NUKUHIVA IN 1819
FROM THE UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF A SWEDISH TRAVELER

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Introduction

The 1819 voyage undertaken by the American captain Arent Schuyler de Peyster (a man of Dutch descent), across the Pacific from Valparaiso to Calcutta, while commanding the British brigantine *Rebecca*, has received scant attention in the published literature of exploration. Only three short notices record the event: the first in Sharp's *Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (p. 195), the second in Maude's *Of Islands and Men* (p. 115), and the third in Chamber and Munro's article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (vol. 89:2, p. 181). Yet De Peyster's name for the islands he discovered, Ellice's Group (after the ship's owner), eventually became the accepted one for the present independent nation of Tuvalu.

The only detailed account of De Peyster's voyage is contained in the unpublished journal of his passenger, the Swedish military officer Major Johan Adam Graaner. Born in 1782, Graaner entered the Swedish Navy at the age of sixteen and served most of the next ten years in the Baltic fleet, particularly distinguishing himself during the 1808-1809 war against Russia. In 1810 he transferred to the army and saw action on the continent during the Napoleonic wars. He resigned from the army in 1815 with the rank of major to make what he himself described as a "study visit" to the La Plata provinces in South America. His reports on commercial and political matters so impressed the Swedish government that it entrusted him in 1817 with an official mission to negotiate commercial treaties with the newly independent republics of Argentina and Chile. It was after the completion of this task that Graaner decided to return home, via the Pacific and Indian oceans, on the British vessel *Rebecca* which left Valparaiso on 28 March 1819.

Tahuata in the Marquesas was sighted on 25 April, and two days later the ship anchored in the only good harbor in the group: Taiohae at Nukuhiva. The first man on board was an American, George Ross, who had been active at Taiohae in the sandalwood trade for six years and remained

there until 1822. He is described as an agent for the American merchant house Wilcox of Philadelphia, which had a branch office in Canton. Canton was the principal port of entry into China where a huge demand for sandalwood existed at that time. Ross later served as mate on Peter Dillon's ship *St. Patrick* during the momentous voyage to the Santa Cruz islands in 1826, which resulted in the solving of the La Pérouse mystery.

Graaner immediately struck up a friendship with Ross whom he describes as a man without much education, but possessing "a good, sound, natural understanding" and speaking fluent Marquesan. During the six days the *Rebecca* remained at Taiohae, Graaner literally pumped Ross of so much information that it takes up a full sixty-two pages of his journal. After having transferred to another British ship in Calcutta, Graaner, who had been ill for some time, died at sea before the ship reached Cape Town. His journal, which was handed over to the Swedish minister in London, is preserved in the Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm. Only the portion describing De Peyster's discoveries in Tuvalu (Funafuti and Nukufetau) has previously been published, in Swedish, by the historian Axel Paulin in *Forum Navale* (vol. 8, Stockholm, 1947).

A check of Graaner's Marquesan entries against other contemporary accounts and scholarly studies reveals only a few minor mistakes and inaccuracies. As a professional naval officer, it is hardly surprising that Graaner is particularly competent when it comes to describing the construction of Marquesan canoes and the physical charms of the Marquesan women. In addition to being an exact observer and faithful recorder, Graaner has a happy knack for the right phrase and the appropriate metaphor which makes the people come alive. All notes were made on the spot in a great hurry and are therefore somewhat rambling and occasionally repetitive. But whatever they lack in elegance they make up for in vividness and freshness of feeling.

However, the main interest of Graaner's journal lies not so much in his descriptions of native customs per se--he is undeniably walking over trodden ground here--but rather in the overall picture he conveys of the degree of acculturation reached in the Marquesas at this precise date, when the sandalwood trade was near its end. If we supplement Ross's and Graaner's information with data culled from the published journal of the French captain Camille de Roquefeuil who, during a trading voyage around the world, called at Nukuhiva from 23 December to 28 February 1818, we can obtain a reasonably complete picture.

The Marquesan portion of the journal which follows in unabridged form is here translated for the first time from the original Swedish manuscript by Professor Peter Malekin. A former lecturer in English at the

University of Uppsala, Sweden, he is presently teaching at the University of Durham, U.K. I also wish to thank Mr. Rolf Du Rietz, Uppsala, and Dr. Bengt Danielsson, Papehue, Tahiti, for advice and help with the preparation of this introduction and the accompanying footnotes. In order to avoid unnecessary confusion, I have adopted modern spelling of all place names.

Nukuhiva, the Marquesas Islands, 27 April 1819

Anchored in Taiohae Harbor, or as it is usually called, Port Anna Maria, on the south coast of Nukuhiva, at approximately 9 A.M. The harbor is excellent, and I will subsequently give a detailed description of it, together with soundings, etc., as soon as I have time to undertake investigations. For the time being, I will only concern myself with the most remarkable of the things I have seen. Just before anchoring we saw natives moving about on the beach bringing out a canoe. A man in European clothes, with long trousers, a jacket, and a Chile hat, was giving them orders, which aroused our curiosity, The canoe drew nearer with this man in the stern and five paddlers. Before letting him on board I asked in Spanish what his nationality was, for he looked rather like a Spaniard or a Creole. Since he did not understand my question, I put it again in English and asked him if he was an Englishman. Thereupon he replied in good English, saying that he was American. As soon as he came aboard we heard that he had been sent here six years earlier by a North American merchant house, Wilcox in Philadelphia, in order to buy up sandalwood, in which the Americans drive a profitable trade in Canton. The Chinese employ this aromatic wood (it has a scent like a mixture of roses and pear-tree wood) for making boxes, fans, chests, etc. On Vaitahu, sandalwood was sold at a rate of one musket for 5 piculs, or approximately 800 pounds, (a picul holding 133 pounds). The American says that the rate here is 300 pounds for one musket, but doubtless this information coincides with his own interest. He has now lived on the island in this harbor and valley for more than six years, and he seems particularly well suited to living entirely isolated among foreigners of whom we know so little. More of this later.[1]

Having received from him necessary information about the harbor, etc., we stood nearer in, and he meanwhile presented to us the chief of the inhabitants of this part of the island, who has six different tribes at his command living in different valleys along the coast. His name is Manoha, grandson of Getenui, a fairly elderly and highly respected chief, or more accurately king, over all these tribes.[2] Getenui's son married a girl from

the hostile tribe of the Taipi, and Manoha was born from that marriage. His father is dead, and he now exercises a limited authority over his fellow citizens. Thus his power does not extend beyond his frontiers or beyond the settling of internal matters and of such disputes as may arise between the tribes under his command. In the event of war against their permanent and sole enemies, the Taipi (who live on the other side of the mountain beyond a stretch of sandal-tree forest, that is to say in the northem part of the isle), another chief and men who are so-to-say professional warriors are chosen. The peacetime leader then often goes into battle as a private soldier or warrior.

This Manoha is an uncommonly handsome man with a copper-colored skin, like a light mulatto's, but he has in his bearing and appearance a dignity, confidence, and pride which only comes from the habit of giving orders and from a sense of acknowledged superiority. No prejudice in his favor could have contributed to this judgement, for I was struck by his imposing appearance long before I knew him to be a chief. He was, contrary to custom, completely free of tattooing, and his entire dress consisted of a piece of white cloth round his loins and a kind of headgear not unlike a grenadier's cap, made from a white plant like straw. The latter was, however, no sign of command, for I later saw several common people with the same headgear. Before coming aboard he had absorbed so much kava that he was soon half drunk, or to be more accurate, half asleep. This beverage, which is prepared by chewing a root, is so intoxicating, or rather so benumbing, that anyone who has drunk it quickly falls into a kind of stupor. After the arrival of these strangers I immediately went ashore with the captain and took the American with me to discover a good watering place.

After having also visited his house, which is situated a little higher up in a sort of garden of banana and breadfruit trees, we brought him back aboard with us, and dined together with Manoha and a man from his suite. I was not a little surprised to see these Indians handling knives and forks and conducting themselves at table a hundred times better than any gaucho or native from New Granada or Chile could have done. But it was in vain that we tried to persuade them to drink wine or porter. Nevertheless, according to the American, they have been accustomed to them, and a number of natives unfortunately acquired an inclination for strong liquor, as soon as they managed to lay hands on it, although it is known to have been a quite revolting drink to the inhabitants of the South Pacific in Wallis's and Cook's time.

After dinner we went ashore, taking several water barrels with us. The Captain and the Doctor went in the sloop, and I went alone in a canoe,

paddled by four Tahitians and an islander. These Tahitians are in several respects superior to the Nukuhivans, as much in intelligence and agility as in appearance, but somewhat darker in color. As soon as they came on board, they assisted, without being asked, in all that concerned the maneuvering of the ship and with great nimbleness and skill climbed up to fold the topsail and topgallant together with our own crew.

This unexpected ability led me to ask a good many questions about Tahiti, and I will now, while I remember, note down the information I received from the American. These four Tahitians came here with an American brig, which, was trading for sandalwood and bound for the northwest coast of America, that is why they remained here waiting for an opportunity to return to Tahiti. They told us that a number of English missionaries had established themselves there, ten or twelve years ago, and that they had started schools where the children generally learned to read and write the language of the country. At my request, one of them wrote a few quite legible lines in my journal, where they still remain. Polygamy and the *arioi* society previously customary on Tahiti have been completely abolished, and no girl sleeps with a man before legal marriage has been contracted. It is asserted that they scrupulously respect this rule. Theft is nowadays entirely unknown, and rights of property are strictly observed. The two hostile parties or tribes, the Taiarapu and the Porionuu, each of which possessed its own part of the island, are now united and live in complete friendship. All kinds of warfare and raiding have ceased and an unbroken peace reigns over the whole island. Nevertheless they are ready to defend themselves against attacks from other islands, and not only the militiamen, who are under the command of King Pomare, but twenty-four prominent citizens possess one or several guns each, which they are well able to use. Many English families have established themselves there and contribute to the introduction and cultivation of useful fruits and animals. This is in brief what Captain Ross, an actual eyewitness, told me, and what the Tahitians themselves (two of them spoke a little English) fully corroborated. It is through the trade in sandalwood that these islanders have been provided with guns and powder by the North Americans, and this staple of trade is now almost exhausted on Tahiti.

On Owahi, one of the Sandwich Islands, King Tamehameha is autocratic ruler, and he is in addition prince of the islands of Owaho, Rajnai, and perhaps also Morotai, Maui, and Tahoroa. The western islands of this group, Atohi, Anihaa, Arihua, and Tahura, have their own chief, who is independent of Tamehameha. The latter mostly resides on Owaho, whose harbor is fortified with an armed earthwork, and every now and then he

resides for a few months in his court at Rarkikua.[3] He has, like Christophe, monopolized all trade on the island, and he allows none of his subjects to negotiate with foreign ships without his permission. The use of money is well known and commonplace. Spanish piastres are the current coin, and the king often buys entire cargoes of foreign goods, especially cloths and silks, etc. These he afterwards distributes to the various chiefs, who in their turn sell them to the common people. He also quite often buys ships which he pays for with sandalwood. The ship he is buying (which he prefers to be of a light construction, easily sailable, with spacious and fine cabins, berths, etc.) is filled to overflowing with sandalwood, and this wood, reloaded into another ship, which the seller should have available is the payment for the ship that has been sold. The use of guns is widespread, too. The King has an organized army and a permanent bodyguard. The use of strong liquors is unfortunately equally widespread and the taste for them is increasing daily, as is also the taste for tobacco, which is now generally smoked in pipes by both sexes and has in short become one of their essential needs. Thus the unbridled desire for profit has introduced previously unknown needs for imported goods and superfluities among a people who previously lived happily on the few products which their fruitful native soil gave them in abundance. I have seen a number of Sandwich islanders here and, to judge by them, the inhabitants of Owahi are much taller in build and darker in coloring than the inhabitants of either Tahiti or Nukuhiva. The latter are the lightest of the three island races.

Now a few words about Nukuhiva. The harbor where we anchored, which has already been mentioned, is the principal place on the island, and the nearby valleys surrounding it are said to hold about eight hundred inhabitants divided into six tribes, all of them under Manoha's command. There are in addition many valleys round the gulfs along the eastern, southern, and southwestern coast, whose inhabitants live on good terms with the inhabitants of Taiohae, so that the total number of natives united in friendship is not less than four thousand, of whom six hundred live in Comptroller's Bay (Schiomi) and approximately the same number in Lewis's Haven, a really excellent anchorage, almost a basin, six English miles west of Taiohae. Nevertheless, the latter harbor is so perfectly safe that you could not wish for a better, with twelve to seventeen fathoms of water everywhere, firm clay, no dangerous rocks, a good landing place, and fresh water next to the shore. Within living memory no strong wind or swell has ever come from the south, the sole open side to the harbor.

The inhabitants have now for many years plied a trade in sandalwood, for they own the sandal-tree forests lying in the wide valley to the north of the first range of hills. They have bartered this product for guns and powder from American ships that are specially provided for this kind of trade, and these are now the only articles of value to them. It is not at all uncommon to find in the house of a fairly well-to-do man six or seven guns in good order, ranged along the wall beside the door. Trinkets such as beads, mirrors, ribbons, feathers, buttons, etc., which were so much desired by them a few years ago, are now regarded as having little or no value, and the only ones who pay some slight attention to such things are the women, who are extraordinarily childish, immodest, lustful, and lively. Apart from guns and powder, only razors and other knives, hatchets, and axes are seriously sought-after objects for which something of value can be obtained.[4]

As soon as we came ashore the crew began to fill our water barrels, but as the breakers at the watering place are pretty high, our boat was kept beyond them under oars, and the Tahitians swam with much skill to and from land right through the breakers with the water barrels. After we had landed, a crowd of natives gathered, mostly young boys and children, and followed us all the way to Mr. Ross's house. They are all of a light mulatto tint, tending somewhat toward copper color, the women decidedly lighter and their color more golden than reddish. Some were at least as light-skinned as a woman from Portugal or the Azores. At Ross's house several chiefs were gathered, and after we had stayed there for a while, we took a walk along the west side of the valley, which is the most beautiful stretch of country you could wish, a perpetual variation of luxuriant hillocks and small valleys. There coconut, plantain, and breadfruit trees, all intermingled, grow in plenty around spacious, clean, and well fenced and laid-out farms and houses, built from a kind of coarse cane with pillars of coconut and other types of firm wood. In almost every house, all of roughly the same construction, there were enclosed plots planted with taro in regular garden clearings. We paid a number of visits and were everywhere received with friendship and hospitality to such a degree that there was never, either then or later during our whole stay on Nukuhiva, a single woman who did not in the most unmistakable manner invite us to lie with her, despite her husband's presence. In fact, the latter often encouraged such intimacy, and, in the same manner, fathers offered their daughters and sisters, without the slightest indication that they felt this improper as we do.

We now went up the valley in a northwesterly direction, entirely without weapons, which are not only unnecessary, but would even be

regarded with derision and contempt, for a more harmless, friendly and polite people I have never previously encountered, either among polite races, or among the many tribes of Indians that I have had occasion to see in South America. After about half an hour's walk through a wood of coconut and breadfruit trees, my attention already being stretched to the limit, I was surprised and delighted by a sight so new and so unfamiliar to me that I would seek in vain to describe the sensations it aroused. All of a sudden the previously dense forest gave way to an open space, or square, with two tiers of seats along the north and west sides occupied by several hundred natives of both sexes.[5] All were dressed in ceremonial costume, the majority of the men wearing their famous feather headdresses, producing an effect of splendor from a distance, and the women with their white or yellow cloaks and their headdresses of a kind of white gauze, made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and very like muslin, together with adornments of flowers, fans, earrings and necklaces of manifold shapes and colors. On the right or east side of the square there was a tier which no woman is allowed to climb. There the most distinguished men and chiefs were gathered in their most magnificent dresses and several of them holding long staves whose tops were adorned with red and white feathers.

In the middle of the square was an orchestra consisting of drums in the shape of a truncated cone, the small end covered with shark skin, the wide end open. The body of the drum was a thin, hollowed-out tree trunk and the skin could be stretched according to need with strings from the coconut tree, almost in the manner common with us. These drums were beaten in time and ten musicians placed in a circle clapped their hands in careful unison, so that all seemed to be one and the same beat. They followed the lead of a kind of director who conducted this strange concert, marking the beat with strong blows of his right hand against the upper part of his left arm. This he did with such vehemence that after the concert his arm was considerably swollen and in part raw. After this the ten musicians forming a ring burst into a song, which was not very melodious, but resembled a church mass or rather a canon, where each singer began in succession to chant certain words with great emphasis and solemnity. As soon as they had finished, a solo dancer came on whose artistry we had no cause to admire, for it consisted above all of simple leaps and various postures and steps, like a Norwegian dance. On the other hand, his costume was somewhat fantastic and the whole of his body was tattooed and smeared with yellow dye and coconut oil.

After we had taken a refreshment of coconut milk on the platform to the right, I toured the grounds and presented a ring of red and green

stones to a young girl, the daughter of one of the leading chiefs, who was particularly well apparelled and of an interesting appearance. This gift she accepted with great pleasure. We remained at the assembly ground for two hours, whereupon we returned to Ross's house. The feast had been given for forty strangers on a visit to Taiohae from a friendly tribe in a neighboring valley. They all wore headdresses of feathers, necklaces of red cone-shaped seeds and long staves, whose tops were adorned with red feathers. A number of them were rubbed with yellow turmeric root from head to foot, and afterwards anointed with coconut oil so that their heavily tattooed bodies resembled a multicolored, glossy calico. Once back home (a term I shall henceforth use for Mr. Ross's house), a vocal concert was given by three young and very pretty girls who sang a kind of mass or canon with great rhythm and precision, but without much tune or melody. They continued almost without a break for several hours, right up to the moment when some of our party went on board. I spent all the nights in Ross's house during our stay on the island.

Next morning before daybreak the people of the island began to bestir themselves, their first care being to wash themselves in the crystal clear mountain stream or rivulet which was winding between clumps of flowering shrubs and plantain trees down to the harbor. I followed their example, and immediately afterwards one of the wives of the chief arrived and without more ado stripped naked and entered the water to bathe at the same place as myself. Within a few minutes at least ten to twelve girls had followed her for the same purpose.

This and the following days I passed in the company of Mr. Ross, visiting the greater part of the area around the harbor to a distance of three or four English miles. As he had been living here for six years, and possessed a perfect mastery of the language, and as he attempted to give me all information he could, I will here give a point-by-point account of what he told me, together with the relevant observations that I was able to make myself.

Nukuhiva, or as it is called on English charts, Sir Martin Henry's Island, is a high land situated between 8°40' and 8°57' latitude south and 139°34' and 140°6' longitude west according to our observations. This island possesses two harbors, viz. Comptrollers's Bay or Schiomi, which is the most easterly and protected by a headland in the extreme south-east comer of the island. It is spacious and free of dangers, it has fresh water and is inhabited. The people living here are well-disposed and friendly and are on good terms with those who live around the harbor we ourselves visited. The latter, generally called Port Anna Maria, but Taiohae

to the islanders, is a wider and better harbor than Schiomi, with a firm bottom and a depth of between thirteen and twenty-seven fathoms. Lewis Bay, so named after its discoverer, Lieutenant Lewis of the American frigate *Essex*, is an excellent harbor, or more exactly basin, about six English miles southwest from Taiohae, and is presumably the one that was mentioned in Krusenstern's *Voyage.* It has fresh water, fruit in plenty, and six hundred inhabitants. The part of the land that I saw consisted of narrow valleys sloping steeply down to the coast and covered with densely growing fruit trees and the most splendid grass. Their dwellings were spread about in the shade of the breadfruit and plantain trees, tidily enclosed and mostly with a fenced garden just beside the house where they grow the plant from which they prepare their famous *kava* drink.

I saw numerous fruits and plants whose names and properties are entirely unknown to me, but I believe that the finest products of the island are coconuts, breadfruit, and plantains which constitute the natives' staple diet. They enjoy all these fruits all the year round, for when there is a shortage in the valleys, a fresh supply can usually be found in the higher areas, and vice versa. Coconuts take eleven or twelve months to mature, but at all times of the year nuts of different sizes and ages can be found. Breadfruit take six months before they are ready for harvesting, when they are picked and scraped in an ingenious manner which I had the chance of seeing. The stone is taken out with a sharp shell after which the fruit is laid in a square hole where it is crushed. When a great number have been gathered and crushed in this manner, they are covered with plantain leaves and earth and left for twenty-one days to go sour and ferment. They are thereupon taken up and shaped into more or less round balls and then put into another hole which is often three square ells and six ells deep, lined with finely woven mats of plantain leaves. Next, two or three men knead the fermented breadfruit with their feet until it is packed hard. When the hole is filled, it is covered or roofed over with mats. From this storage pit the household's requirements are taken during the period of the year when the trees have no fruit.

No poisonous animals or insects are known on the island, with the exception of centipedes which, however, I never came across. On the other hand there are thousands of mice, and the flies are very troublesome during the day, as are ants and cockroaches in the forest. I saw none of these insects, however, in the houses. A harmless kind of lizard can be seen on the beaches of the harbor, and in clefts on the rocks. No livestock or tame animals are to be found on the island, apart from pigs, and these are not particularly numerous. There are a few chickens, but these are not eaten by the inhabitants since their priests have declared them to be forbidden

or taboo, The same also holds for pink pigs, which only priests are allowed to eat. There are said to be a few wild goats in the higher valleys, but I saw nothing of them. Some years ago a cow and bull were brought here from North America and these are still alive and have two calves, so it is to be hoped that in a few years this very useful breed will spread. A number of donkeys were also brought here from Chile by the sandalwood merchants, but these were slaughtered and eaten by the inhabitants. There are no dogs on the island.[6] Of wild birds not many species are to be seen, most of those that I did spot being amphibious. Also I heard three or four species of songbirds singing beautifully at dawn.

The most highly prized food (apart from pork which is only consumed at festivals) is fish, of which several kinds are caught in the harbor. They are sometimes taken with a seine tied with coconut fiber, and sometimes caught at night with harpoons and bag nets, or also by hand by a diver, who plunges into the middle of the shoal of fish with incredible speed. The fish are usually eaten raw, even sharks, which are caught in considerable numbers. Sometimes they are roasted on hot stones, but the boiling of fish or any other food is entirely unknown, for they do not have pots able to withstand the fire. We left ashore a she goat and billy goat, which they promised to take good care of, and I gave Mr. Ross several *chirimoya* seeds that I had brought from Chile. These he promised to plant so perhaps this exceptionally beautiful fruit may one day exist on Nukuhiva. We could not discover any European or American trees or wild plants either or cultivated here, apart from a *peumo* tree brought from Chile, which bore plentiful fruit.[7]

The men on Nukuhiva are generally tall, well developed, and have regular features. They bear no resemblance to the Indians on the American continent. Their noses are straight and thin, their eyes perfectly horizontal, their lips thin rather than thick, and the shape of the head exactly like that of Europeans. Their teeth are of an unequalled whiteness and evenness, their hands and feet well shaped and small in comparison with their height, which is seldom less than five feet eleven, and often over six feet. In color they are generally copper red, and although there are several of a lighter complexion, they usually appear darker than they really are because of the dark-blue tattooing that covers almost the whole of their bodies. Their hair and eyes are completely black, the hair being customarily cut short on men and, whether somewhat shaggy or straight, being inclined to fall in locks. (The men on the island of Dominica or Hivaoa wear their hair long and curled.) Their eyes, generally wide open, are agreeable but not particularly lively, the whites being often somewhat inFlamed, which may with good reason be attributed to their immoderate

consumption of *kava* and plentiful sleep. Their gait and air are relaxed, light, expressing strength and self-confidence. Their bodies, though very well built, are not particularly muscular, being corpulent rather than sinewy. They pluck the beard and hair from all parts of the body other than the crown of the head, the tip of the chin and the upper lip, so that they all have pointed beards and moustaches. The hair in their armpits is also plucked out. They are all circumcised [probably meant to be subincised or partially circumcised], and when they go to war, on a fishing expedition, or some other business that requires them to be completely naked, they draw the foreskin over the male member and tie it in front of the head with a thread of coconut fiber, whereupon they consider themselves suitably covered, and show themselves in this manner without any sign of embarrassment.

No kind of care or thought of worry appears to affect their perpetually cheerful disposition, and from morning to night nothing is heard other than unbroken joking, chatter, singing, play, and laughter, even among those who are barely able to move from age. All their necessary undertakings, which are in truth very few, are pursued with chatter and laughing, and in general they struck me as a race of grown children, prattling and playing with dolls, whose happiness and freedom from care we enlightened Europeans seek to achieve in vain, despite all our philosophy. I never saw any quarrel or disunity disrupt this perpetual contentment, and I heard from my interpreter that when disputes, though rare, do occur, they always finish after a few hard words from both parties, sometimes accompanied by a few blows on the ear and some pulling of hair. A dispute once over, the hostile parties return to the completest accord with each other, and the quarrel is considered to have been formally settled.

Their wars bear the mark of their unbelligerent temper, for although they often take the field against the Taipi, their implacable enemies from the north of the mountains, they often return without having come to grips with their enemies, or alternatively without having lost more than perhaps one or two men. For a small loss of this kind, especially if it is one of their numerous chiefs, there is more weeping and mourning on their part than there is in Europe for the loss of a whole army. They do not like meeting. their enemies in the open field, unless they themselves possess a decided superiority in numbers, their most common strategy being to surprise them in their houses, or by ambushes and snares in the forest and from up in the trees where they hide themselves. Their weapons nowadays consist of lances or spears of coconut wood or of iron wood,

pointed at both ends and about fourteen or fifteen feet long with a diameter of an inch at their thickest. Although untipped (with metal), when thrown with strength these can penetrate the softer types of wood, such as the trunks of plantain trees, etc. They are said previously to have used bows and arrows, but there is not a trace of these now, guns having taken their place in general use.[8]

The latter are to be found in every house in greater or smaller numbers. I have not seen them use them, and Ross assured me that a large number of the inhabitants had not completely overcome their first fear of these weapons and that they could often be seen shaking before they fired a shot. There are nevertheless many outstandingly good marksmen among them, who amuse themselves by shooting birds in flight. Slings of woven coconut fiber are also in use for casting stones, but they are only employed by boys and the like who are not mature enough to own guns. They cast stones with great power and speed both in the air and completely horizontally in the manner of an aimed bullet. Their mode of warfare lacks all order; they spread themselves in all directions in small parties without a common commander, each and every one acting as seems good to him. But prisoners and booty are shared out on their return.

As is well known, prisoners are destined to the frightful ceremony of being served up as a meal for the victors. They are usually killed on the field of battle, but sometimes they are brought across the mountains alive and slaughtered at a place specially set aside for this purpose, furnished with surrounding benches of stone, where the victorious guests seat themselves. Ross told me that he had never witnessed this kind of festivity, although many had been celebrated during his stay on the island, but that he knew for a certainty that occasionally the captured victim was roasted alive. I leave it at that, though in other respects I have no cause to doubt his reliability. With the help of my friend Chief Manoha I attempted to get to the bottom of the cause and origin of this barbarous custom, but I did not come upon any particularly satisfactory explanation. I asked him, through Ross, if human flesh had a distinctive flavor, He answered no, but that it was a custom that he as chief was reluctantly obliged to observe since his grandfather Getenui (now old and enfeebled, but enjoying great respect on the island), had exhorted him to maintain all old laws, adding that their enemies, the Taipi, habitually ate the prisoners they took and that he had to observe a retributive justice. In his opinion, human flesh had no special culinary value but must rather be considered a sort of trophy signifying the defeat of implacable enemies.[9]

To foreigners they are friendly, helpful, and trustworthy, and for the first few days after their arrival somewhat curious, but this soon passes,

and the strangers are from then on regarded as old acquaintances. When somebody comes to stay for a longish time on the island, which often happens with the Americans who reside there to purchase sandalwood, one of the elderly chiefs usually takes it upon himself to be (as they put it) the stranger's friend, which means providing him with a house, land, and mostly also a wife, together with any other necessities for setting up his household. For this the chief receives no kind of payment or reward other than having at all times of the day the right of free access to and the disposal of his protegé's house, his protegé being usually accorded the title of son-in-law. This friend is moreover a trustworthy adviser, protector, and supervisor, and there is no example of their failing to fulfill all the most sacred duties of hospitality, and the same care and attention is paid by his wife. When a close friendship is formed, it is customary here, as on Tahiti, for each to take the other's name. Thus I was called Manoha, and Manoha called himself Gana, for he was unable to pronounce my name in any other way.

Their knowledge of foreign people and countries is limited to the Sandwich Islands, the Friendly Islands, England, and North America. Thus all the foreigners they see must come under one of the four names Owahi, Otaheiti, Paketani (England or Great Britain) and Merike (America). Despite all my investigations, I could find no noticeable trace of any kind of religious or spiritual practice. Nevertheless I have no doubt that something of the kind must exist there, though my interpreter Ross, who did not seem to have bothered very much with investigations into this matter, assured me that he had never been able to discover anything of the kind.[10] On the other hand he told me that they do have priests and priestesses. One of the latter, highly regarded on the island, was daily in his house, where she used to lie almost all day long, wrapped in her cloak and with her curly hair hanging down, upon a fine plaited mat that nobody else dared to use. This priestess--it may be mentioned in parenthesis that she was pregnant--was together with her husband the highest religious dignitary in the valley, but their duties were solely limited to the curing of diseases and healing of wounds, both by the application of herbs and decoctions, and by various superstitious pretences, as well as to lay a prohibition or taboo on certain things, places, or customs. Thus, for example, as I have mentioned before, all pink pigs were laid under taboo and were used only for the priests' own table, A house was laid under taboo, and consequently, though in good condition, uninhabitable, because during the slaughtering of pigs it had been defiled by the entrails. All canoes are laid under taboo for women, so that if one should happen to climb into a canoe, it is forever unusable either for fishing or warfare.

In game, our captain took hold of a young girl with the intention of lifting her up onto the bow of a large double canoe which was standing under a shelter on land, when one of the natives hastily ran forward to prevent him. Ross told us that if this had not happened the canoe would have been unusable for good.

The inhabitants of the island used to make their clothes themselves from the bark of a tree that resembles the mulberry, but the priests, for what reason I do not know, demanded an oath of the people that they would no longer occupy themselves with this, and the manufacturing of cloth from this tree was laid under taboo, so that the cloth now made on Nukuhiva is only of the bark of the breadfruit tree, other kinds being fetched from Hivaoa or St. Dominica.[11] The higher seats at the public meeting places are laid under taboo for the fair sex, who are not held in much regard on this island. The eating of chicken meat is also laid under taboo, and in truth, the priests here are nothing other than legislators and doctors, exercising in common with the chiefs a virtually unlimited power in cases where superstition can work upon the minds of the credulous islanders.

The men go about, according to our way of thinking, almost entirely naked, but they consider themselves clothed by the tattooing with which, on coming to maturity, they cover their whole bodies. Apart from this ornament, they wear only a narrow but long piece of cloth, swathed about their loins and wound once up between their thighs from their buttocks, so as to cover completely their organs of generation. The end of this piece of cloth usually hangs down one side or hip, shortened by several slipknots like a whip. They use no kind of sandal or footwear, and no other clothing than a necklace and headdress. The former are infinitely varied, sometimes consisting of a kind of red triangular dried fruit strung on a thread, sometimes of boar's tusks which, arranged in a double ring, packed tight on a string round the neck with their sharp points outwards, give a particularly ferocious appearance to their heavily tattooed physiognomy. The most highly prized adornment for the neck is a well-polished whale's tooth hung on a cord and the exchange price for such an ornament is usually a box of sandalwood worth $4,500! They also have many ear ornaments, the most common being a large disc of bone with a pin an inch long protruding from the middle of the back that is stuck through the earlobe. Headdresses vary according to taste; some use a kind of white turban made of a thin gauze that is manufactured from the bark of the younger branches of the breadfruit tree and is completely transparent, with here and there a small hole where twigs grew on the tree. At festivals and ceremonial occasions, a sort of diadem of many colored feathers

is most commonly used. These all hang down to the right and are tied to the head with a ribbon, leaving the back of the head bare. A tassel of grey human beard tied to a red ribbon often adorns the crown of the head. Other headdresses of similar feathers stand up vertically in the shape of a sun, and may be up to thirty-six inches high.

The tattooing described by many travelers is carried out here more or less as on Tahiti. The dye used is the soot of a burnt, oily nut mixed with water. In this the instrument, a jagged sharpened shell, is dipped between virtually every cut. The pain caused by this operation is considerable, and the tattooed part of the body is heavily inflamed and swollen for two or three days afterwards. Nonetheless this ornamentation is in common use here, and the artists who possess the greatest invention and happiest fancy in this art are well paid and highly regarded. In the valley we visited there was only one elderly man who possessed this talent. It seems that there are certain types of tattooing that command increased respect and the determining factor here is the completeness of the tattooing and the extent to which certain sensitive parts of the body are covered. People begin to have themselves tattooed when they are about twenty, and the practice is continued thereafter according to their means and opportunity for several years, until their whole bodies are adorned right to their fingertips and toes. A number of feasts are given to which only people tattooed alike in a particular fashion are admitted. (I myself witnessed one during my stay on the island.) Those who were allowed to attend the festivity I have mentioned and partake of the roasted pig, were all tattooed with a dark solid ring round their left eyes.

Because of the heat, as well as the mass of flies that buzz around, they carry in their hands a kind of fan or flap, quite neatly woven, and terminating in a handle of sandalwood or bone. These are not manufactured in Nukuhiva, but on Uapou, and are therefore objects of rarity and value here. Manoha had a very well-made one with a handle of human bone, on which he set great value.

The tenderness and attention they pay to their dead is as exaggerated as it is unpleasant for others for when somebody dies the corpse is laid out in the middle of the dwelling-house on a ‘kind of platform, or cage, of canes. Round about it, a great crowd of relatives and friends mourn for a day or longer in proportion to the rank of the dead man. The women in particular take turns to surround the corpse and wail and shout their intense grief. But a moment later, when their time to mourn has passed, they can be seen laughing, joking, and singing as before--until they return to weep around the corpse. When the time of mourning is over, the corpse remains in the house in the same place, covered with one or several pieces of cloth, for three or four months as a rule, occasionally for up to

two years, of which I chanced to see an instance. The relatives sleep in turns right underneath the platform where the corpse is laid out, irrespective of the stench which is so unbearable that it is almost impossible to approach a house where a corpse is laid out in this manner. The whole family nevertheless continues to live undisturbed in the house, and only when the smell has disappeared and little more than skin and bones remain of the corpse is it rolled in one or several pieces of white breadfruit cloth tied about in three places with strips of the gauze I have previously described and finally accompanied by its relatives to the family burial place, or *morai.*[12] This is nothing other than an ordinary house of cane, built in the manner customary on the island in a distant tract of land belonging to the family, usually in the middle of thick bushes. There the corpses are arranged side by side on a platform of long canes about five feet above the ground.

The islanders' meals are extremely simple. I never saw them eat anything other than roasted breadfruit dipped in a coconut filled with sea water. They eat independently and a great deal, as often as they feel hungry, without the slightest attention to meal times. They are in certain respects extremely cleanly, bathing three or four times a day, washing their hands and faces and rinsing their mouths before and after every meal. But they eat the vermin they pluck from one another's heads, especially the womenfolk who often vie with one another in their skill in first discovering one. Their bodies are in general completely free from vermin and from rashes or sores. Only a few fishermen seemed to have leg sores, which appear to be a consequence of their mode of life. Of the many hundreds of natives of both sexes that I had the chance to see, indoors and outdoors, not one was crippled or disabled in the slightest degree.

Jealousy is an entirely unknown vice when a foreigner is involved, but the natives seem more particular when among themselves and are liable to beat wives discovered in the act of adultery with one of their own countrymen. In contrast, the men openly offer their wives, daughters, and sisters to the strangers who visit them, and the women encourage and consent to such offers with words and signs. I think that the hospitality shown to foreigners is a sort of privilege that the women here have inherited from time immemorial, for no man thinks of preventing his wife or daughters from going aboard foreign ships, though they well know what the result will be. And many of the women return every night, month after month, without the men stepping in and forbidding it. It also appears that the desire for profit has very little to do with these visits, for most of them receive very little, often no presents at all. Through Mr. Ross I questioned one of the more respected married women on the island in the

presence of her husband, asking her if she had received fine presents on board where I knew she had passed the night. She answered very cheerfully that she had been given two quite good *pitohe*[?], but nothing else, and that she intended to return on board that evening.

Children of both sexes go naked until they are nine or ten, and after that, at about twelve, they usually begin to lie with one another. Marriage involves no greater ceremony than a mutual agreement between the partners, and the consent of parents or relatives never comes into the matter. Polygamous marriages are permitted to both sexes and depend completely and entirely upon the quantity of land and fruit trees possessed by the contracting parties. I have seen several chiefs with four or five wives and many daughters of chiefs who had as many husbands. Strangely enough, the latter is more commonly the case among the better-off women than the former is among men of the superior class.

The women are lighter in color than the men, and their complexion is goldenish, something like that of a light mulatto from the South American continent or a dark brunette of southern Europe. Their eyes are full of fire, expressing without ambiguity the strong desires for which alone they seem to exist. Their teeth are of unparalleled whiteness, even and clean, their breath free from all offensiveness, their skin and hair very smooth and soft as silk, their hands and feet uncommonly small and better shaped than I recall having seen in any other place. Their breasts, however, sag much too early, probably because of their unrestrained and premature commerce with our sex. They are very clean, bathing three or four times a day, washing their hands and faces before and after every meal, but like the men they have the disagreeable and indecent habit of eating one another's vermin when they are in familiar company.

Their dress consists of a piece of cloth dyed yellow with the turmeric root. This they wind about their loins, and on top they wear a kind of cloak made from a large piece of cloth and worn open down the left side and held together over the left shoulder by a large knot, so that the right arm and breast are covered but the left arm and flank are left exposed. This costume is not at all unattractive, and from a distance resembles a dress of fine white muslin. They all wear their hair long and wound up upon the neck, exactly in the present European fashion, in a kind of circle and tied together with a twisted piece of breadfruit gauze, and in this coiffure flowers of various colors are usually stuck. Women's hat fashions are almost as changeable as they are in our polite nations, and it would require a great deal of time and space to describe them. They use many types of ear ornaments, but mostly the same elongated bone discs as the men, and their necklaces are most commonly made of a splendid red fruit.

The clothing I am now describing is their festival costume. On ordinary occasions and at home they only wear the cloth wound about their loins that has been previously mentioned. This stretches at most to the knee and leaves their breasts and heads uncovered. Sometimes they go stark naked, only throwing a square cloth over their shoulders if a stranger should come.

They are very lightly tattooed, only here and there on the hips and legs is there a picture of a breadfruit tree, a coconut palm, or a flying fish.[13] Their faces are completely free from drawings, apart from their lips which are usually marked with three or four perpendicular blue lines. However, their arms and shoulders are in general lightly tattooed, as are the backs of their thighs. But what appears to be their pride is the tattooing on the right hand of the most distinguished ladies, a dense tattoo made with a certain taste, very like that commonly printed on French gloves many years ago. Their hands and nails (those on the thumb and index finger being allowed to grow long) are almost always yellow with turmeric root, which they use for dying their clothes. They usually pull their hair out by the roots from all parts of the body other than the head, including from under the arms. They care for their children with marked tenderness and take great pleasure in decking them with many ornaments for public festivals, although between whiles they go stark naked.

The women spend a great part of the day lying naked on their neatly plaited mats, covered with a piece of breadfruit cloth, and fanning themselves with a fan. Only with the coming of dusk do they begin to walk along the seashore, usually in their best clothes. About 9:30 they go to bed, the whole family plus strangers sleeping together in the same room, up to ten or fifteen people. Usually at about 2 A.M. in the morning they begin to wake up and start individual conversations which soon become more and more general. About an hour later, the company usually falls asleep again, and they sleep on till half an hour before dawn when they all get up almost at the same time to bathe and wash themselves which they do with the greatest thoroughness. Each and every one then partakes of the breakfast he can provide for himself--of coconut, plantain, roast breadfruit, or raw fish--and not long afterwards the womenfolk usually betake themselves to rest again, while the men are performing other duties, and I believe that it is at this time in the morning that they express the liveliest desire for sensual pleasures.

The women's social life is very lively, and they do nothing else all day long than laugh, chatter, play, and enjoy life in utter ease. They are of a very voluptuous disposition, and everything that has to do with sensual enjoyment provides the subject of their conversation. The eldest are

greatly inclined to gossip and every now and then hold long conversations for an hour or two. They are usually very fond of resting, and I have several times seen them sit still, their legs crossed beneath them, without moving from the spot for eight or ten hours. They are generally quite corpulent, almost fat. Their necks and shoulders are most beautifully shaped, as are the breasts of the younger girls of about twelve years of age. After that age they begin to grow almost too large and to sag, for they do not have our women's knack of supporting them, even at an advanced age.

The houses are all spacious, inviting, and neatly built. Normally thirty to forty feet in length and consisting of one room, a few are up to eighty feet long, as is Mr. Ross's house. They are all built after the same pattern: one of the long walls is quite high, sixteen to twenty feet, and without windows, the other is about nine feet high and is made of loose cane mesh. These walls are covered with a sloping roof, so that the whole house is not unlike a forcing-house, and in the middle of the floor a long beam runs from one gable to the other. Between this beam and the higher of the long walls mats are laid, and here the family members sit, sleep, and perform their household tasks. The other portion of the floor between this long beam and the front wall of the house is covered with large stones. They use neither chairs nor tables, and their household utensils are remarkably few, usually consisting merely of a few calabashes plaited round with coconut fibers, a few baskets for storing fruit, etc., together with their articles of clothing and personal adornment. Their guns are hung up with great care and kept very clean. Doors and locks are as unknown as they are unnecessary, for here theft is an entirely unknown vice. Ross assured me that during the six years he has been here he has not lost anything, even though he has often had goods of considerable value in his house where the islanders continually go in and out without supervision. I know myself for a certainty that none of us either ashore or on board lost the least thing, although no precautions were taken against theft, and natives of both sexes stayed on board night and day for a whole week.

The natives only manufacture one kind of cloth, made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and it is not as white or flexible as the cloth made on Hivaoa or Dominica from a kind of dyed mulberry tree, which they obtain by bartering various articles of iron and other small foreign wares, since Dominica is rarely, if ever, visited by foreign ships for lack of an anchorage. The inhabitants of that island are of a less friendly disposition than those on Nukuhiva and not long since committed several murders of strangers who dared to go among them alone. Similar crimes have occurred at Vaitahu on Tahuata or St. Christina, and on both islands the victims were ceremonially roasted and consumed.[14] The manufacture of the

cloth made from the bark of the breadfruit tree has been so fully described in Captain Cook's *Voyages* that I will merely add here that each time I have had the opportunity to observe the whole process, I have greatly wondered at the speed with which a piece of twenty to twenty-four feet in length and four to six feet in breadth is completed within three days. Costumes of this cloth usually last a month, after which they are thrown away and are never repaired or patched. They cannot withstand washing but are carefully wetted now and then and squeezed between the hands to make them clean.

Their canoes, which are generally quite large and heavy, are constructed in much the same fashion as those of the other islanders in this part of the Pacific. The bottom is a piece of wood of forty to sixty or even eighty feet in length. The side planks are attached to the bottom by strong lashings of coconut rope. The joints or seams are caulked and then overlaid along the whole length of the canoe with a closely fitted batten over which the above mentioned lashings are passed, while on the inside of the canoe a corresponding batten is fastened in the same place and in the same manner. Their bows are normally provided with a long bowsprit like our galleys, representing a fish head, while the sternpost resembles a fish tail. They have a mast, shrouds, and sil, and many of them can hold forty to fifty men. Double canoes are made of two such hulls stoutly lashed to spars that lie crossways. The hulls are usually ten feet apart, and a kind of latticework is added on top of the spars that connect them athwartships, forming a platform where people, goods, fruit, etc., are stowed. These canoes are used for sailing to nearby islands to visit or to trade. Their war canoes are like those described above only somewhat longer, commonly reaching eighty feet in length, and they are higher fore and aft, as well as having along the stern a kind of cage or scaffolding, not unlike a sheepfold, where presumably the commander takes his place. They all have two outriggers athwartships on both sides, and the outer ends of these outriggers are lashed fast to spars that lie parallel to the central axis of the canoe. The smaller fishing canoes, which only hold five or six men, are of an extremely fragile and wretched construction and have outriggers only on one side.[15]

Their calendar is as simple as it is imperfect. Ten months *(maama)*, which are computed from one new moon to the next, make up their *tari*, but beyond this year or *tari* they have no further reckoning, and consequently there is none among them who has the slightest notion of his age in years. I could discover no division of the hours of the day beyond those of shadow in the west, shadow in the south, shadow in the east, and night.

It is remarkable that the inhabitants of the Marquesas have right up to now retained their patriarchal or rather feudal system, while both the Tahitians and the Hawaiians have, through their acquaintance with polite nations, reconciled themselves to obeying a sovereign. I cannot. decide whether this change would be likely to increase the Nukuhivians' happiness. But what I can say with certainty is that in their present condition, they seem to live in perfect peace under a familial system of government, and that according to Ross no crime or misdemeanor has been heard of during his time there, not one act of disobedience of paternal authority, which is held in great esteem. Manoha is probably the foremost chief in this valley, since he owns the greatest area of land, but his power is nonetheless quite limited, and the respect and deference shown to him is rather voluntary submission to his commands, and in general assemblies he does not seem to enjoy any noticeable advantage. In fact, anyone who owns a certain quantity of land and a number of breadfruit trees, etc., is a kind of chief and has many wives and consequently a large family. All who live on his property are obliged to carry out the duties he demands of them and are consequently a kind of day laborer. With their help and in accordance with immemorial customs, the chief provides for his family and settles their mutual disagreements. However, should any difference arise between them and him or between them and some other chief, they have recourse to Manoha or to the priests, who investigate, settle, and conclude the affair, and from their decision there is no appeal.

This is all that I can recall having observed during my short stay of only six days on Nukuhiva. Most of the information I received was given to me by Captain Ross who, though not a well-educated man, possesses a good, sound, natural understanding and faithfully translated the questions and answers that I exchanged with the most intelligent of the natives.

After six days' stay on Nukuhiva we left that superb harbor, well supplied with coconuts, plantains, breadfruit, green peppers, etc. We left our name and the name of our ship with Ross, who accompanied us to the furthermost promontory of the island. I presented the Tahitian Amaru with a razor, and gave him my name printed on a card, etc., as a souvenir in accordance with his own wishes. In addition I wrote a letter to Kantzow, the Swedish chargé d'affaires, requesting him to inform the relevant authorities that I had passed the Marquesas Islands, in case something should happen to me in the course of the remaining voyage, which letter he promised me he would forward by an American ship which is shortly expected at the island. In Chief Manoha's house, right in front of the door, I put up a printed copy of Chile's Act of Independence and explained its

contents as well as I could. He promised to preserve the document with care, which could stand him in good stead if any privateer from the new state happened to visit this coast. Ross presented me with a fine lance and a piece of cloth.

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NOTES

1. The best account of the sandalwood trade in the Marquesas can be found in Dening (1980:115-22). The pioneer was the American captain William Rogers of the *Hunter*, from Boston, who in November and December 1810 collected two hundred tons on Nukuhiva, assisted by two beachcombers. He sold his cargo at Canton for $27,500, representing a price of $18 a picul. De Roquefeuil reports in 1818 (1823:53): "Now all is changed; the exportation of nearly 1,800 tons has almost exhausted the resources of this little island; the small quantity of sanders wood which is still in the interior, is crooked, stunted, and very small, most of the pieces not exceeding two inches in diameter." His own experience is that "no more than ten to twelve tons of sanders wood can be collected in a month." Dening estimates that between 1810 and 1821, the natives of Nukuhiva and Hivaoa (there was very little or no sandalwood on the other islands) supplied more than two thousand tons. The only payment acceptable to the islanders was muskets and powder, and this modernization of their armory was, of course, largely responsible for the increased number of casualties during their frequent tribal wars. The trade ceased when the supply was finally exhausted. By then, the price in Canton had dropped to $2.50 a picul, as a result of the discovery of sandalwood on many other islands in the Pacific.

2. This chief must be Moana. Graaner also misspells the name of Keatonui who in his journal consistently is called Getenui. The interesting point here is that Keatonui evidently still was alive at this time. Dening, who supplies an excellent biographical sketch (1974:326-35), thinks that Keatonui died later in the year.

3. Graaner obviously got most of these Hawaiian names wrong, and I am unable to make any other identifications than Owahi = Hawaii, Owaho = Oahu and Rarkikua = Kealakekua.

4. These are the prices paid by de Roquefeuil (1823:53): "For one musket, 500 lbs of sandal wood; for two pounds and a quarter of powder, 200 lbs; for a hatchet, 45 lbs; a whale's tooth, 200 lbs."

5. The peculiar Marquesan *tohua,* or assembly ground, on which *ko'ina* feasts were given, is most fully described by Linton (1925:24-53). It may also be worth mentioning that a faithful replica of a Marquesan *tohua* has been erected at the Polynesian Cultural Center, Laie, Hawaii. For accounts of *ko'ina* feasts see Robarts (Dening 1974:59-60).

6. It is interesting to note that no dogs had yet been introduced. Today they are very common, as are wild goats who roam the mountains and have been responsible for the heavy erosion of the soil.

7. There are a few *chirimoya* (*Anona* sp.) in the Marquesas today, although it is very doubtful that Graaner deserves credit for this. On the other hand, nobody has ever heard of any *peumo (Cryptocarya peumus),* or *pengu* trees in the Marquesas. For identification of these trees, see Friederici (1947:180-1,490).

8. This summary is consistent with the accounts by Robarts (Dening 1974:24-25, 78-84, 114-15) who often took part in the tribal wars.

9. Ross made almost identical statements to de Roquefeuil (1823:59-60), one year earlier.

10. For once, Graaner makes an outrageous and totally unsubstantiated statement, misled by Ross who evidently was indifferent to both the Marquesan and Christian religions.

11. De Roquefeuil (1823:43-46, 52) has much to say about the flourishing inter-island trade and himself visited Hivaoa.

12. Graaner, who was an avid reader of Captain Cook's *Voyages,* uses the great navigator's spelling: *morai,* of the Tahitian word *marae,* meaning open-air temple, whereas the proper Marquesan form is *me'ae.*

13. Similar tattooing designs were also much in vogue in Tahiti at this time and must be ascribed to European influences.

14. De Roquefeuil (1823:44-45, 63) tells in greater detail of the attacks against foreign vessels made at Uapou and Hivao a few years earlier.

15. Graaner's assertion that the war canoes "have two outriggers athwartships on both sides" revives an old controversy that Haddon and Hornell thought they had laid to rest in their monumental work *Canoes of Oceania* (1936, 1:29-31), by dismissing similar statements by Quiros and Porter as too ambiguous to be taken seriously. But Graaner's meaning is perfectly clear, and Lafond de Lurcy (1844, 3:6-8), who was in the Marquesas in 1822, expresses himself in a way that seems to lend support to Graaner's statement. So it is perfectly conceivable that a thorough examination of all available sources will show that the Marquesans (whose culture represented an extremely archaic type) used canoes with two outriggers after all.

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