; Kotzebue 1816	
Bikar		US whaler 1832	
Bikini		Kotzebue 1825	Dowsett 1834
Bokak		Johnstone 1807	
Ebon		Ray 1824; Duperry 1823	Covell 1831
Enewetak		Bond ; Butler 1794	
Erikup		Gilbert 1788; Kotzebue 1816	
Jabwat			
Jaluit		Patterson 1809	Duperrey 1823
Jamo		Bishop 1799	
Kili		Bennet 1797	
Kwajalein		Moore 1804	
Lae		Moore 1804	
Lib		Dennet 1797	
Likiep		Kotzebue 1824	
Majuro		Gilbert 1788	
Maloelap		Gilbert 1788; Kotzebue 1816	
Mejit		Kotzebue 1817	
Mili		Gilbert 1788	
Nadikdik		Gilbert 1788	
Namorik		Bond 1792	
Namu		Dennet 1797	
Rongelap		Wallis 1767?; Kotzebue 1825	
Rongerik		Wallis 1767?; Kotzebue 1825	
Taka		Kotzebue 1816	
Ujae		Moore 1804	Humphrey 1884
Ujelang		Barclay 1811; James 1865	
Uterik		Gilbert 1788; Kotzebue 1816	
Wake			
Wotho		Schantz 1835	
Wotje		Gilbert 1788	Kotzebue 1816

### The *Globe* 1824

A mutiny occurred on the Nantucket whaler *Globe* in late November 1824. The mutineers landed on Mili and set up a shore camp. With the ringleaders ashore, some of the crew regained the ship and sailed away. Following a conflict between the mutineers and the Marshallese, all but two Europeans were killed. William Lay and Cyrus Hussey were adopted by the Marshallese and kept on different islands. Both were taken off Mili in November 1825 by John Percival of USS *Dolphin*.<sup>xlii</sup>

Lay and Hussey provide the first detailed account of a prolonged stay by Europeans on the islands. Their account makes no comment on tobacco, nor does the quite detailed list of items shipped ashore contain tobacco.<sup>xliii</sup> This is probably due to the fact that most of the officers and crew were Quakers.<sup>xliv</sup> The description of events, and the use the Marshallese made of European goods such as food and clothing, shows that until then very limited contact had occurred between Marshallese and Europeans.

### Kotzebue 1824 and 1825

Otto von Kotzebue returned to the Marshall Islands on his second voyage around the world, this time on board the *Predpriatie*. He visited the Marshalls in April and May 1824, when he returned to Wotje and Likiep.<sup>xlv</sup> Kotzebue returned on the same trip in October 1825, visiting the northern atolls of Uterik, Rongerik, Rongelap, Bikini and Enewetak.<sup>xlvi</sup> On this trip he was accompanied by F. Escholtz as naturalist.<sup>xlvii</sup>

## ***Volume of Shipping***

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The volume of shipping can serve as an indicator for the volume of contact and trade that occurred. Table 1-3 compiles the known shipping to the Marshalls between 1788 and 1880. It demonstrates the steady increase in shipping from the 1850s onwards, when the Protestant missionaries established a mission station on Ebon (→ chapter 2). A dramatic jump occurred after 1875, when Kabua signed a treaty of friendship with the German Empire, and when German trading houses established head stations on Jaluit.

Given the volume of shipping and the resultant contact between the crew and ship-based traders and the Marshallese population, we can assume that cultural exchange, as well as the exchange of goods, became more prominent from the 1850s onwards.

Table 1-3. Volume of shipping to the Marshall Islands 1788 to 1880

Period	Ships
1788-1790	1
1791-1795	2
1796-1800	3
1801-1805	3
1806-1810	2
1811-1815	1
1816-1820	5
1821-1825	9
1826-1830	5
1831-1835	15
1836-1840	5
1841-1845	11
1846-1850	16
1851-1855	25
1856-1860	37
1861-1865	36
1866-1870	43
1871-1875	47
1876-1880	285
1881-1885	414

An analysis of the available shipping records shows that in the early days of contact the southern atolls, such as Mile and Ebon were visited more frequently than the more northern atolls. The reasoning for this is not yet clear, but it appears that predominant sailing directions from both Kiribati and Hawaii tend to favour the southern atolls. Over time, however, the emphasis of European contact in the Ralik chain shifted from Ebon to the slightly more northern atoll of Jaluit. In the same vein, the dominance of European contact in the Ratak chain shifted from the southern atoll Mile to Majuro. A comparison of the shipping visits to Majuro and Mile shows that this shift was completed between 1876 and 1880, while the decade before saw a gradual increase of vessels visiting Majuro Atoll.

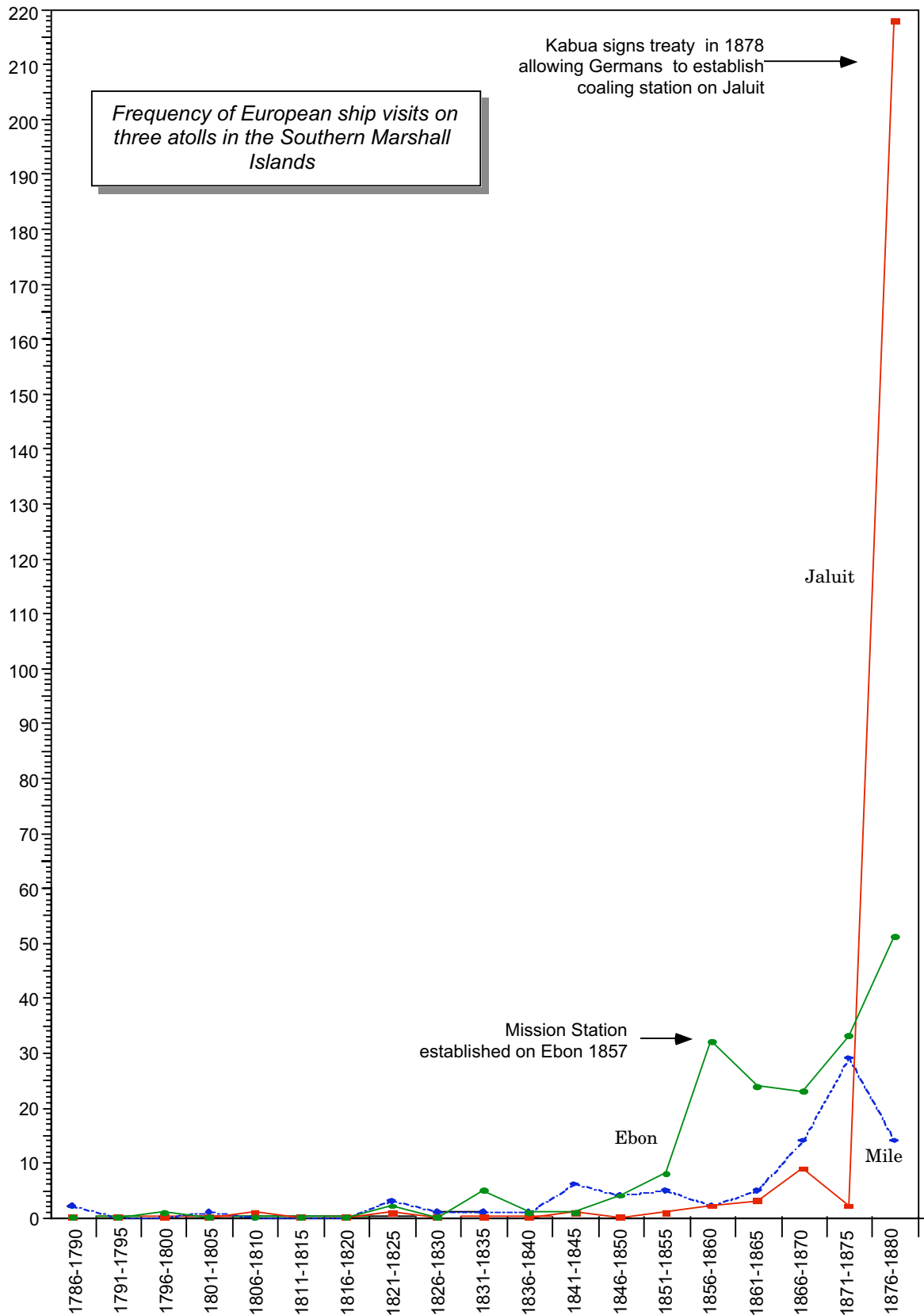


Figure 1-5 Frequency of shipping on three atolls of the Marshall Islands





## ***Endnotes to Chapter 1***

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# 2 | *Trade in Tobacco in the 19th Century Marshall Islands*

T

he initial relations between the people of the Marshall Islands and the foreign visitors were mixed. Often boats and launches put ashore by visiting vessels were cut off and the crew killed. Sometimes the entire ship was overpowered. This commonly brought about reprisals by other European vessels sent out in search of the missing vessel, thus further aggravating relations between the Europeans and the Marshallese. Some of the European punitive actions were severe,<sup>xlvi</sup> while others were simply unsuccessful.<sup>xlix</sup> When not in conflict, items traded from the locals depended on the nature of the trader: whalers commonly traded for firewood, food and coconuts or

water; commercial vagrant traders tra-

ded mainly for coconut oil as well as pearl-shell and beche-de-mer. Goods traded to the Marshallese in the pre-German Period were commonly clothing and fabric, alcohol, iron goods, weapons, but also entire ships.

The commercial exploitation of what was to become the major export commodity of the Marshall Islands, copra, began in 1860, when the German company Stapenhorst & Hoffschläger, operating out of Honolulu, set up a copra mill on Ebon and began the export of coconut oil.<sup>1</sup> In the 1870s further trading stations were set up on Ebon and Jaluit by Godeffroy & Co. and on Jaluit by Franz Hensheim.<sup>li</sup> After the financial collapse of the Godeffroy empire, the stations were taken over by the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft (DHPG) with its seat in Hamburg which had or developed stations on a number of islands, among them Majuro.<sup>lii</sup>

Table 2-1 Trading companies with purchased or leased trading stations operating in the Marshall Islands from the establishment of the first Christian mission until the establishment of the German colonial administration (1857-1886).

Year	Hoff- schläger & Stapen- horst	Adolph Capelle & Co	Franz Hern- sheim & Co	Thoma s Farell	Hen- derson & Mac- Farlane	Tiernan Ven- ture	DHPG	A. Craw- ford & Co.	Jaluit Gesell- schaft	Pacific Navi- gation Co.
1857										
1858										
1859	■									
1860	■									
1861	■									
1862	■									
1863	■									
1864	■	■								
1865		■								
1866		■								
1867		■								
1868		■								
1869		■								
1870		■								
1871		■								
1872		■								
1873		■								
1874		■								
1875		■								
1876		■	■	■						
1877		■	■	■						
1878		■	■		■					
1879		■	■		■					
1880		■	■		■					
1881		■	■		■					
1882		■	■		■					
1883		■	■		■		■			
1884		□	■		■	□	■			
1885		□	■		■	□	■	■		■
1886		□	■		■	■	■	■	□	■

DHPG: Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen Gesellschaft

Trading interests existed on various atolls other than Jaluit and Ebon, but the stamina of the traders in view of political uncertainty and economic profitability was not always great. Several trading companies landed their traders and established trading stations. While some trading stations blossomed, others folded

up within a year of their founding, and some companies went almost bankrupt in the process. Other traders, such as Capelle, made large profits and expanded their business beyond the atoll of the Marshall Islands. Invasions of the climate, such as typhoons, also affected, but did not break them.

## ***Whalers and intrepid traders***

The German ethnographer Otto Finsch, who visited the Marshall Islands in 1878 claims that the whalers brought all sorts of new trade goods to the Marshalls and created a market for these items.<sup>liii</sup> As with all contacts, not all intercourses between whalers and Marshallese were peaceful. Far from it. In 1835 the whaler *Awashonks* called in at Namorik, where the shore party was killed by the Marshallese.<sup>liv</sup> When the *Pallas* called at Namorik about a month later, no canoes came off even though the whaler stood off shore for two hours. Instead, the captain "saw them on the beach, armed with clubs and spears."<sup>lv</sup>

A perusal of the available logbooks microfilmed by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau showed that trade certainly occurred.<sup>lvi</sup> Such trade is on record for Mili<sup>lvii</sup>, Nadikdik ('Knox'),<sup>lviii</sup> Ebon,<sup>lix</sup> Ujelang,<sup>lx</sup> Majuro,<sup>lxi</sup> Ujae,<sup>lxii</sup> Namorik,<sup>lxiii</sup> and Jaluit.<sup>lxiv</sup> On occasion the whalers took on board Marshallese and Gilbertese encountered *en route* and transported them to other islands.<sup>lxv</sup> The items traded for were coconuts,<sup>lxvi</sup> chicken,<sup>lxvii</sup> ducks,<sup>lxviii</sup> 'shoats' (?),<sup>lxix</sup> pigs,<sup>lxx</sup> wood,<sup>lxxi</sup> as well as water.<sup>lxxii</sup> Unfortunately, the logbook entries are not sufficiently detailed to show what was traded in return. Most of the entries in the whalers' logbooks are very economic, if not laconic. In addition, we need to realise that the number of logbooks surviving is only a fraction of those originally in existence and thus provide only a snapshot of the actual trading activity.

We need to consider that not only the captain and mates conducted official trade, but that also individual crew members could do so as well. The logbook of the whaler *Palmetto*, for example shows that the captain put up a bounty of 20 pounds of tobacco, one dozen handkerchiefs and \$10 in cash for anyone getting a sperm whale of 15 barrels or more.<sup>lxxiii</sup> With this kind of trade in hand, crew could engage in all sorts of activities when ashore.

The Catholic Pater Sartorius travelled through Micronesia, and stayed on Jaluit in December 1889.<sup>lxxiv</sup> He alludes to some of the early deceit that was carried out by European traders and whalers, which led to Marshallese reactions. He claims that one of the captains sold tarred rope instead of twist tobacco and paid for this deceit with his life.

Finsch mentions that traders were commonly accused of morally subverting the Marshallese who, in Chamisso's mind, had been pure, with bad habits such as alcohol and tobacco.<sup>lxxv</sup> Finsch agrees that traders sold the items, but argues that Chamisso's view of the Marshallese was skewed. Whalers were also known to flout the laws of the Spanish administration. There are well documented cases that whalers sold weapons to the Pohnpeians, even though this was illegal.

One of the early traders in the Marshalls was Captain Ichabod Handy, trading in Micronesia since the 1840s. In 1851 he persuaded the *irooj* of Ailinglaplap to make coconut oil. Tobacco was by then in such high demand, that Handy paid one and a quarter pounds of tobacco at a cost of US\$17 for 3 1/2 gallons of coconut oil worth US\$ 14.00 when landed in Honolulu<sup>lxxvi</sup>

The captain of the USS *Jamestown* visiting Mili Atoll in 1870 commented that the Marshallese were well versed in trading and drove a hard bargain.<sup>lxxvii</sup> We have in hand the logbook of the trading schooner *Malolo*, operating in Micronesia in the late 1860s and trading in conjunction with Ben Pease, then owner of the *Blossom*. Pease operated a number of trading stations in Micronesia. The log of the *Malolo* provides us with some insight into the prices and quantities purchased. In March 1870 the *Malolo* dropped supplies for the trading station on Majuro; the bulk of the trade being 20 boxes and 400 'plugs' (sticks) of tobacco.<sup>lxxviii</sup> The *Malolo* lay at anchor in Mili Lagoon waiting for the return of Captain Ben Pease,<sup>lxxix</sup> and as time went by, the crew ran short of supplies and had to buy food, such as coconuts, breadfruit and fish. For one transaction we have the payment given: 4 pounds of tobacco for 163 flying fish bought for salting.<sup>lxxx</sup> John Mahlmann, captain of the *Malolo*, deplors the fact that they had to buy their food, as the Mili Islanders satisfied their trade needs by selling food rather than by making coconut oil, as envisaged by the traders.

The trading stations seemed to have had substantial amounts of tobacco as trade. Pease's base on Mile was well supplied, for on 7 May 1870 the *Malolo* took 1000 boxes of tobacco from the station's supplies as future trade goods in readiness for departure on an island cruise.<sup>lxxxi</sup>

As the tobacco entered the culture, so did words to describe it. For the most part, the pronunciation of the English word 'tobacco' was carried over, with tobacco becoming a loan word (table 2-2).<sup>lxxxii</sup>

Table 2-2 Terms for tobacco, alcohol, smoking and drinking<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

Tobacco	tabaka	Kubary 1873, p. 46
Tobacco	djebáko	Grösser 1902, p. 112
Tobacco	Tebäke	Lang 1926
rum	rom	Lang 1926

### Tobacco as currency

In many parts of the Pacific tobacco became a trading item and a measure of value. It is easy to understand why. Tobacco was in high demand once the people had become accustomed to its use. It was mainly sold as twist tobacco, which could be broken up into small sticks, with about 26 sticks to the English pound (0.453grams).<sup>lxxxiv</sup>

Dr. Arno Senfft, Secretary of the German administration in Jaluit, wrote in his detailed analysis of the traditional laws in the Marshall Islands that tobacco had been 'currency' in the early days of trade between Europeans and Marshallese, but that

the missionaries had prohibited the use of tobacco. Thus the traders had moved to Chilean and Mexican dollars.<sup>lxxxv</sup>

The early trade goods, according to Otto Finsch, had been

*“especially tobacco (American Twist), weapons, liquor and cotton clothing, later on food items (rice and ships biscuits) were added.”<sup>lxxxvi</sup>*

In his monographic treatment of his South Seas experiences, Finsch dedicated a small section to tobacco. He mentions that soon after introduction it had become an indispensable item. He mentions that despite the strong prohibition by the Protestant mission, everybody, from children to the extremely old, smoked tobacco in clay pipes or rolled in banana leaves as cigarettes. Unlike the situation in Kiribati, and Nauru however, stick tobacco was not used as a means of payment in Finsch’s time (1870s)—the Marshallese already preferred cash.<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Yet in the 1890s tobacco was still the preferred payment on Nauru.<sup>lxxxviii</sup>

In the early days of monetary trade, the Marshallese had problems understanding that the price paid for copra could fluctuate dramatically (depending on the price aid in Hamburg or London), while the costs for goods, such as tobacco stayed the same.<sup>lxxxix</sup>

## ***The arrival of the missionaries***

Smoking, however, was still fairly limited at the time of the arrival of the missionaries. While the early *published* reports by the missionaries based on Ebon make no reference to smoking, the unpublished letters comment on this.<sup>xc</sup>

The early traders encouraged the habit for obvious reasons. The arrival of the missionaries on Ebon coincided with a new attempt at developing a coconut oil industry. An oil press was established by traders acting for the German firm of Hoffschläger and Stapenhorst, then based in Honolulu. The agent(s) landed and paid for coconuts in tobacco, demand for which was growing. The Boston missionary Doane noted that

*“the appetite of the people for this [tobacco] has of late been keenly sharpened ... gradually accumulating all they can.”<sup>xc</sup>*

While the missionaries were active in the south, little had changed in the north. In 1861 the German schooner *Franz* was overpowered by the Marshallese after two days at anchor in the lagoon of Rongerik Atoll.<sup>xcii</sup> The Protestant missionary Benjamin Snow was told of the event by some Ebon people who had gone north and had met with people from Rongerik. According to Snow:

*“[i]t was solely for plunder. And they were greatly disappointed to find that the things they most wanted were not in the vessel, such as **tobacco**, hatchets, knives, axes, etc.”<sup>xciii</sup>*

This incident indicates the real demand for tobacco as a major trade item. It is worth noting that alcohol is not included here.

The Polish ethnographer and naturalist Johan Kubary stayed for a few weeks on Ebon during the year 1871. In his narrative he makes no comment on trade goods. His word list, however, contains the loan word for tobacco.<sup>xciv</sup>

## The 1870s

Thomas Farrell, an Auckland trader established a string of trading stations in the Marshall Islands in 1876. One of his traders was James Lyle Young, whose personal diaries have been made available on microfilm.<sup>xcv</sup> His diaries provide a good insight into the trading practices at the time.

While setting up a station on Arno, Farrell bought the stock of five tons of coconut oil collected by the Sicilian 'George Brown' (Basileo Terranova) at the price of £ 13 10s per ton.<sup>xcvi</sup> Terranova had been trading for 'Bully' Hayes and had held on to the stock for two years hoping for Hayes to return. In the end he switched allegiances and signed up to trade for Farrell.

While trading as a shore-based trader for Farrell on Ebon, Young represented competition to Adolph Capelle and immediately became embroiled in a price war for the limited copra supply of the island. At the time, the price for copra was 1¢ per pound. The *irooj* received a 'cut' of the trade, valued at \$2 per 1000 pounds, effectively resulting in a price of copra to 1¼¢ per pound. When Young commenced trading, the chiefs tried to extract a \$ 3 share, which he refused.<sup>xcvii</sup>

Capelle, who resented Young's association with the missionaries, tried to bully Young and raised the price of copra to 1¼¢ per pound plus the *irooj's* share, effectively raising the price of copra to 1½¢ per pound, promising to raise it further to 1¾¢ if he had to.<sup>xcviii</sup> To sway the chiefs, Capelle's traders raised the *irooj* take to \$2.50 per 1000 pounds.<sup>xcix</sup> The prices rose further, to 2¢ per pound in December 1876<sup>c</sup> and 2½¢ in February 1877.<sup>ci</sup> We are not informed as to eventually won this particular price war.

German businesses were there to stay and did what was necessary to establish and maintain a foothold. Eduard Hershheim is a case in point. In a critical analysis of the economic and political situation of the Pacific in 1886 Cooke commented:

*"The sooner our system of trading abroad is altered, the better; and if we are to do any good in the Pacific we must employ men who know their work and can do it. A German looks before he leaps, but having leaped he remains where he lands until he has got every farthing out of the place and the people. An Englishman leaps without looking, and as soon as he has done his business either goes elsewhere, or remains thinking everything and everybody about him a great bore and acting accordingly.*

*Then again there is another difference. The German is educated not only commercially but diplomatically; he knows the language of the place he is going to and can always speak English, whereas the Englishman may know a smattering of French and German, but is totally ignorant of the commercial or native language of the people among whom he is trying to push his trade."<sup>cii</sup>*



In 1877 Henderson & MacFarlane of Auckland bought at a public auction the land and moveable property of John Farrell. Henderson & MacFarlane's connections with the Marshall Islands go back further than that. In January 1874 the trading ketch *E.A. Williams*, owned by Henderson-MacFarlane was bought by "Bully" Hayes and traded to an *irooj* of Mile.<sup>ciii</sup>

### *Tobacco*

While Young's diaries contain much information on the cost of copra, they are not very enlightening as to the absolute or relative cost of other items. At one point Adolph Capelle, his main rival, reduced the price of his trade goods, which Young quotes: In December 1876 Capelle sold a pound of twist tobacco for \$ 2 and a pound of Cavendish flake tobacco for ¢ 40.<sup>civ</sup>

Most traders were heavy smokers, partly out of habit, partly to promote their wares. In October 1876 James Lyle Young writes in his diary:

*"As I have suffered from dispepsia I resolved to reduce my smoking, (I have been a heavy smoker for the last 6 years) and to smoke only at nights for a months as an experiment."*<sup>cv</sup>

We are not informed as to the outcome of this experiment.

### *Alcohol*

Finsch mentions that in 1878 a bottle of beer cost 2 Marks, while gin was much cheaper. Hence gin was the preferred drink of both the Marshallese and the European traders.<sup>cvi</sup> He makes the point that drunkenness was only very rarely seen, and when it occurred it was usually the chiefs who were drunk.. This is also corroborated by the German trader Franz Hershheim, who operated a trading station on Jaluit.<sup>cvi</sup>

## ***After the treaty of 1878***

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In 1878 Kabua signed a treaty that allowed the Germans to establish a coaling station on Jaluit. The Germans appointed the Jaluit-based trader Franz Hershheim as German consul.<sup>cvi</sup> German trade expanded throughout Micronesia, with Hershheim, the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft and A.Capelle owning trade stores on various Carolinean atolls as well as sending vessel as floating stores.

From about 1878 to 1881 Adolph Capelle also operated a copra agency on Guam, with James Lyle Young as manager (1879-1881). This undertaking was given up for political and economic reasons (loss of several ships) in 1881 and Capelle concentrated his economic activities in the Marshall Islands.<sup>cix</sup>

### Tobacco

According to the German consul for the South Seas, the demand for tobacco in 1881 was much higher on Jaluit than on the other islands, even though the copra production on that atoll, and thus the ability to purchase trade, was less. As Jaluit was the European centre in the Marshalls, this indicates a growing desire for it under European influence.<sup>cx</sup>

Tobacco was a steady source of income for the traders, as it had become increasingly popular once the Marshallese had become accustomed if not addicted to its use. Unlike iron goods and clothing for which there was a limited market once the initial demand had been satisfied, tobacco was a consumable item which caused an addiction and thus ensured a continuous demand.<sup>cx</sup> Hence it is understandable that the traders were not enamoured by the missionary ban on smoking (→ report '*Review and evaluation of Community Attitudes towards Smoking and Alcohol*').<sup>cxii</sup>



Figure 2-1 Flag of the Ralik Islands, created after the treaty of friendship with German. The colours (black-white-red-white-black) reflect the Imperial German colours.

There are differing accounts, for example, when Captain Maxwell toured the southern Marshalls in 1881, a number of trade items were popular, but he does not mention tobacco.<sup>cxiii</sup> O. J. Humphreys found a different scenario on Ujae Atoll

On 3 January 1884 the schooner *Rainier* on its maiden voyage from Philadelphia was wrecked on Ujae Atoll. One of the crew, O.J. Humphrey published a narrative of the events.<sup>cxiv</sup> He noticed the evidence of European trade goods on the atoll, such as a whisky bottle. The limited phrase-list, which Humphrey provides, is topped by “I want a smoke” (“*Igo Nor-tar co-bar-ta*”). Humphrey noted the

extent to which powerful individuals would go to feed their addiction for tobacco when the supply dried up:

*"Tobacco was in great demand by everyone, and when gone the king bought all the clay pipes he could find, giving in return cocoanuts. He would pound the pipes into little pieces and put them in a pipe with some ashes, and have quite a smoke. It did not take long to make pipes scarce, and the men were then obliged to pass the pipe around."*<sup>cxv</sup>

In 1886, after the formal annexation of the Marshall Islands, the German trader Carl Hager compiled a book which sets out the state of knowledge about the Marshall-Islands at the time.<sup>cxvi</sup> Hager states that smoking was wide spread and a habit exercised by small children:

*"The most popular luxury item is tobacco, which is smoked by both sexes from the age of five or six. [They smoke it] all day long, and even at night when they wake up, using short-stemmed clay pipes. One of these can be owned by a whole group of children who use it in turn."*<sup>cxvii</sup>

The early age of smokers must have disturbed German readers. Similarly G. Kurze, when compiling a paper on the state of the Protestant mission on the occasion of the annexation of the Marshall Islands by Germany, mentions that smoking is universal and that children as young as *six or seven* smoke as well.<sup>cxviii</sup> Not surprisingly, then, tobacco formed one of the main trade goods both in the Marshalls<sup>cxix</sup> and Nauru.<sup>cxx</sup>

The German naval physician Dr. Augustin Krämer visited various atolls of the Marshall Islands in 1897/98 and in 1909.<sup>cxxi</sup> His observations on tobacco use are very limited, in keeping with his generally limited observations on other European influences.<sup>cxxii</sup> In his discussion of the Marshall Islands as part of the German South Seas Expedition Series, he comments that tobacco was traditionally unknown but now (1909) smoked by both adults and children, either in pipes or as cigarettes, using Pandanus or banana leaves as wrappers. Only on occasion was tobacco chewed. Krämer comments that the Boston mission forbade its parishioners to use tobacco.<sup>cxxiii</sup>

### *Alcohol*

Alcohol continued to affect the productivity of the population. The trader James Lyle Young, who had developed a good rapport with both the missionaries and the chiefs while a resident trader on Ebon 1876-1879, found *'a liquor mill in full operation here [on Jaluit] run by Old Black Tom and a large assortment of 'beachcombers'*.<sup>cxxiv</sup> To counteract this, James Young drafted a set of regulations:

*"Made draft of Liquor Law for chiefs to sign "Kien in ma dren in Karek", to prevent sale of Liquor to natives and get Lebon + Loja to sign it and also wrote letter to German Consulate demanding Consuls assistance, and served copy on Thomas Tilton. This law is the first ever made by these chiefs affecting foreigners in any way: and is one very much needed as the natives are rapidly becoming demoralised by Liquor. It was with much trouble I got this arranged as some of the liquor selling whites are strongly opposed to it and threaten the chiefs for interfering with their business."*<sup>cxxv</sup>

The German trader Carl Hager comments:

*"The customary drink in the Marshall Islands is gin, which is rarely drunk in excess. If arguments and fights are caused by drunkenness it is usually the chiefs who are involved."*<sup>CXXVI</sup>

Given that the consumption of alcohol by the commoners had been outlawed by the chiefs of the Ralik Chain in 1881, the large imports of alcohol were solely for the benefit of the chiefs and the Europeans.

## ***Inter-atoll relations***

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Traditional communications patterns can explain differential observations on the effects of western influences. While long distance communication occurred, it was not very frequent.<sup>cxxvii</sup> A study of the epidemiology and the distribution of infectious and of sexually transmitted diseases in the late 19th and early 20th century indicates that the southern atolls of both the Ralik and the Ratak chain were in close contact with each other, while an intra-chain north-south traffic was less common

### *Syphilis*

According to local informants, syphilis was unknown in the Marshall islands in the first half of the 19th century. Returning voyagers from Jaluit shipwrecked in Kosrae by about 1845 and 1850 are blamed for its introduction.<sup>cxxviii</sup> Jibe and Lemari are also blamed for the introduction of the harmless but visually disfiguring dermatological ailment of the Samoan ringworm (*Tinea imbricata*) from Kosrae.<sup>cxxix</sup>

The German government physician Dr. Erwin Steinbach discussing the spread of syphilis mentions that it is prevalent in Majuro, Ebon and Jaluit Atolls but occurs only in limited proportions in the northern atoll, which have little communication with the former.<sup>cxxx</sup>

### *Chicken pox and influenza*

In his report on the status of health in the Marshall Islands Steinbach mentions a chickenpox epidemic affecting only Jaluit and Ailinglaplap Atolls, though no fatalities were recorded.<sup>cxxxi</sup> An influenza epidemic broke out in February 1895 and raged in Jaluit, Ebon, Namorik, Majuro, Arno and Mile.<sup>cxxxii</sup>

The northern atolls of the Ralik Chain continued to make the traditional items, such as arrowroot,<sup>cxxxiii</sup> and mats.<sup>cxxxiv</sup> Similarly, the central and northern atolls of the Ratak Chain were major suppliers of traditional items after the southern atolls had moved to a western-oriented economy.<sup>cxxxv</sup> The inhabitants of the northern atolls are described as more healthy and of stronger build than those in the southern atolls, implying that western foods were not as healthy as a traditional diet.<sup>cxxxvi</sup>

In the late 1870s long distance canoe voyages were still practised, but were on the decline. Voyages from Jaluit went to Ebon, Namorik, Majuro, Arno, Ailinglaplap, and rarely, to Mili <sup>cxxxvii</sup>

### Tobacco

The north-south incline affected the use of tobacco. We have in hand an eye-witness account of eight month's stay on the northern atoll of Ailuk Atoll in 1871. Otto Eisenhart, crew member of the ill-fated barque *Coryphaeus*, was shipwrecked on Ailuk. In his narrative he makes many astute observations on the lifestyle of the Marshallese. At no point, however, does he refer to tobacco use.<sup>cxxxviii</sup> At that time, however, tobacco was widely used in Jaluit.

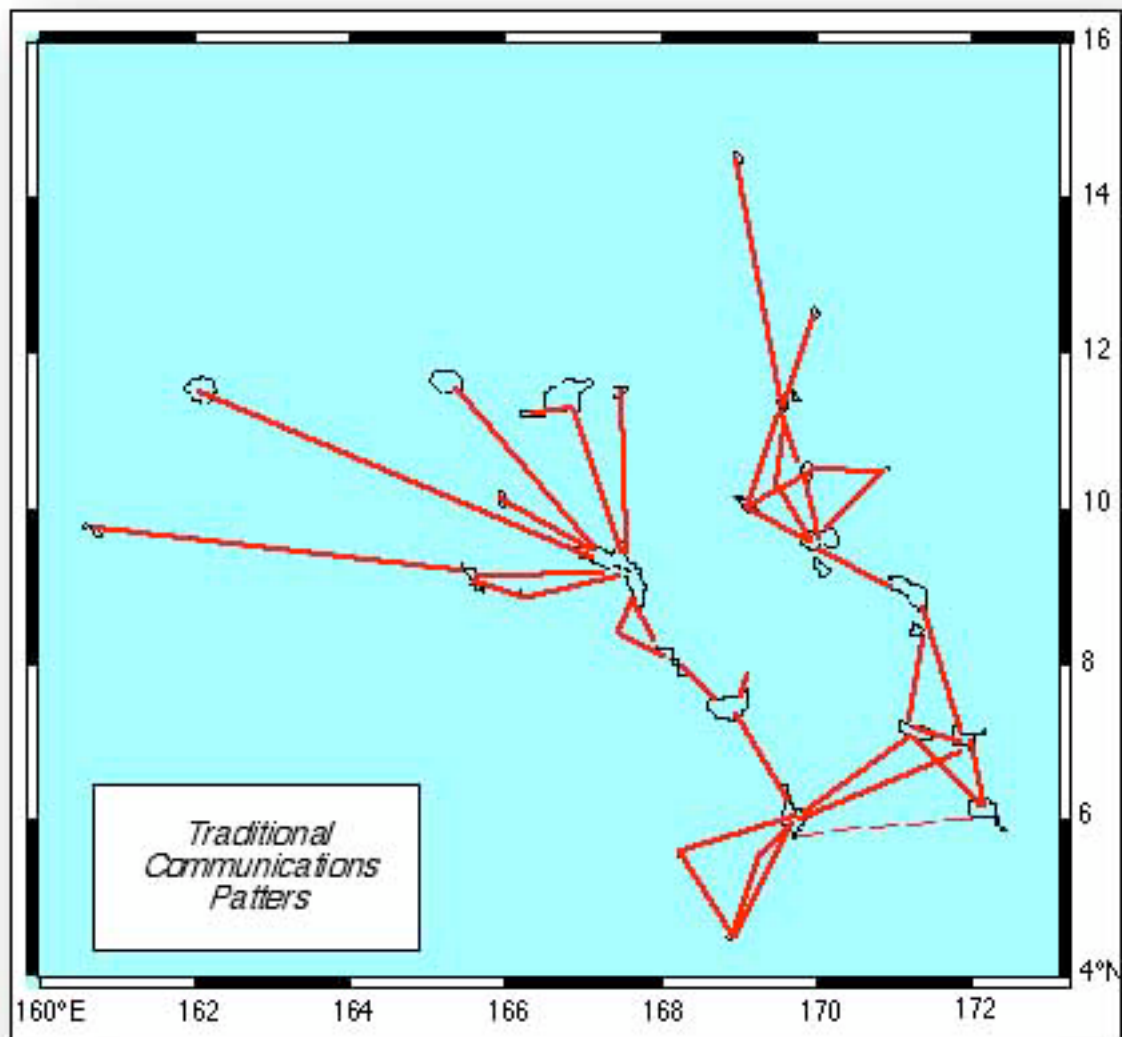


Figure 2-2 Traditional communications patterns in the Marshall Islands

The report by the commander of the German gunboat *Eber*, visiting Enewetak in late 1888, comments that the islanders did not know the use of tobacco, nor did they seem to have any items of European origin.<sup>cxxxix</sup> This observation conforms with the general north-south trend in cultural change (see chapter 1).

## ***Endnotes to Chapter 2***

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# 3

## **Use of Tobacco & Alcohol in 19th Century Pacific Fiction**

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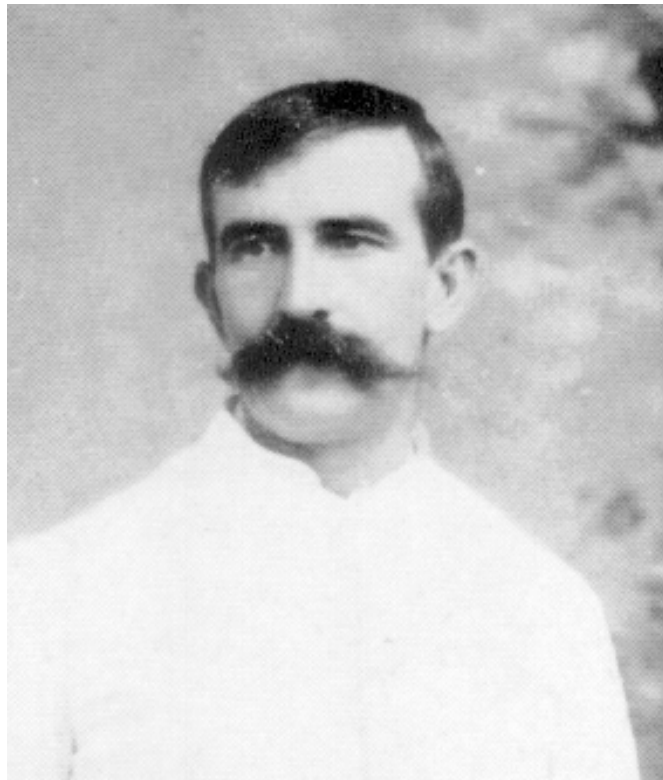
here is only a limited amount of 19th century literature set in the Pacific and only a small proportion of this less was actually written by people who lived there for a considerable period of time. Many famous books, such as '*South Sea Bubbles*' by 'The Earl and the Doctor' and most of Robert Louis Stevenson's books were written from the outside, or by comparatively short-term visitors. There is one exception: the Australian novelist and short story writer Louis Becke. Becke is unequivocally regarded as the best writer to display the life and times of Pacific traders in the second part of the 19th century.<sup>cx1</sup>

### **Louis Becke**

George Lewis ('Louis') Becke (\*18 June 1855 in Port Macquarie, NSW), accompanied his brother Vernon to San Francisco on a trip lasting nineteen months, returning to Australia in July 1871. It seems to have given him a taste for travel. At sixteen he stowed away on the barque *Rotumah* bound for Samoa where he took a job as book keeper in the store of Macfarlane and Williams. While in Apia, Becke met notorious blackbirder, buccaneer, swindler and general hell-raiser "Bully" Hayes. In late 1873 Becke was asked by his employers to sail the ketch *E.A. Williams* to Mili Lagoon in the Marshalls, where the vessel was to be handed to Hayes for onwards sale to a local chief. Becke then sailed with Hayes for three months as supercargo on the *Leonora*. Boxed in between whalers the vessel sank during a typhoon on Kosrae in March 1874. Becke survived the shipwreck, and after altercations with Hayes, found refuge in Leassé. When the British warship H.M.S. *Rosario* arrived in pursuit of Hayes for former misdeeds,

Hayes could evade arrest on a technicality. Becke, among others, was arrested and taken to Brisbane for trial. For lack of evidence and because he had managed to salvage a copy of the power-of-attorney by Macfarlane and Williams, he was acquitted of the charges of piracy. Staying in Queensland, he took part in several gold rushes.<sup>cxli</sup>

In early 1880 Becke took up a position as trader for Tom de Wolf on Nanumanga, in Kiribati, opening his own store in February 1881 on Nukufetau. Becke lost all his belongings in August that year in a shipwreck of the *Orwell* on Beru Island, Kiribati, departing from there in October, hoping to gain employment with Henderson & Macfarlane. Instead, after a short period in Sydney, he worked in New Britain in February 1882 and worked for the German firm of Hensheim & Co. in Majuro later that year. He returned to Australia in 1885. After holding several small jobs, Becke began writing his short stories in 1893.



*Figure 3-1. Louis Becke*

Becke had an aversion towards the Germans, which was largely fuelled by the trading practices of the German trading houses Godeffroy & Sons and its successor, the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft der Südsee zu Hamburg. Both used agents trading on commission on behalf of the company, rather than independent traders. Becke belonged to the latter breed, trading for his own profit, while associated with a trading firm. There are few instances in Becke's stories where Germans are shown in an favourable light, which led to Becke being only once translated into German,<sup>cxlii</sup> and generally shunned by the German Pacific scholars.<sup>cxliii</sup>

Becke's stories depict scenes and images of the time Becke lived in the region, that is the 1870s and 1880s. They do not portray the situation at the time of his publication, as the Australian poet Victor Daley found out when he went to Guadalcanal.<sup>cxliv</sup> While all the places mentioned by Becke are real and while many of the characters of his stories either existed or were fashioned after living people, the placing of the stories is reasonably arbitrary. Thus they provide a picture of life at the time, rather than an accurate history.

## ***Tobacco use in Becke's stories***

As smoking was a habit exercised by many seamen and supercargoes at the time, it is frequently mentioned by Becke. Usually having a yarn and smoking are closely associated, both as foil for the story to unfold<sup>cxlv</sup> and as a setting for relaxation at the end of day.<sup>cxlvi</sup> Most traders tended to smoke and drink, usually clay pipes.<sup>cxlvii</sup>

While self-rolled cigarettes were the main means of smoking by the indigenous or Malay crews,<sup>cxlviii</sup> pipes are the means of smoking preferred by Becke's sailors and supercargoes.<sup>cxlix</sup> Yet for many pipes were a sign of the 'unrefined.' In his story 'Denison gets Another Ship,' Tom Denison, Louis Becke's *alter ego*, is down and out on the Cooktown waterfront. Meeting a friend of his, Tom is invited on board a vessel with the aim of securing him a berth as supercargo. Here this conversation occurs:

*"Say, sling that dirty old pipe overboard, and take one of these cigars. The skipper will be on deck presently, and the sight of it would rile him terrible. He hez his new wife aboard, and she considers pipes ez lowdown."*  
*Tom laughed ..., and flung his clay over the side."<sup>cl</sup>*

Elsewhere too, cigars are associated with the more affluent, such as captains,<sup>cli</sup> wealthy traders,<sup>clii</sup> and the more 'civilised' smokers such as a doctor in 'The Obstinacy of Mrs Tatton,'<sup>cliii</sup> or the American surgeon in 'At a Kava-Drinking.'<sup>cliv</sup>

When Tom Denison leaves "Bully" Hayes' shoreline camp on Kosrae for a more peaceful existence at Leassé on the other side of the island, he has his priorities clearly defined:

*"And though he had no boots, he was well off in more important things—to wit, ten pounds of negro-head tobacco, lots of fishing tackle, a Winchester rifle and plenty of ammunition, a shirt and trousers of dungaree, heaps to eat and drink, and the light heart of a boy. What more could a young fool wish for—in the Northwest Pacific?"<sup>clv</sup>*

Protestant missionaries tended to preach against smoking, a theme well represented in Becke's *oeuvre*,<sup>clvi</sup> together with a general distrust towards the men of the cloth. On Majuro:

*"[t]he natives thought no end of Macpherson, because in his spare time he taught a class in the Mission Church, and neither drank nor smoked."<sup>clvii</sup>*

In Becke's stories both indigenous men and women smoke.<sup>clviii</sup> In one story, 'tis in the Blood,' Becke make the following derogatory, but revealing assessment of Samoan women:

*"The future possessor of the Oppermann body and estate was a pretty girl. Only those who have seen fair young Polynesian half-castes—before they get married, and grow coarse, and drink beer, and smoke like a factory chimney—know how pretty."<sup>clix</sup>*

Islanders often preferred self-rolled cigarettes:

*"The American surgeon offered him a cigar, which he politely declined, and produced from the folds of his lava lava a bundle of banana-leaf cigarettes, filled with strong tobacco. One of these, at a nod from the trader, he lit, and commenced to smoke."<sup>clx</sup>*

and were quite clear about the quality of the trade tobacco on offer:

*"Here ariki vaka (captain) and you tuhi tuhi (supercargo),' said the native, removing from his perforated and pendulous earlobe a little roll of leaf, 'take this letter from the mean one that giveth but a dollar for facing such a galu (surf). Hast plenty tobacco on board, friends of my heart? Api, the surf! Not a canoe crew could the white man get to face it. Is it good twist tobacco, friends, or the flat cakes? Know that I am a man of Nanomea, not one of these dog-eating people here, and a strong swimmer; else the letter had not come."<sup>clxi</sup>*

Tobacco was an acquired habit, initially restricted to the powerful chiefs. In a story set to the Tuamotu, Becke describes a commencing trade thus:

*"Pleased at finding a man who spoke English, the lieutenant told him he had come to buy some turtle and get a boatload of young cocoanuts, and showed him the tobacco and knives intended for payment.*

*The chief's eyes glistened at the tobacco; the others, who did not know its use, turned away in indifference, but eagerly handled the knives."<sup>clxii</sup>*

Chiefs showed off their wealth in tobacco:

*"Tibikwā (The Shark) was a short, squat fellow ... Each ear-lobe a load—one had two or three sticks of tobacco, twined in and about the distended circle of flesh, and the other a clasp-knife and wooden pipe. Stripped to the waist, he showed his muscular outlines to perfection, and he sat down unasked in the bold, selfconfident, half-defiant manner natural to the Line Islander"<sup>clxiii</sup>*

Tobacco was also a preferred trade item in other areas of the Pacific.<sup>clxiv</sup> In the haunting story of 'Dr Ludwig Schwalbe, South Sea Savant' set in a village the eastern shore of New Ireland, Becke depicts a German anthropologist trading tobacco and other goods for human skulls destined, cleaned or 'pickled', for anthropological collections. One of those providing custom was the 'native religious teacher's wife', who:

*"at once reverted to the customs of her people as soon as she returned to them, and casting aside the straw hat, blue blouse, and red petticoat of Christianity promptly bartered them to an admiring relative for a stick of the doctor's tobacco, a liking for which was her ruling passion, and which could*

*only be gratified by selling vegetables, fruit, or specimens to the white man.*<sup>clxv</sup>

Likewise, tobacco had entered into the local economy:

*"The man, whose mop of fuzzy hair could never be approached by the Paderewski heads of this world, let his eyes wander alternately from the doctor to the object of his affections sitting beside him. To him the price he obtained meant much, for the father of his fiancé was a hardhearted old fellow, who insisted upon one hundred sticks of tobacco over and above the usual dowry of ten hogs. The woman, too, watched the scientist with timid, anxious eyes. Two of the skulls belonged to defunct female members of her family; of the other three, two had belonged to men who had fallen to her lover's spear a year before, and the third was that of a despised nephew.*"<sup>clxvi</sup>

By far the most dramatic use of tobacco is shown in Becke's early story 'A Truly Great Man,' set in Tuvalu. One day the trader Sam Probyn is landed by a Sydney whaler on one of the atolls with "a savage-eyed, fierce-looking native wife, ... and a child about five years old."<sup>clxvii</sup> When asked by the chief Tahori why he had left his previous trading station, Probyn openly admitted that he had killed a man. On the question why the vessel that had dropped him off had left before trade could be carried out, Probyn pointed out a fierce looking man. The chief picked up one of Probyn's muskets and handed it to him indicating that Probyn should shoot the 'offending' individual. Upon verifying that the chief had authority over the wretched individual and that the person had no family, Probyn shot him cleanly through the chest.

Having proven his honesty by admitting to having killed someone on a previous island, his marksmanship and his ruthlessness, Probyn is accepted. In compensation for the loss of his fierce bondsman, Probyn pays the chief two hundred sticks of tobacco:

*"See, Tahori. I am a just man to thee because thou art a just man to me. Here is the price of him that thou gavest to me.*

*Tahori rose and beckoned to the people to return. 'Look at this man. He is a great man. His heart groweth from his loins upwards to his throat. Bring food to my house quickly, that he and his wife and child may eat. And tomorrow shall every man cut wood for the house, a house that shall be in length six fathoms, and four in width. Such men as he come from the gods.'*"<sup>clxviii</sup>

### *Alcohol*

Compared to smoking, the consumption of alcohol is less frequently displayed, partially because drunkenness was frowned upon and because the image of drunken traders in paradise did not sit well with the reading public. Skippers on board ship, however, were proverbial drinkers, and correspondingly Becke depicts some of them in this vein.<sup>clxix</sup> Many traders 'took to the bottle,' especially if faced with seemingly irresolvable problems.<sup>clxx</sup> Occasionally gin is used as a reward.<sup>clxxi</sup>

## ***Endnotes to the Chapter***

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# 4 | *Review and Evaluation*



ontact between the Europeans and the Marshallese was slow and sporadic from the first encounters in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the establishment of a mission on Ebon and the settlement of traders on that and other atolls in the 1850s, the frequency of contact increased, particularly from 1875 onwards. Contact was particularly strong with the more populous and more fertile southern atolls. From the limited accounts available which discuss the nature and extent of trade, tobacco was one of the major trade items sought after by the Marshallese.

For traders tobacco was the ideal trade item, as it was consumable and thus in need of continuous replacement. Its use also created a desire for more. The addictive component of tobacco smoking is well illustrated by the Marshallese chief who during a time of supply shortages bought up old tobacco pipes and smoked crushed pipe clay mixed with ashes.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the station network of the European traders gradually extended to the northern atolls, which because of reduced contact were more traditional in their cultural expressions from clothing and hair-style to religion and the consumption of trade goods. As late as 1888 the inhabitants of Enwetak Atoll were unaware of the use of tobacco.

The review of Pacific fiction showed that tobacco was an item of everyday use by skippers, supercargoes and traders who set an example that encouraged Micronesians to smoke. A number of stories illustrate the desire for tobacco held by Micronesians.



## ***Endnotes to the Chapter***

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<sup>i</sup>. Dirk H.R. Spennemann (1999) *An annotated compendium of German language sources on the German protectorate of the Marshall Islands Vol 1: Bibliography* Charles Sturt University, The Johnstone Centre, Albury, NSW. The sources contained in that compilation are: Anon. 1861. "Bemerkungen über den Atoll von Ebon in Mikronesien." *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* NS 11:216-218.—Anon. 1865. "Von den Marshall Inseln im Stillen Ocean." *Globus* 7:351.—Anon. 1885. "Beiträge zu den Segelanweisungen über die Ellice-, Gilbert-, Marshall-, und Carolinen-Inseln." *Annalen der Hydrographie und Maritimen Meteorologie* 13:208-212.—Anon. 1889. "Vorbereitung zur Einrichtung des Schwurgerichtes und Gerichtes letzter Instanz." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 2:333.—Anon. 1890. "Bemerkungen zu einer von dem Sekretär Eggert im Auftrage des stellvertretenden Kaiserl. Kommissars für die Marschallinseln aufgenommenen Kartenskizze der Insel Nauru (Pleasant Island)." *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 3:135-136.—Anon. 1890. "Der erste Jahresbericht der Jaluit Gesellschaft." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 3:219.—Anon. 1890. "Schutzgebiet der Marshall Inseln. Persönliche Steuern." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 3:208.—Anon. 1890. *Katalog der ehemaligen Dr. Knappe'schen Sammlung und der vereinigten privaten ethnographischen Sammlung im Herrenhause des großen Hospitals zu Erfurt*. Erfurt: n. p.—Anon. 1894. "Denkschrift betreffend das Schutzgebiet der Marshall-Inseln." *Sammlung sämtlicher Drucksachen des Reichstages. 9. Legislatur-Periode II. Session 1893/1894*, Vol. 2 (53-189). Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld. Pp.18-20.—Anon. 1895. "Bemerkungen über die Inseln Jabur (Jalut- oder Bonham Inseln) und Ujae, Marschall-Inseln." *Annalen der Hydrographie und Maritimen Meteorologie* 19:46.—Anon. 1895. "Bemerkungen über einige der Marschall-Inseln." *Annalen der Hydrographie und Maritimen Meteorologie* 19:45-46.—Anon. 1895. "Das Schutzgebiet der Marshall- Inseln (Berichtsjahr 1893/94)." *Sammlung sämtlicher Drucksachen des Reichstages. 9. Legislatur-Periode III. Session 1894/95*, Vol. 1 (1-93). Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld. Pp.253-261.—Anon. 1895. "Ebon. Das reichste Atoll der Marshall Inseln." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 8:77.—Anon. 1895. "Jahresbericht der Jaluit Gesellschaft für 1894." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 8:236.—Anon. 1895. "Reise des Kaiserlichen Kommissars der Marshall-Inseln nach der Insel Nauru (früher Pleasant Island)." *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 6:10-13.—Anon. 1895. "Resultate der meteorologischen Beobachtungen in Jaluit im Jahre 1894." *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 8:226-230.—Anon. 1896. "Australien und Ozeanien." *Geographische Zeitschrift* 2:351-352.—Anon. 1896. "Denkschrift betreffend das Schutzgebiet der Marshall-Inseln (1. April 1894 bis 31. März 1895)." *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages. 9. Legislatur-Periode IV. Session 1895/97*, Vol. 2. Anlageband (88-286). Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld. Pp.935-938.—Anon. 1896. "Postagentur Jaluit." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 9:374.—Anon. 1896. "Resultate der meteorologischen Beobachtungen in Jaluit im Jahre 1895." *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 9:256-260.—Anon. 1897. "Verzeichnis der nunmehr endgültig berechneten geographischen Positionen der astronomischen Beobachtungspfeiler in der Südsee, sowie der sich hieran anschliessenden, trigonometrischen Punkte in den bis jetzt vermessenen Gebieten." *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 10:191-192.—Anon. 1898. "Die Marshall-Inseln im Jahre 1897." *Der Tropenpflanzer* 2:127.—Anon. 1898. "Jahresbericht über das Schutzgebiet der Marshall-Inseln (1. April 1896 bis 31. März 1897)." *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages. 9. Legislatur-Periode V. Session 1897/98*, Vol. 2. Anlageband (70-166). Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld. Pp.982-984.—Anon. 1899. "Denkschrift über die Entwicklung der

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<sup>ii</sup>. Ward, R. Gerard (1967) *American Activities in the Central Pacific 1790-1870: A history, geography and ethnology pertaining to American involvement in the Pacific taken from contemporary newspapers, etc.* 8 volumes. Ridgewood: The Gregg Press.

<sup>iii</sup>. For the completion of this report, the following microfilms were consulted: PMB , 740, 741, 746, 750, 751, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, , 763, 764, 767A.

<sup>iv</sup>. Assessed were the following logbooks (identification of suitable logbooks based on : Robert Langdon [1979] *Thar she went: an interim index to the Pacific Ports and islands visited by American whalers and traders in the 19th century being a supplement to "American whalers and traders in the Pacific: A guide to Microfilms"*. Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University): William H. Whitfield, master of the *Newark*. logbook 1835 to 1839. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 837.—Clayton P. Holcomb, master of the *Chandler Price*, logbook 1857 to 1862. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 834.—[Ichabod] Handley, master of the *Belle*, logbook from 1851 to 1857. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 860.—Horace P. Smith , master of the *California* . logbook 1 December 1888 to 16 November 1899 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 252.—Andrew S. Sarvent , master of the *Navy* . logbook 10 August 1859 to 17 April 1864 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 281 and 300.—Christopher Bentley *Ann and Hope* . logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540.—Benjamin Page *Ann and Hope* . logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540.—? , master of the *Lagoda* . logbook 1 July 1850 to @@ Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 343 and 344.—Horace B. Montross , master of the *William Baylies* . logbook 20 September 1886 to 21 June 1895 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 898.—John R. Stivers , master of the

*Cicero*. logbook 12 October 1860 to 26 May 1865 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 231.—Edward C. Austin, master of the *Young Eagle*, logbook from 30 July 1840 to 22 July 1843. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 676.—Richard D. Wood, master of the *Superior*, logbook from 1857 to 1860. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818.—Roland T. Packard, master of the *Triton*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818.—Edward Nichols, master of the *Alfred Gibbs*, logbook from 2 November 1854 to 22 July 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 572.—Caswell, master of the *Alpha*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 372.—Charles T. Terry, master of the *Herald*, logbook 11 November 1847 to 4 February 1854. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 867.—William H. Hardwick, master of the *Lion*, logbook 19 May 1854 to 4 December 1863. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 875.—George H. Soule, master of the whaler *St. George*, logbook 29 October 1865 to 10 September 1869. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 890.—James G. Sinclair, master of the whaler *Stephania*, logbook 22 June 1864 to 23 April 1866. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 221.—Thomas Scullen, master of the whaler *Cape Horn Pigeon*, logbook 7 December 1841 to 5 November 1892. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 289.—Manuel Ens, master of the whaling barque *Java*, logbook 26 August 1864 to 24 July 1867. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 871.—Thomas Campbell, master of the whaling barque *Helen Snow*, logbook from 1867 to 1871. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 332.—James R. Hunting, master of the whaler *General Scott*, logbook from 1858 to 1862. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 809.—William W. Manchester, master of the whaler *Palmetto*, logbook from 3 June 1880 to 3 April 1883. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 250.—Nelson Waldron, master of the whaler *Bowditch*, logbook from 118 September 1849 to 22 April 1852. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 836.—Edward Kelley, master of the whaler *Lucretia*, logbook from 11 October 1881 to 3 November 1885. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 254.—Charles C. Ray, master of the whaler *Norman*, logbook from 16 October 1855 to 23 August 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 380.—C.P. Gifford, master of the whaler *Fleetwing*, logbook from 28 December 1885 to 1886. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 327.—Sturt, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 5 February 1868 to 10 April 1868. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—G. A. Bridges, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 10 April 1868 to 16 December 1868. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—J.P. Eldridge, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 16 December 1868 to 5 September 1869. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—John Mahlmann, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 5 September 1869 to 20 August 1870. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—Woodward, master of the whaler *Olympia*, logbook from 19 August 1847 to 21 June 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 274.—Sullivan, master of the whaler *James Arnold*, logbook from 1853 to 1856. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 334.—Cornell, master of the whaler *Martha*, logbook from 20 May 1854 to 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 347.—Henry Archer, master of the whaler *Pallas*, logbook from 1 September 1834 to 3 October 1836. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 206.—Prince Coffin, master of the whaler *Awashonks*, logbook from 4 January 1834 to 21 May 1836. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 854.—Christopher Cook, master of the whaler *Good Return*, logbook from 9 December 1847 to 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 256.—William H. Hadwick, master of the whaler *Lion*, logbook from 19 May 1854 to 4 December 1863. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 875.—Handay, master of the whaler *Belle*, logbook from 10

September 1852 to 1857 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 860.— Andrew D. Colcord, master of the missionary vessel *Morning Star*. PMB 290.

v. For the completion of this report, the following microfilms and items were consulted: Louis Becke (1893) 'A Truly Great Man: A Mid-Pacific Sketch' *The Bulletin* vol. 13, n° 722, 16 December, p. 22.—*id.* (1894) 'A basket of bread-fruit.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'Brantley of Vahitahi.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'Long Charley's Good Little Wife.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'Pallou's Tāloi. A Memory of the Paumotus.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'The Chilean Bluejacket. A tale of Easter Island' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'The fate of the *Alida*.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'The methodical Mr. Burr of Majuro.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'The revenge of Macy O'Shea. A story of the Marquesas.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) 'tis in the blood'.' contained in *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1894) *By Reef and Palm*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1895) 'The Obstinacy of Mrs Tatton' *The Bulletin*. vol. 16, n° 806, 27 July 1895, p. 23-24.—*id.* (1895) *His Native Wife*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'A Boating Party of Two' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'A Dead Loss.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'A Question of Precedence' *Daily Chronicle* (London) 25 December 1896.—*id.* (1896) 'A Tale of a Mask.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'An Honour to the Service' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'At a Kava-Drinking' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'Auriki Reef.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'Baldwin's Loisé.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'Hickson : a Half Caste.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'Mrs. Liardet. a South Sea Trading Episode.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'Ninia.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'The Best Asset in a Fool's Estate.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'The Cook of the "Spreetoo Santoo" A Study in Beachcombers.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'The Feast at Pentecost.' contained in *The Ebbing of the Tide. South Sea Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1896) 'The Strange White Woman of Majuro.' *Daily Chronicle* (London) 16 April 1896.—*id.* (1897) 'Chesters Cross'. Both contained in: Louis Becke (1897) *Pacific Tales*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1897) 'Dr Ludwig Schwalbe, South Sea Savant'. *The Idler* (London) vol. 11, n° 2, March 1897, p. 204-214.—*id.* (1897) *Pacific Tales*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1898) 'A Point of Theology on Majuro' *The Australian Town and Country Journal*. vol. 56, n° 1468, 26 March 1898, p. 11.—*id.* (1898) 'Leassé' contained in *Rodman the boatsteerer, and other stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1898) *Rodman the boatsteerer, and other stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1901) 'Denison gets Another Ship'. contained in *By Rock and Pool: On an Austral Shore and Other Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1901). 'Reo, the Fisherman'. contained in *Yorke the Adventurer and Other Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1902) 'Hope' contained in *The*

*Jalasco Brig*. London: Anthony Treherne & Co. Ltd.—*id.* (1904) Alvord's luck.' contained in *Under Tropic Skies*. London : George Bell and Sons.—*id.* (1913) *Bully Hayes: buccaneer, and other stories*. Sydney: NSW Bookstall.—*id.* (1897) 'Collier the blackbirder' contained in *Pacific Tales*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.—*id.* (1902) "Südsee-Geschichten." (Translated into German by Hans Lindner). Aegir Series n° 4. Stuttgart: R.Lutz.

<sup>vi</sup>. For the completion of this report, the following microfilms and items were consulted: A Grove Day (1966) *Louis Becke*. New York: Twayne Publishers Inc.—Adalbert von Chamisso (1910). *Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffschen Entdeckungs-expedition in den Jahren 1815-1818 auf der Brig Rurik, Capitän Otto v. Kotzebue* Zweiter Theil: Bemerkungen und Ansichten. Chamisso's Werke Vierter Theil. Berlin: G.Hempel. —Adalbert von Chamisso (1986). *A voyage around the world with the Romanzov exploring expedition in the years 1815-1818 in the Brig Rurick, Captain Otto von Kotzebue*. (translated by H.Kratz). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.—C. Kinloch Cooke (1886) Europe in the Pacific. *The Nineteenth Century* vol. , November 1886, pp. 742-764.—Captain William H. Maxwell to Commodore Wislon, 'Report on the Gilberts, Ellis and Other Islands. HMS Emerald, 24 July 1881. Records of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Secretariat 1875-1914, Series 4, 128/81. Wood p. 76 —*Charlotte*, Ship's Log Public Records Office Admiralty 51/4375. Australian Joint Copying Project reel 5777.—Crittenden, Victor (1999). *A First Fleet Letter to a Gentleman in Edinburgh*. By Edward Home. Canberra: Mulini Press.—Daley, Victor J. (1903) 'Wrecked Illusions: Dedicated to Louis Becke' *The Bulletin* vol. 24, n° 1231, 17 September, p. 35.—Dorothy E. Richard (1957) *The United States Naval Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Vol. 1: The Wartime Military Government Period 1942-1945*. Washington, DC: U.S. General Printing Office.—Robert Langdon (1978). *American whalers and traders in the Pacific: A guide to Microfilms*. Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.—*id.* (1979) *Thar she went: an interim index to the Pacific Ports and islands visited by American whalers and traders in the 19th century being a supplement to "American whalers and traders in the Pacific: A guide to Microfilms"*. Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.—Dirk H.R. Spennemann (1992) Makmök. Notes on the occurrence, utilisation, and importance of Polynesian Arrowroot (*Tacca leontopetaloides*) in the Marshall Islands. Republic of the Marshall Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs / Ministry of Social Services Occasional Paper N° 1. Majuro, Marshall Islands: Ministries of Internal Affairs and Social Services.—Dirk H.R. Spennemann (1999) George Lewis Becke. <http://LouisBecke.homestead.com>.—Francis X. Hezel (1979) *First taint of civilization. A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in pre-colonial days 1521–1885*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.—Francis X. Hezel (1979). *Foreign ships in Micronesia. A compendium of ship contacts with the Caroline and the Marshall Islands 1521–1885*. Saipan [Northern Mariana Islands]: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. .—Dirk H.R. Spennemann (2000) The First Descriptions of the Southern Marshalls. The 1788 accounts of Thomas Gilbert, Edward Home & John Marshall. Guam, Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, in prep. for a critical discussion of the observations made during the voyage. '—Dirk H.R. Spennemann (2000) *The use of Tobacco, Alcohol and Opium during the German Colonial Period in the Marshall Islands: Review and evaluation of Community Attitudes towards Smoking and Alcohol* . Johnstone Centre Report N° . Albury, NSW: Charles Sturt University.—Edouard A. Stackpole (1963) Introduction to William Lay



and Cyrus M. Hussey (1963) *Narrative on board the Mutiny on board the whakeship Globe*. New York: Corinth Books.—Erika Suchan-Galow (1940) Die deutsche Wirtschaftstätigkeit in der Südsee vor der ersten Besitzergreifung. *Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* XIV. Hamburg : Christians Druckere und Verlag. P. 88.—F. Escholtz (1821) Description of foreign butterflies. in: Otto von Kotzebue, *A voyage of discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits. for the purpose of exploring a north-east passage undertaken in the years 1815-1818, at the expense of His Highness the Chancellor of the Empire, Count Romanzoff in the ship Rurick, under the command of the Lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue*. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. Vol. III, pp. 365-402.—F. Eschscholtz (1830). Review of the zoological collection. in: Otto von Kotzebue, *A new voyage around the world in the years 1823-1826*. 2. vols. London:H.Colbourn & R.Bentley. Volume II, pp 325-362.—Francis X. Hezel (1979). *Foreign ships in Micronesia. A compendium of ship contacts with the Caroline and the Marshall Islands 1521–1885*. Saipan [Northern Mariana Islands]: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.—Gilbert, Thomas (1789). *Voyage from New South Wales to Canton in the Year 1788, with Views of the Islands discovered By Thomas Gilbert Commander of the Charlotte*. London: Printed by George Stafford, for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.—Hiram Paulding (1831). *Journal of a Cruise of the the United States schooner 'Dolphin' among the islands of the Pacific Ocean*. New York: Carvill.—Home, Edward (1789). Some accounts of New Holland and the discovery of a chain of islands in the Pacific Ocean; in a letter from Edward Home, carpenter, to a gentleman in Edinburgh. *Edinburgh Magazine Jand Literay Miscellany* July 1789, pp 3-6.—James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21 & PMB #22—James Wilson(1799). *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean 1796-1798 performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff*. London: T.Chapman.—Jenny Olin re Trip of the Morning Star, 4 October 1899 (FM 941).—Maude, Harold E. (1967) 'Louis Becke: The traders' historian' *Journal of Pacific History* vol. 2, pp. 225-227.—O.J. Humphrey (1887). *The wreck of the Rainier. A sailor's narrative*. Portland: W.H.Stevens & Co.—Oskar Spate (1983). *The Pacific since Magellan Vol II: Monopolists and Freebooters*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.—Otto von Kotzebue (1821). *A voyage of discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits. for the purpose of exploring a north-east passage undertaken in the years 1815-1818, at the expense of His Highness the Chancellor of the Empire, Count Romanzoff in the ship Rurick, under the command of the Lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue*. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. vol I p. 172 ff.—Otto von Kotzebue (1830). *A new voyage around the world in the years 1823-1826*. 2. vols. London:H.Colbourn & R.Bentley. vol. I, pp. 291-341.—Peter Biskup (1974) *The New Guinea Memoirs of Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton*. Pacific History Series N° 7. Canberra : Australian National University Press. P. 68.—Phillip, Arthur (1789a). *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an account of the establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island; compiled from authentic papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments. To which are added the Journals of Lieutenants Shortland, Watts, Ball, and Captain Marshall; with an account of their new discoveries*. London: printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly. —Scarborough, Ship's Log Public Records Office Admiralty file 51/4376. Australian Joint Copying Project reel 5777.—William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey (1963) *Narrative on board the Mutiny on board the whakeship Globe*. New York: Corinth Books.

- vii Peace Corps Volunteer Cultural Reference Sheet, Mile Island, Mile Atoll. Filled out by Erik E. Sandstrom. Undated (mid 1970s?) Ms. on file, Alele Museum.
- viii In about 1860 the people from Majuro Atoll set out with 50 canoes to conquer Kapingamarangi Atoll in the Eastern Caroline Islands. Upon arrival the Majuro people killed all original inhabitants and left a colonisation group behind. On the way back the canoe fleet ran into a severe storm and was dispersed. Some of the canoes ended up in Pohnpei, while others were driven to Nukuoro Atoll. There again, the Majuro people killed all original inhabitants and installed themselves as the owners of Nukuoro. Krämer and Nevermann who report this story, question its accuracy on linguistic grounds, as the Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi people speak a Polynesian outlier dialect and not Ralik-Ratak (Krämer, Augustin and Nevermann, Hans. 1938. *Ralik-Ratak [Marshall Inseln]*. Hamburg: Friedrichsen & de Gruyter).
- ix i-Kiribati were especially often found adrift. European vessels putting shipwrecked i-Kiribati ashore in the Marshall Islands also contributed to the number of foreigners used as slaves. In 1858 the Brig *Mercury* of New Bedford put ashore 13 i-Kiribati at Ebon, two of whom were killed shortly afterwards (Francis X. Hezel [1979]. *Foreign ships in Micronesia. A compendium of ship contacts with the Caroline and the Marshall Islands 1521–1885*. Saipan [Northern Mariana Islands]: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. p. 122); see other events of 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 139; American Ship *Northern Light*). —Two Catholic missionaries together with fourteen i-Kiribati left Apaiang Atoll en route to Marakei in early September 1942. The canoe eventually wrecked on Mili Atoll in the Marshalls (Dorothy E. Richard [1957] *The United States Naval Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Vol. 1: The Wartime Military Government Period 1942-1945*. Washington, DC: U.S. General Printing Office, p. 401).
- x Lamotrekese on Arno: Adalbert von Chamisso (1986). *A voyage around the world with the Romanzov exploring expedition in the years 1815-1818 in the Brig Rurick, Captain Otto von Kotzebue*. (translated by H. Kratz). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 264.
- xi Twenty castways from Yap arrived at Aur at the end of the 18th century (Chamisso 1986:264) and at Kili in 1868 (?). See Hezel, '*Foreign ships in Micronesia...*' (*op. cit.*) p. 127; entry for 1868, *Bark Syringia*.
- xii Later on that term was used for Rongelap and Rongerik. A 1799 map of the Pacific shows two sets of Piscadore Islands in the Marshalls: James Wilson (1799). *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean 1796-1798 performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff*. London: T. Chapman.
- xiii Compiled from Oscar H.K. Spate (1979) *The Pacific since Magellan Vol. I: The Spanish Lake*. Canberra: Australian National University Press. —*id.* (1983). *The Pacific since Magellan Vol II: Monopolists and Freebooters*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- xiv Data after Hezel, '*Foreign ships in Micronesia ...*' (*op. cit.*) .—Robert Langdon (1978). *American whalers and traders in the Pacific: A guide to Microfilms*. Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University. — *id.* (1979) *Thar she went: an interim index to the Pacific Ports and islands visited by American whalers and traders in the 19th century being a supplement to "American whalers and traders in the Pacific: A guide to Microfilms"*. Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University. —Carl Hager

(1886). *Die Marshall Inseln in Erd- und Völkerkunde, Handel und Mission. Mit einem Anhang: die Gilbert Inseln*. Leipzig: Georg Lingke.

xv. After much preparation and many delays, the ‘First Fleet’ departed England on 13 May 1787 and arrived at Botany Bay (north of Sydney Harbour) on 19 and 20 January 1788. Four days later the fleet moved to the more suitable Port Jackson (now Sydney Harbour), where the British colony was formally established on 26 January 1788. Captain Arthur Phillip, in charge of the whole operation, was under strict orders to release the three ships destined for China as soon as possible, so that they could commence their charters (*Historic Records of Australia Series 1, volume 1, p.11*).

After unloading their human ‘cargo’ on 28 January 1788, the vessels remained in Sydney Harbour until accommodation for both convicts and stores had been erected. The *Charlotte* and *Scarborough* were formally discharged from government service on 24 and 26 March 1788 respectively (*Charlotte*, Ship’s Log Public Records Office Admiralty 51/4375.—*Scarborough*, Ship’s Log Public Records Office Admiralty file 51/4376. The logs have been microfilmed by the Australian Joint Copying Project and are contained on reel 5777).

The *Charlotte* and *Scarborough* departed in early May, after they had been searched for stow-away convicts (The *Charlotte* sailed on May 6<sup>th</sup>, but was held up and searched. She finally departed on May 8<sup>th</sup>.—The *Scarborough* sailed on May 7<sup>th</sup> and also departed on the 8<sup>th</sup>). Despite this, two sailors of HMS *Sirius* managed to get away hidden on board the *Charlotte*.

xvi. It was this China to London charter that allowed the successful bidder for the transportation contract, William Richards, jr, to undercut his competitors. At the same time the East India Company—already worried about the extension of the Southern whale fishery and its possible implications on the company’s trading monopoly—was concerned that the convict transport voyages, without a paying backload, might give rise to homegrown competition in the lucrative East India trade. By chartering the vessels themselves, this could be minimised.—This contract was the first contract for a cargo of tea to be transported on vessels other than those owned by the East India Company.

xvii. The vessels went separately to Lord Howe Island where they met up on 17 May 1788 and encountered the government vessel *Supply* and the *Lady Penrhyn*. Despite orders to the contrary, the *Charlotte* and the *Scarborough* stopped over to allow the crew to catch birds and pick vegetables for the voyage to Canton. While the trip to Port Jackson had been well planned, little consideration had been given to the onwards voyage. Most of the normal provisions had been sold for profit at Port Jackson and the captains ran the risk of exposing their crew to malnutrition. The lack of fresh food conjured up the spectre of a scurvy epidemic. It was assumed that fresh food could be had *en route*. The vessels aimed at stocking up with turtles at Lord Howe Island, but could procure none. They found wild birds (and caught three-days worth of supplies for the crews), fowl, fish as well as coconuts and ‘cabbage,’ the latter necessary as one of the remedies against scurvy. As the supply at Lord Howe was not as plentiful as anticipated, it was now hoped that they would be able to acquire more fresh provisions further *en route*. In that they were only partly successful. By the time the *Scarborough* arrived at Wampoe, near Macao in China, John Marshall had lost his brother, his boatswain, and a sailor due to scurvy. While both the *Scarborough* and the *Charlotte* had surgeons on board *en route* to Australia, none were present *en route* to China and the masters themselves had to administer medication where possible.

- xviii. Gilbert, Thomas (1789). *Voyage from New South Wales to Canton in the Year 1788, with Views of the Islands discovered By Thomas Gilbert Commander of the Charlotte*. London: Printed by George Stafford, for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.
- xix. Anthony K. Canavagh (1989). The return of the First Fleet Ships. *The Great Circle* 11(2), 1-16.
- xx. Dirk H.R. Spennemann (2000) *The First Descriptions of the Southern Marshalls. The 1788 accounts of Thomas Gilbert, Edward Home & John Marshall*. Guam, Richard Flores Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam, in prep.
- xxi. Gilbert, 'Voyage from New South Wales ...' (*op. cit.*).—Phillip, Arthur (1789a). *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an account of the establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island; compiled from authentic papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments. To which are added the Journals of Lieutenants Shortland, Watts, Ball, and Captain Marshall; with an account of their new discoveries*. London: printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly. —Home, Edward (1789). Some accounts of New Holland and the discovery of a chain of islands in the Pacific Ocean; in a letter from Edward Home, carpenter, to a gentleman in Edinburgh. *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* July 1789, pp 3-6.—Crittenden, Victor (1999). *A First Fleet Letter to a Gentleman in Edinburgh*. By Edward Home. Canberra: Mulini Press.—See Spennemann, 'The First Descriptions ...' (*op. cit.*). for a critical discussion of the observations made during the voyage.
- xxii. Richards 1986.
- xxiii. See Hezel, *Foreign ships in Micronesia...*' (*op. cit.*), pp. 114-115.—The *Royal Admiral* was a vessel of the Fourth Fleet. Organisation of this shipment of convicts was handed to the East India Company in response to the criticism of the appalling casualties the contractors of the Second and Third Fleets had incurred.
- xxiv. Amos Warren, mate of the *Ann and Hope*. logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540. Entries for 19 and 20 December 1799.
- xxv. Christopher Bentley, *Ann and Hope*, logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540.—Amos Warren, mate of the *Ann and Hope*, logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540. Entry for 27 December 1799.
- xxvi. Christopher Bentley, *Ann and Hope*, logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540.—Amos Warren, mate of the *Ann and Hope*, logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540. Entry for 28 December 1799
- xxvii. Christopher Bentley, *Ann and Hope*, logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540.—Amos Warren, mate of the *Ann and Hope*, logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540. Entry for 31 December 1799.
- xxviii. Chamisso, 'A voyage around the world ...' (*op. cit.*), p. 267.
- xxix. Chamisso, 'A voyage around the world ...' (*op. cit.*), p. 278.
- xxx. War between Mile and Majuro is reported for 1863, with three dead on the Mile side; German trading schooner *Maria*, owned by Hoffschlaeger & Stapenhorst, stood off Mile in mid-January 1863 and learned of the war (Hezel 1979:124).
- xxxi. Otto von Kotzebue (1821). *A voyage of discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits for the purpose of exploring a north-east passage undertaken in the years 1815-1818*,

at the expense of His Highness the Chancellor of the Empire, Count Romanzoff in the ship *Rurick*, under the command of the Lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. vol I p. 172 ff.

xxxii. Kotzebue, 'A voyage of discovery...' (*op. cit.*) vol II, pp 1-153.

xxxiii. 30 October to 15 November 1817. Kotzebue, 'A voyage of discovery...' (*op. cit.*) vol II, pp 1-153.

xxxiv. Adalbert von Chamisso (1910). *Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffschen Entdeckungs-expedition in den Jahren 1815-1818 auf der Brig Rurik, Capitän Otto v. Kotzebue* Zweiter Theil: Bemerkungen und Ansichten. Chamisso's Werke Vierter Theil. Berlin: G.Hempel. — Adalbert von Chamisso (1986). *A yoyage around the world with the Romanzov exploring expedition in the years 1815-1818 in the Brig Rurick, Captain Otto von Kotzebue*. (translated by H.Kratz). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

xxxv. Louis Choris (1822) *Voyage pittoresque autour de monde, avec des Potraits de Suvages d'Amerique, d'Asie, d'Afrique, et des Isles du Grand Ocean; des Paysages, des Vues Maritimes, et Plusieurs Objects d'Histoire Naturelles; Accompagne de Descriptions par M. Le Baron Cuvier, et M.A. de Chamisso, et d'observations sure les crans humains par M. le Docteur Gall*. Paris: Imprimerie de Firman Didot.

xxxvi. F. Escholtz (1821) Description of foreign butterflies. in: Otto von Kotzebue, *A voyage of discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits. for the purpose of exploring a north-east passage undertaken in the years 1815-1818, at the expense of His Highness the Chancellor of the Empire, Count Romanzoff in the ship Rurick, under the command of the Lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue*. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. Vol. III, pp. 365-402.

xxxvii. Chamisso, 'A voyage around the world ...' (*op. cit.*) p. 81.

xxxviii. Chamisso, 'A voyage around the world ...' (*op. cit.*) p. 305. Chamisso mentions that in 1817 tobacco was grown in Hawaii.

xxxix. Chamisso, 'A voyage around the world ...' (*op. cit.*) p. 81.

xl. Chamisso, 'A voyage around the world ...' (*op. cit.*) p. 212.

xli. Franz Sonnenschein (1889). "Bemerkungen über die Wotje- oder Rumanzoff-Inseln (Radak-Archipel) und den Besuch des 'Rurik', Kapt. O. von Kotzebue, daselbst im Jahre 1817." *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 2, pp. 26-29.— Also reprinted in 'Koloniales.' *Norddeutsche allgemeine Zeitung* 18 February 1889. Clipping contained in Auswärtiges Amt, Kolonial-Abteilung. Allgemeine Verhältnisse auf den Marshall Inseln. 1 November 1885 – April 1886. Series. Verwaltungssachen 12h. file n° RKA 3072. National Library of Australia, Canberra. Mfm n° . G18265.—The German text uses the term 'Genussartiklel' which has no direct translation into English. It is used to collectively describe items which 'give pleasure when consumed' such as tobacco and tobacco products, chocolate, confectionery, and to a certain degree alcoholic beverages.

xlii. Hiram Paulding (1831). *Journal of a Cruise of the the United States schooner 'Dolphin' among the islands of the Pacific Ocean*. New York: Carvill.

xliii. William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey (1963) *Narrative on board the Mutiny on board the whaleship Globe*. New York: Corinth Books, p. 25.

xliv. Edouard A. Stackpole (1963) Introduction to William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey (1963) *Narrative on board the Mutiny on board the whakeship Globe*. New York: Corinth Books.

- xlv. Otto von Kotzebue (1830) *A new voyage around the world in the years 1823-1826*. 2. vols. London: H.Colbourn & R.Bentley. vol. I, pp. 291-341.
- xlvi. Kotzebue, 'A new voyage...' (*op. cit.*) vol II, pp. 270-278.
- xlvii. F. Eschscholtz (1830) Review of the zoological collection. in: Otto von Kotzebue, *A new voyage around the world in the years 1823-1826*. 2. vols. London: H.Colbourn & R.Bentley. Volume II, pp 325-362.
- xlviii. Such as the whaleship *Lion* of Providence, Captain Nichols, which in November or December 1851 put into Mili, where locals attempted to take the ship, but failed. On the next stop, at Namorik, another attempt by Marshallese to take the ship failed as well. On the next atoll, Ebon, the crew learned of the murder of a white trader put ashore on a previous visit. Aggravated, as they were, the Captain of the *Lion* opened fire on the natives who had come out in their canoes and reportedly killed about 70 (Francis X. Hezel [1979]. *Foreign ships in Micronesia. A compendium of ship contacts with the Caroline and the Marshall Islands 1521-1885*. Saipan [Northern Mariana Islands]: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. p. 120)
- xlix. An example from Mili may exemplify the matter: the French whaler *Angelina* of Havre, Captain Edouard Hyenne, put into Mili on December 12, 1844. Three canoes came out and the Mili people presented the officers and crew of the *Angelina* with gifts. Convinced the reception was friendly, the Captain and the mate went ashore with two boat crews, never to be seen again. Having coasted Mili for a week in search of the missing men, the *Angelina* returned to Honolulu (Hezel, *Foreign ships in Micronesia...* (*op. cit.*), p. 119) On August 17 of the following year, the French Naval corvette *Rhin*, Captain Bernard, appeared at Mili, in search for the missing men of the *Angelina*. Having searched for a week without finding a trace, the *Rhin* departed on August 22, 1845. Three months later, on November 18, 1845, the French naval corvette *Heroine*, Admiral Hamelin, put in at Mili, again in order to search for the missing crew members. Again, the vessel left without success a week later (Hezel 1979:119) For the French, however, the matter was far from settled: three years later, on January 8, 1848, the French naval corvette *Ariane*, Captain Dutallis, put into Mili and attempted to take the chief (the *irooj* ?) prisoner. The boatcrew, however, got mobbed and departed without success (*Ibid.* 120) After this incident, it appears, the French let the matter rest.
- <sup>1</sup> Alexander Spoehr (1949) Majuro, a village of the Marshall Islands. *Fieldiana: Anthropology* 39. Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, p. 34.
- <sup>ii</sup> Augustin Krämer and Hans Nevermann 1938. *Ralik-Ratak [Marshall Inseln]*. Hamburg: Friedrichsen & de Gruyter, p. 9.
- <sup>iii</sup> Anon. 1885. "Beiträge zu den Segelanweisungen über die Ellice-, Gilbert-, Marshall-, und Carolinen-Inseln." *Annalen der Hydrographie und Maritimen Meteorologie* 13:208-212. — Paul Langhans (1898). "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Schutzgebiete." *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 44:275-276.
- <sup>liii</sup>. Otto Finsch (1881) "Kriegsführung auf den Marschall-Inseln." *Die Gartenlaube* 29, pp. 700-703.
- <sup>liv</sup>. Prince Coffin, master of the whaler *Awashonks*, logbook from 4 January 1834 to 21 May 1836. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 854. Entry for 6 October 1835.
- <sup>lv</sup>. Henry Archer, master of the whaler *Pallas*, logbook from 1 September 1834 to 3 October 1836. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 206, entry for 12 November 1835.
- <sup>lvi</sup>. Assessed were the following logbooks (identification of suitable logbooks based on: Robert Langdon [1978]. *American whalers and traders in the Pacific: A guide to Microfilms*.

Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.— *id.* [1979] *Thar she went: an interim index to the Pacific Ports and islands visited by American whalers and traders in the 19th century being a supplement to "American whalers and traders in the Pacific: A guide to Microfilms"*. Canberra: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University). William H. Whitfield, master of the *Newark*. logbook 1835 to 1839. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 837.—Clayton P. Holcomb, master of the *Chandler Price*, logbook 1857 to 1862. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 834.—[Ichabod] Handley, master of the *Belle*, logbook from 1851 to 1857. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 860.—Edward C. Austin, master of the *Young Eagle*, logbook from 30 July 1840 to 22 July 1843. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 676.—Richard D. Wood, master of the *Superior*, logbook from 1857 to 1860. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818.—Roland T. Packard, master of the *Triton*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818.—Edward Nichols, master of the *Alfred Gibbs*, logbook from 2 November 1854 to 22 July 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 572.—Caswell, master of the *Alpha*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 372.—Charles T. Terry, master of the *Herald*, logbook 11 November 1847 to 4 February 1854. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 867.—William H. Hardwick, master of the *Lion*, logbook 19 May 1854 to 4 December 1863. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 875.—George H. Soule, master of the whaler *St. George*, logbook 29 October 1865 to 10 September 1869. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 890.—James G. Sinclair, master of the whaler *Stephania*, logbook 22 June 1864 to 23 April 1866. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 221.—Thomas Scullen, master of the whaler *Cape Horn Pigeon*, logbook 7 December 1841 to 5 November 1892. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 289.—Manuel Enos, master of the whaling barque *Java*, logbook 26 August 1864 to 24 July 1867. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 871.—Thomas Campbell, master of the whaling barque *Helen Snow*, logbook from 1867 to 1871. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 332.—James R. Hunting, master of the whaler *General Scott*, logbook from 1858 to 1862. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 809.—William W. Manchester, master of the whaler *Palmetto*, logbook from 3 June 1880 to 3 April 1883. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 250.—Nelson Waldron, master of the whaler *Bowditch*, logbook from 118 September 1849 to 22 April 1852. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 836.—Edward Kelley, master of the whaler *Lucretia*, logbook from 11 October 1881 to 3 November 1885. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 254.—Charles C. Ray, master of the whaler *Norman*, logbook from 16 October 1855 to 23 August 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 380.—C.P. Gifford, master of the whaler *Fleetwing*, logbook from 28 December 1885 to 1886. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 327.—Sturt, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 5 February 1868 to 10 April 1868. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—G. A. Bridges, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 10 April 1868 to 16 December 1868. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—J.P. Eldridge, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 16 December 1868 to 5 September 1869. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—John Mahlmann, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 5 September 1869 to 20 August 1870. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219.—Woodward, master of the whaler *Olympia*, logbook from 19 August 1847 to 21 June 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 274.—Sullivan, master of the whaler *James Arnold*, logbook from 1853 to 1856. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 334.—Cornell,

master of the whaler *Martha*, logbook from 20 May 1854 to 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 347.—Henry Archer, master of the whaler *Pallas*, logbook from 1 September 1834 to 3 October 1836. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 206.—Prince Coffin, master of the whaler *Awashonks*, logbook from 4 January 1834 to 21 May 1836. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 854.—Christopher Cook, master of the whaler *Good Return*, logbook from 9 December 1847 to 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 256.—William H. Hadwick, master of the whaler *Lion*, logbook from 19 May 1854 to 4 December 1863. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 875.—Handay, master of the whaler *Belle*, logbook from 10 September 1852 to 1857 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 860.—Horace P. Smith, master of the *California*, logbook (kept by his wife) 1 December 1888 to 16 November 1899 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 252.—Andrew S. Sarvent, master of the *Navy*. logbook 10 August 1859 to 17 April 1864 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 281 and 300.—Christopher Bentley *Ann and Hope*, logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540.—Benjamin Page *Ann and Hope*.a logbook 8 August 1799 to 14 August 1780 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 540.—?, master of the *Lagoda*, logbook 1 July 1850 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 343 and 344.—Horace B. Montross, master of the *William Baylies*. logbook 20 September 1886 to 21 June 1895 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 898.—John R. Stivers, master of the *Cicero*. logbook 12 October 1860 to 26 May 1865 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 231.—Andrew D. Colcord, master of the missionary vessel *Morning Star*. PMB 290.

lvii. [Ichabod] Handley, master of the *Belle*, logbook from 1851 to 1857. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 860. Entry for: 16 July 1853.—James G. Sinclair, master of the whaler *Stephania*, logbook 22 June 1864 to 23 April 186. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 221. Entry for 6 January 1868.—Thomas Campbell, master of the whaling barque *Helen Snow*, logbook from 1867 to 1871. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 332. Entry for 18 December 1868.—Edward Kelley, master of the whaler *Lucretia*, logbook from 11 October 1881 to 3 November 1885. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 254. Entry for 15 January 1884

lviii. Edward Kelley, master of the whaler *Lucretia*, logbook from 11 October 1881 to 3 November 1885. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 254. Entry for 15 January 1884.—C.P. Gifford, master of the whaler *Fleetwing*, logbook from 28 December 1885 to 1886. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 327. Entry for 30 December 1885.

lix. William H. Whitfield, master of the *Newark*. logbook 1835 to 1839. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 837. Entry for: 25 April 1837.—[Ichabod] Handley, master of the *Belle*, logbook from 1851 to 1857. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 860. Entry for: 30 November 1854; 24 September 1855.—Roland T. Packard, master of the *Triton*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818. Entry for 24 August 1863.—Edward Nichols, master of the *Alfred Gibbs*, logbook from 2 November 1854 to 22 July 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 572. Entry for: 3 October 1856.—Clayton P. Holcomb, master of the *Chandler Price*, logbook 1857 to 1862. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 834. Entry for: 26 December 1857.—James G. Sinclair, master of the whaler *Stephania*, logbook 22 June 1864 to 23 April 186. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 221. Entry for 9 January 1868.

lx. Christopher Cook, master of the whaler *Good Return*, logbook from 9 December 1847 to 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 256. Entries for 24-26 March



1850.—George H. Soule, master of the whaler *St. George*, logbook 29 October 1865 to 10 September 1869. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 890. Entry for 9 February 1868.

lxi. Woodward, master of the whaler *Olympia*, logbook from 19 August 1847 to 21 June 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 274, Entry for 9 September 1850.

lxii. John R. Stivers, master of the *Cicero*, logbook 12 October 1860 to 26 May 1865 Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 231.

lxiii. Cornell, master of the whaler *Martha*, logbook from 20 May 1854 to 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 347. Entries for 5-6 October 1856.—Thomas Campbell, master of the whaling barque *Helen Snow*, logbook from 1867 to 1871. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 332. Entries for 24 December 1868.

lxiv. James R. Hunting, master of the whaler *General Scott*, logbook from 1858 to 1862. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 809. Entry for 23 November 1859.—C.P.Gifford, master of the whaler *Fleetwing*, logbook from 28 December 1885 to 1886. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 327. Entry for 30 December 1885.

lxv. [Ichabod] Handley, master of the *Belle*, logbook from 1851 to 1857. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 860. Entries for 29 November 1854; 3 December 1854 and 15 September 1855; 22 September 1855 (pick up 23 Marshallese out of 6 or 7 canoes and set the canoes adrift);

lxvi. Roland T. Packard, master of the *Triton*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818. Entry for 24 August 1863.—William H. Whitfield, master of the *Newark*. logbook 1835 to 1839. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 837. Entry for 25 April 1837.—Christopher Cook, master of the whaler *Good Return*, logbook from 9 December 1847 to 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 256. Entry for 25 March 1850 (loaded about 500 coconuts on Ujelang).—Woodward, master of the whaler *Olympia*, logbook from 19 August 1847 to 21 June 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 274, Entry for 9 September 1850.—James G. Sinclair, master of the whaler *Stephania*, logbook 22 June 1864 to 23 April 186. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 221. Entry for 6 January 1868.

lxvii. Thomas Campbell, master of the whaling barque *Helen Snow*, logbook from 1867 to 1871. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 332. Entries for 18 and 24 December 1868.—Edward Kelley, master of the whaler *Lucretia*, logbook from 11 October 1881 to 3 November 1885. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 254. Entry for 15 January 1884.

lxviii. Thomas Campbell, master of the whaling barque *Helen Snow*, logbook from 1867 to 1871. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 332. Entry for 24 December 1868.

lxix. Christopher Cook, master of the whaler *Good Return*, logbook from 9 December 1847 to 1851. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 256. Entry for 25 March 1850. Loaded 20 'shoats.'

lxx. Roland T. Packard, master of the *Triton*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818. Entry for 24 August 1863.—William H. Whitfield, master of the *Newark*. logbook 1835 to 1839. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 837. Entry for 25 April 1837.

lxxi. Cornell, master of the whaler *Martha*, logbook from 20 May 1854 to 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 347. Entries for 5-6 October 1856.

lxxii. Roland T. Packard, master of the *Triton*, logbook from 1860 to 1865. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 818. Entry for 25 August 1863.—Cornell, master of the

- whaler *Martha*, logbook from 20 May 1854 to 1858. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 347. Entries for 5-6 October 1856.
- lxxiii. William W. Manchester, master of the whaler *Palmetto*, logbook from 3 June 1880 to 3 April 1883. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 250. Entry for 15 September 1881.
- lxxiv. Schneider, E. (1891) "Tagebuchblätter von Jaluit." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 4, pp. 30-34.; 46-48; 58-61; 75-77.
- lxxv. Otto Finsch, "Kriegsführung ..." (*op. cit.*)
- lxxvi. *The Friend* 20 April 1859. — Pierson Journal 20 August 1851 (FM 925)
- lxxvii. 'Arrival of the U.S. ship Jamestown'. *The Friend* (Honolulu) 1 September 1870. See Ward, R. Gerard (1967) *American Activities in the Central Pacific 1790-1870: A history, geography and ethnology pertaining to American involvement in the Pacific taken from contemporary newspapers, etc.* 8 volumes. Ridgewood: The Gregg Press vol. VI, 529-513.
- lxxviii. John Mahlmann, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 5 September 1869 to 20 August 1870. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219. Entry for 6 March 1870. The other trade items were 1 dozen files, six Chinese umbrellas and one whale spade.
- lxxix. Pease was not to return from his trip to Samoa. At Apia he took on board "Bully" Hayes, then on the run from the British Consul in Samoa. Pease disappeared between Samoa and the Marshalls, presumably murdered.
- lxxx. John Mahlmann, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 5 September 1869 to 20 August 1870. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219. Entry for 8 April 1870.
- lxxxii. John Mahlmann, master of the trading schooner *Malolo*, logbook from 5 September 1869 to 20 August 1870. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilm # 219. Entry for 7 May 1870.
- lxxxiii. On;y few of the 19th century and early 20th century dictionaries of the Marshallese language contain loan words. Most are confined to purely Marshallese words. For an early source on English loanword in Marshallese see: Karl Lang (1926) "Die englischen Lehnwörter in der Marshall-Sprache." *Folia ethnoglossica* 2, pp. 1-3.
- lxxxiiii. Johann Kubary. (1873) "Die Ebon-Gruppe im Marshall's Archipel." *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 2, pp. 33-47. — Hermann Grösser (1902) *Wörterbuch der Marschall-Sprache nach hinterlassenen Papieren des verstorbenen Stabsarztes Dr. Erwin Steinbach (von 1891 bis 1894 Regierungsarzt in Jaluit, Marshall-Inseln)* Hamburg: L. Friedrichsen. — Erdland's dictionary does not contain such words: Augustin Erdland (1906) *Wörterbuch und Grammatik der Marshallsprache nebst ethnographischen Erläuterungen und kurzen Sprachübungen*, Archiv zum Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen, 4, Berlin: Georg Reimer. — Nor does: Franz Hensheim (1880) *Beitrag zur Sprache der Marschall Inseln*. Leipzig: F.Thiel. — Early word list by William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey (1963) *Narrative on board the Mutiny on board the whakeship Globe*. New York: Corinth Books.
- lxxxv. Peter Biskup (1974) *The New Guinea Memoirs of Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton*. Pacific History Series N° 7. Canberra: Australian National University Press. P. 68.
- lxxxvi. Arno Senfft (1903) "Die Marshall Insulaner." In: S.M. Steinmetz (ed.), *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien. Beantwortung des Fragebogens der Internationalen Vereinigung für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft und Volkswirtschaftslehre zu Berlin*. Berlin: Julius Springer. Pp.425-455.
- lxxxvii. Otto Finsch (1893) *Ethnographische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee. Beschreibender Katalog einer Sammlung im K.K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum in Wien*. Wien: Alfred Höldner. P. 124.

- lxxxvii. Otto Finsch, "Ethnographische Erfahrungen..." (*op. cit.*) p. 144.—See also Kaiserlicher Kommissar to Auswärtiges Amt, Kolonial-Abteilung 16 June 1886 Contained in RKA Auswärtiges Amt, Kolonial-Abteilung. Allgemeine Verhältnisse auf den Marshall Inseln. May 1886 – August 1889. Series. Verwaltungssachen 12h. file n° RKA 3073. National Library of Australia, Canberra. Mfm n° . G18265.
- lxxxviii. Jenny Olin re Trip of the Morning Star, 4 October 1899 (FM 941)
- lxxxix. Carl Hager *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- xc. Pierson, voyage on *Morning Star* 12 August 1851 (FM 925); Pierson to Anderson 23 March 1859 (FM 924)
- xc. Doane to Anderson, February 1859. (FM 924)
- xcii. 'Massacre of the crew of the Hamburg schr. "Franz", at Marshall Islands.' *The Friend* (Honolulu), October 1864, p. 77.
- xciii. *ibid.* Emphasis mine.
- xciv. Johann Kubary. (1873) "Die Ebon-Gruppe im Marshall's Archipel." *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 2, pp. 33-47.
- xcv. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21 & PMB #22.
- xcvi. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21. Entry for 30 June 1876.
- xcvii. James Lyle Young, Private Diary, PMB #21. Entry for 3 August 1876; 21 August 1876; 13 March 1877.
- xcviii. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21. Entry for 21 August 1876.
- xcix. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21. Entry for 22 November 1876.
- c. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21. Entry for 12 December 1876.
- ci. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21, eantry for 13 March 1877.
- cii. C. Kinloch Cooke (1886) Europe in the Pacific. *The Nineteenth Century*, November 1886, pp. 742-764.
- ciii. Hezel, *Foreign ships in Micronesia...* (*op. cit.*), p. 132.
- civ. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21. Entry for 12 December 1876.
- cv. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21. Entry for 2 October 1876.
- cv. Otto Finsch, "Kriegsführung ..." (*op. cit.*)
- cvii. Franz Hensheim (1880) *Beitrag zur Sprache der Marschall Inseln*. Leipzig: F.Thiel. P. 39.
- cviii. Erika Suchan-Galow (1940) Die deutche Wirtschaftstätigkeit in der Südsee vor der ersten Besitzergreifung. *Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* XIV. Hamburg: Christians Druckere und Verlag. P. 103.
- cix. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #21. Entry for 25 March 1881.
- cx. Suchan-Galow (*op. cit.*) p. 88.
- cxi. Suchan-Galow (*op. cit.*) p. 88.
- cxii. See Dirk H.R. Spennemann (2000) *The use of Tobacco, Alcohol and Opium during the German Colonial Period in the Marshall Islands: Review and evaluation of Community Attitudes towards Smoking and Alcohol*. Johnstone Centre Report N° 143 Albury, NSW: Charles Sturt University.
- cxiii. Captain William H. Maxwell to Commodore Wilson, 'Report on the Gilberts, Ellis and Other Islands.' HMS Emerald, 24 July 1881. Records of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Secretariat 1875-1914, Series 4, 128/81.
- cxiv. O.J. Humphrey (1887) *The wreck of the Rainier. A sailor's narrative*. Portland: W.H.Stevens & Co.

- cxv. Humphrey, (*op. cit.*) p. 98.
- cxvi. Carl Hager (1886) *Die Marshall Inseln in Erd- und Völkerkunde, Handel und Mission. Mit einem Anhang: die Gilbert Inseln*. Leipzig: Georg Lingke.
- cxvii. Carl Hager (*op. cit.*), p. 79.
- cxviii. G. Kurze (1887) "Mikronesien und die Mission daselbst (Die Marshall Inseln und ihre Bevölkerung)". *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift. Monatshefte für geschichtliche und theoretische Missionskunde* 14, pp. 64-80; 123-128. Reference: p. 126.
- cxix. Carl Hager *op. cit.*, p. 120.
- cxx. Franz Hershheim (1903) "Nauru, eine gehobene Koralleninsel der Marshall-Gruppe." *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg* 19:211-215.—See also K. E. Kretschmar (1913) *Nauru. Festschrift zum 2ten Oktober 1913*. Nauru: Evangelic Mission Printery, p. 40.
- cxxi. Augustin Krämer (1906) *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa. Meine zweite Südseereise (1897-1899) zum Studium der Atolle und ihrer Bewohner*. Stuttgart: Schweizerbartsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.—Augustin Krämer and Hans Nevermann (1938) *Ralik-Ratak (Marshall Inseln)* [Ralik-Ratak (Marshall Islands)]. Hamburg: Friedrichsen & de Gruyter.
- cxxii. Krämer and Nevermann (*op. cit.*) p. 143.
- cxxiii. Krämer and Nevermann (*op. cit.*) p. 143.
- cxxiv. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #22.. Entry for 29 April 1880.
- cxxv. James Lyle Young, Private Diary PMB #22.. Entry for 29 April 1880.
- cxxvi. Carl Hager *op. cit.*, p. 79.
- cxxvii. Otto Eisenhardt observed for Ailuk: "They have intercourse only with the inhabitants of another of the Marshall Groups, an island approximately 150 sea miles distant. They visit this group only once a year. For that occasion they wait for good weather. The whole population goes along, only the very aged remaining behind with one chief (Eisenhardt [*op. cit.*]).
- cxxviii. Erwin Steinbach (1893) "Aus dem Schutzgebiet der Marshall-Inseln. Bericht über die Gesundheitsverhältnisse des Schutzgebietes der Marshall-Inseln in der Zeit von Januar 1892 bis März 1893." *Mittheilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 6:306-313
- cxxix. Erdland 1914
- cxxx. Steinbach (*op. cit.*).
- cxxxi. Steinbach (*op. cit.*).—During a similar epidemic on the same islands in 1887, however, a great number of people had died according to local informants (Hershheim, Franz. 1887. "Die Marshall-Inseln." *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg* 3 (1885–1886):297–308, p. 302.
- cxxxii. Anonymous 1897.
- cxxxiii. Hershheim, (*op. cit.*)..—For a detailed discuson on arrowroot see also: Dirk H.R. Spennemann (1992) Makmōk. Notes on the occurrence, utilisation, and importance of Polynesian Arrowroot (*Tacca leontopetaloides*) in the Marshall Islands. Republic of the Marshall Islands Ministry of Internal Affairs / Ministry of Social Services Occasional Paper N° 1. Majuro, Marshall Islands: Ministries of Internal Affairs and Social Services.
- cxxxiv. Hershheim (*op. cit.*).
- cxxxv. Arrowroot: Krämer & Nevermann (*op.cit.*) , p. 137.
- cxxxvi. M. Prager, (1886) *Reisen durch die Inselwelt der Südsee*. Kiel: Carl Janssen.

- cxxxvii. Otto Finsch (1887) "Aus unserem neuesten Schutzgebiet. Kanubau und Kanufahrten der Marshall-Insulaner." *Westermanns Monatshefte* 31, p. 497.
- cxxxviii. Otto Eisenhart (1880) "Acht Monate unter den Eingeborenen auf Ailu (Marshall-Gruppe)" *Aus allen Welttheilen* 19:207–208; 223–226; 250–252.
- cxxxix. Captain Knorr, Kommandant SMS *Eber*, to Reichskanzler von Bismarck, dated Jaluit 30 Oktober 1888. Contained in RKA 3072.
- cxl. Maude, Harold E. (1967) 'Louis Becke: The traders' historian' *Journal of Pacific History* vol. 2, pp. 225-227.
- cxli. A Grove Day (1966) *Louis Becke*. New York: Twayne Publishers Inc..—Dirk H.R. Spennemann (1999) George Lewis Becke. <http://LouisBecke.homestead.com>.
- cxlii. Louis Becke. (1902) "*Südsee-Geschichten*." (Translated into German by Hans Lindner). Aegir Series n° 4. Stuttgart: R.Lutz.—This is his collection 'By Reef and Palm.'
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