This thesis is based on my own research except where otherwise acknowledged.
## Contents

Preface v  
Note on spelling and other items xi  
Abbreviations xii  

**INTRODUCTION**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Aspects of the society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Authority, opportunity, and conflict: The establishment of the Christian Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mare 1841-1866 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lifu 1842-1864 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Uvea 1842-1864 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authority, opportunity, and conflict: The establishment of French control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lifu 1864-1871 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Uvea 1864-1875 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mare 1866-1895 142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADVENTURE AND ADVANTAGE:**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>Some major social developments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Trading contacts and overseas travel 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Commerce 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Religion, instruction, and example 235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE QUESTION OF IMPACT**  

| 11 | Firearms 262 |
| 12 | Disease 280 |
| 13 | Population 298 |
| | Conclusion 307 |

**Appendices: Some protagonists**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Mare: Great chiefs and others 310</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Si Gedma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Si Hoodu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Si Gureswoc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Si Achakane, Si Gureschaba, Si Ruemec, Si Hood, Node ri Kurubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mare: missionaries 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lifu: Great chiefs and others 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Caltcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Losi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lifu: missionaries 316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Uvea: great chiefs and others
   a. Ohwen
   b. Fayawe
   c. Mulī
6 Uvea: missionaries
7 French administrators
   a. Governors of New Caledonia
   b. French officials resident on the Loyalty Islands

Select bibliography

Maps and graph

Maps:
New Caledonia and dependencies. after xiii
Mare. Approximate padoku boundaries in the 1850s. after 28
Lifu.  after 57
Uvea.  after 80
Mare. Si Gwahma control in the 1870s. after 152

Graph:
Population of Loyalty Islands. after 302
Abstract

This thesis examines the interaction among and between Loyalty Islanders and Europeans from the 1840s, when Europeans first arrived in any numbers, to the end of the nineteenth century. Emphasis is placed upon the islanders' responses to European presence, and the consequences for the island communities. In more general terms, this study is an attempt to describe and examine in some detail on a local level aspects of culture contacts more often approached by historians on a wider basis, encompassing greater numbers of participants and larger geographic areas.

The first chapter gives an outline of what is presently known about the more significant pre-contact developments on the Loyalty Islands and the socio-political structure existing at the time of early contact. Chapters Two to Seven discuss the activities of English Protestant missionaries, French Catholic missionaries, and French administrators in the context of the islanders' local politics. The way in which the islanders responded to and applied to their own hostilities the divergent religious and national interests among the European groups is the central theme of these chapters. Chapters Eight to Ten analyse other aspects of European contact, such as the socio-economic consequences for the islanders of numerous European trading contacts, of their commercial dealings with Europeans, and of certain European ideas. Chapters Eleven to Thirteen investigate the effects of firearms in local fighting, European introduced diseases, and alcohol - influences which are popularly thought to have had a devastating effect upon Pacific island communities, particularly by causing serious depopulation.
Preface

This thesis examines the interaction among and between Loyalty Islanders and Europeans during the first fifty years of contact. Emphasis is placed upon the islanders' responses to European presence, and the consequences for the island communities. More generally, this study is an attempt to describe and examine in some detail on a local level aspects of culture contacts more often approached by historians on a wider basis, encompassing greater numbers of participants and larger geographic areas.

The approach adopted here, designed to highlight the major themes running throughout this study, needs some explanation. The first chapter presents a tentative description of the socio-political structure existing at the time of early contact, and an outline of some of the more significant pre-contact developments which help to throw light on some contact events.

Chapters Two to Four discuss the arrival and establishment of the London Missionary Society missionaries and the French Marist missionaries in the context of the islanders' politics. There is a natural break in the 1860s as both missions were established on each island, and the French administration, which had annexed New Caledonia in 1853, began to take an active interest in Loyalty Islands affairs. The consolidation of French control, again in the context of local politics, is discussed in Chapters Five to Seven. These six chapters form a unity and are concerned with analysing the way in which the islanders responded to, and applied to their own hostilities, the divergent religious and national interests among the English Protestant missionaries, the French Catholic missionaries, and the French administrators. Where appropriate, reference is made to other European groups, particularly traders, where their activities were affected by or in some way related to the islanders' politics.

These six chapters provide the time span for the study. Contact began in the early 1840s. The mid-1890s finally saw an end to the islanders' own hostilities, and the achievement of a political stability among the various chiefdoms throughout the group as a whole, although two of the islands had reached such a situation in
the 1870s. Also by the 1890s, the religious and national conflicts among the Europeans had ended, and the French administration was in control of its island possessions.

The method adopted in these chapters has been to deal with each of the main islands of the group separately and chronologically. Because there are three islands, each with varying political arrangements, and because there were numerous European groups taking part in the contact events in different places and at different times, any attempt to use a thematic approach would have confused geography and chronology, and a clear outline of both is essential to any understanding of the themes of these chapters.

Other aspects of culture contacts, however, can safely be dealt with thematically. Chapters Eight to Ten examine some of the socio-economic consequences for the islanders of numerous European trading contacts, of their commercial activities with Europeans, and of certain European ideas. The final three chapters analyse the effects of other specific European influences - namely, firearms and disease - which are commonly thought to have had a devastating effect upon Pacific island populations.

The whole study, therefore, moves from a local and chronological approach in the first half to a more regional (in the sense of dealing with the Loyalty Islands as a group rather than individually) and thematic approach in the second. The two halves are linked by a continuous description and analysis of the islanders' responses to Europeans, and the effects of western contact upon the island societies.

APART from an excellent detailed study of culture contacts in northeastern New Caledonia, a study of the New Caledonians' revolt in 1878 against the French administration, a narrative history of the Isle of Pines, and a study of sandalwood trading and its.

consequences for the local societies in the 1840s and 1850s, there has been virtually no recent research by historians into New Caledonia and its dependencies. There are no reliable secondary sources for Loyalty Islands affairs in the nineteenth century. Pastor R.H. Leenhardt's *Au vent de la Grand Terre. Histoire des îles Loyalty de 1840 à 1895*, Paris [1957], a revised version of his thesis submitted to the Faculté libre de théologie protestante de Paris in 1930, is concerned solely with an outline of the growth of the protestant mission and his treatment of Loyalty Islands history is, therefore, narrow. Also his work is often factually unreliable, and not without prejudice against the Marists, and especially against the French administration.

As described below, there have been a few studies of pre-historical developments and of socio-political arrangements on the Loyalty Islands by French 'sociologues'. Unfortunately there are no competent archaeological, anthropological, or ethnographic studies by modern researchers.

There is a vast amount of unpublished primary material. The three main European groups - the London Missionary Society missionaries, Marist missionaries, and French administrators - all have extensive official archives. These same groups, and other European interests, are also adequately provided for in both published and unpublished sources in various libraries and private collections. Though such material is vast, the main drawback is that it is mainly European in origin. Although most Loyalty Islanders were literate in their own language in the second half of the nineteenth century, very few of their extant letters I saw, mainly in Father M.J. Dubois' private collection, and translated by him, were of any use, for most were concerned with day to day trivia.


5 Father M.J. Dubois, about whom more information is provided below, told me in Paris (February 1971) that he was working on a 2,000 page political and social history of Mare in the nineteenth century. In a subsequent personal communication (November 1971) he told me he hoped to finish it in March 1972, and that I could arrange for a microfilm copy through Jean Guiart. I have been unable to contact Dubois or Guiart since this date, so I am unaware if the work has been completed or not.
Oral evidence from present day islanders (collected in French) has not been used to any great extent in this thesis. Contact events of well over 100 years ago are still described in very considerable detail by the older people. Stories about the establishment of the missions and the 'wars of religion' between Protestant and Catholic islanders are particularly common, but they usually confirmed, rather than added to information already culled from documentary sources. Discussions about European traders and trading activities were useful, particularly for recording traders' names and for finding out where they operated. Information as to why so many islanders sailed overseas in the nineteenth century was also useful. Apart from drawing up lists of chiefs, chiefdoms, and the areas they covered (which again added very little to information gained from documentary sources), I was unable to gain much evidence on socio-political organizations as they existed in the nineteenth century. Many informants brought out copies of Jean Guiart's *Structure de la Chefferie en Mélanésie du Sud*, Paris, 1963, and proceeded to read from it. Not all the informants, however, always agreed with what Guiart said about their particular clans and pages were sometimes heavily annotated where people claimed he had either ignored or misinterpreted information they had given him. Several Protestants had also read Leenhardt's *Au vent de la Grand Terre*. As is common elsewhere throughout the Pacific, many young people appeared little interested in their history. Some of them claimed that as a result of their French controlled education, they knew more about the history of France than about their own part of the world. Overall, oral evidence was useful in a negative sense. Although it added very little to what I learnt from documentary sources, it confirmed a great deal of this evidence.

The limitations of the approach and sources for this thesis are clear - it is written by a European and is mainly dependent upon European primary sources. The following points, however, should be made. First, the three main European groups, which were in bitter conflict with one another, each wrote detailed accounts of the more controversial issues. Thus three different European viewpoints can be checked against each other, and in the vast majority of cases, so far as facts are concerned, they are virtually identical.
Second, none of the evidence and the conclusions presented here appear to be contradicted by the oral testimony I gathered, by subsequent developments in the twentieth century, or by what I saw of life on the islands. Furthermore, this history is written with full awareness of the limitations of my historiographical position, and the academic utensils at my disposal.

THIS thesis could not have been written without the generosity of the Australian National University which enabled me to study in archives in Europe and New Caledonia, and to undertake fieldwork on the Loyalty Islands. I would particularly like to thank Professor J.W. Davidson of the Department of Pacific History. My other acknowledgements will follow the route of my research trip. Rome: I am grateful to Father J. Lambert, the Superior-General, and Father J. Coste, the archivist, for permission to study in the extensive archives at Padri Maristi. The kindness of the other Fathers and Brothers and Sig. A. Cacace also deserves special mention.

Paris: I would like to thank Professor Jean Guiart of the Ecole Practique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne, for several discussions I had with him, and M. Etienne Kruger for permission to consult the Archives of the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris. I must especially thank Pastor Raymond Leenhardt who allowed me to read documents left to him by his father Maurice, and both Pastor and Mme. Leenhardt for their hospitality. I am particularly indebted to Father M.J. Dubois who very generously permitted me to examine his invaluable collection of documents on Mare while he was working on them himself. Without these documents, many aspects of the post-1860 history of Mare in this thesis could not have been written.

London: I wish to thank Miss Irene Fletcher for permission to consult the archives of the Congregational Council for World Mission, formerly the London Missionary Society.

Noumea: I am grateful to Archbishop P. Martin and to Father M. Laurence for allowing me to work in the Archives de l'Archevêché. I also wish to thank M. Bernard Brou, M. Joseph Tidjine, and M. Charles Hauda for advice and letters of introduction to people on the Loyalty Islands, and the South Pacific Commission and the Le Pioufle family for their hospitality.
Loyalty Islands: For three months my wife and I travelled widely throughout the islands where we were treated with a warmth and affection we had never before experienced from strangers. To all those people, unfortunately far too numerous to name, who fed, housed, and transported us, and who were ever willing to talk about their history and way of life generally, we are deeply grateful. Those deserving special mention are - on Lifu: Pastor T. Wettach and Pastor Jacques Ajawahua (Chepenehe), M. Hanna Wawalahe and the Passa family (Kumo), Pastor Simi (Hu), Father Tavernier (Matalo), the Wete family (We), and M. Marcel and Mme. Eloise Tonne (Eacho). On Uvea: M. Alizik Wea (Gosana), Pastor Peteru Ihili (Fayave), and M. Walep Nako (Nakat). On Mare: M. Chouckly Cuavupur (Menaku) and Father Barbier (La Roche).

Many others who have given me assistance belong, or belonged, to the Australian National University. I wish to thank Mr Keith Mitchell for drawing the maps, and Mrs Rita Mathews and Mrs Edna Dastur for patiently typing drafts. I owe a special debt to Mrs Rosamund Walsh for her excellent typing of the final version. I also wish to thank Mr Robert Langdon for several important references and for his interest in this study, Dr Hugh Laracy (University of Auckland) for information on Marist archives in Sydney and Rome, and Dr D.T. Tryon (James Cook University) for hints on fieldwork on the Loyalty Islands. I am grateful to Dr David Lewis for advice on medical matters in Chapter Thirteen, and to Dr Norma HcArthur who read the last three chapters and made valuable comments on population and related topics. I owe special thanks to Dr Bronwen Douglas (La Trobe University) who first suggested the Loyalty Islands as a field of study and who kindly read the thesis in draft form. My greatest debt is to my two supervisors, Dr Dorothy Shineberg and Dr Peter Corris, for their constant encouragement, guidance, and helpful criticisms. Finally, I must express my gratitude to Herrilyn, my wife, who was a constant source of encouragement, sharing fully with me the difficulties and pleasures of writing this thesis.
Note on spelling and other items

There is no standardized orthography for New Caledonia and its dependencies. Orthographic diversity is particularly characteristic on the Loyalty Islands for indigenous names were originally recorded by Englishmen, and Frenchmen later imposed their rather tortuous renditions e.g. Doueoulou for Dueulu, Ouaecossone for Waikosone. However, French transliterations have been neither systematic nor comprehensive e.g. Iles Loyalty is still just as common as Iles Loyauté. In general, I have used a simplified phonetic spelling which is in most cases based upon the spellings used by nineteenth century Englishmen, and to some extent by Jean Guiart and H.J. Dubois. The orthography in this thesis may not be exact from a linguistic point of view, but it is not an exercise in linguistics. I have attempted to be consistent and the spellings adopted are readily identifiable with the various renditions found in both French and English documents and maps.

At least half the material consulted for this thesis is in French. In most cases, French quotations and terms have been translated into English. These translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

Later in this thesis, the terms Protestant and Catholic are applied to Loyalty Islanders. As the islanders acted, considered themselves, and were considered by Europeans as either Catholics or Protestants, it has been thought unnecessary to qualify these terms.

The Loyalty Islanders are not referred to as Melanesians. The term is ethnographically inaccurate because of the considerable Polynesian presence. They are referred to as Loyalty Islanders, or, when referring to people from a particular island, as Lifuans, Uveans, and Nacans.
Abbreviations

AAN Archives de l'Archevêché, Noumea.
ANO Annales des Missions d'Océanie.
ANL Australian National Library, Canberra.
ANM Archives Nationales, section Marine, Paris
ANOM Archives Nationales, section Outre-Mer, Paris.
ANU Australian National University, Canberra.
APF Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.
APM Archivio Padri Maristi, Rome.
BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
CG Correspondence générale.
CO Colonial Office.
FO Foreign Office.
GBPP Great Britain: Parliamentary Papers.
JMP Jones Mission Papers, Mitchell Library.
JPH Journal of Pacific History.
JPS Journal of the Polynesian Society.
JPS Journal de la Société des Océanistes.
LMS London Missionary Society.
ME Minutes of Evidence.
Min. Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies (until 1870 when the two departments, Marine and Colonies, were split. After this date - Ministre des Colonies).
ML Mitchell Library, Sydney.
Moniteur Moniteur de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.
ONC, APM Oceania Nova Caledonia, Archivio Padri Maristi.
OP, APM Provincia Oceaniae, Archivio Padri Maristi.
PMB Private collection of Father M.J. Dubois, Paris.
PMB Pacific Manuscripts Bureau.
PRO Public Record Office.

QVP Queensland: Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly.

RC Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into Certain Alleged Cases of Kidnapping of Natives of the Loyalty Islands, Sydney, 1869.

SMEP Société des Misions Evangéliques de Paris.

SSJ, LMS South Seas Journals, LMS archives.

SSL, LMS South Seas Letters; LMS archives.

SSO, LMS South Seas Odds, LMS archives.

SSP, LMS South Seas Personal, LMS archives.

SSR, LMS South Seas Reports, LMS archives.

VMA Villa Maria Archives, Sydney.
INTRODUCTION
Chapter One

Aspects of the society

The three main islands of the Loyalty Island group, Mare, Lifu, and Uvea, lie along a line parallel to, and about sixty miles east of New Caledonia. All three, as well as a scattering of islets between Mare and Lifu, are formed of raised coral, heavily covered in bush, and from a distance at sea appear as low horizontal streaks of green, in contrast to the vertical lines of their mountainous neighbour. Uvea is an atoll with low-lying habitable land stretching thirty miles around the eastern side of the lagoon. Both Lifu and Mare were once atolls but have since risen well above sea level. Lifu, thirty-seven miles long and twenty-five across at its widest point, and Mare, twenty-five by twenty miles, have large flat central plateaus, the dried out remains of their lagoon beds, and are bordered by higher coastal rims which once formed the outline of the atolls; the rims drop steeply to the plateaus on one side, and the sea on the other, with cliff surfaces encrusted with stalactites. Lifu has risen in four clearly defined stages and Mare in five, with its coastal rim sometimes reaching over 350 feet above sea level. Uvea and Lifu are made purely of coral, but Mare has small basalt outcrops at Rawa and Pēorawa, thought to be the remains of mountain tops formed in the Miocene era either above or below sea level, and around which coral later formed. As the three islands are each progressively higher from north to south, it is likely the sea bed has been tilted, and may still be moving for earthquakes are frequent.

The land surface is a mass of twisted, dried coral forms, and because of its porous nature, natural supplies of fresh water


2 M.J. Dubois, 'Les Eletok de Maré d'après la tradition. Étude d'ethno-histoire', 'thèse de doctorate de 3° cycle' [Sorbonne, 1971], 22.
are extremely scarce, and found only at the bottom of the deepest grottos. Before the Europeans taught the islanders to dig wells with the aid of metal tools, the only other source of fresh water was in holes cut into the base of coconut trees where rain water trickled. Soil is dry, thin, and usually limited to some inland areas where it lies in pockets among coral rocks, yet it is excellent for growing yams, the staple food. In spite of the dry coral surface and lack of topsoil, the bush is thick and luxuriant. Mare and Lifu have some areas of coconut trees dotted throughout the bush, whereas on Uvea, coconut groves virtually cover the island.

The Loyalty Islands' low profile gives them a rather different climate from New Caledonia, and one which is healthy and extremely pleasant all year round. Temperatures average twenty-two degrees centigrade on Mare and twenty-four on Uvea with seasonal variations of less than six degrees. Precipitation averages less than sixty inches a year. However, periodic drought and not infrequent tropical cyclones can cause hardship for the inhabitants.

Uvea's lagoon is a reasonably safe anchorage for European vessels and the lagoon beach, stretching almost the entire length of the main islands, provides for easy access. Uvea's east coast, and the coastlines of Mare and Lifu are surrounded by dangerous inshore reefs and rugged coral cliffs, making landing hazardous in all but a few places. There are no reliable anchorages on Lifu or Mare though vessels are protected from the prevailing easterly winds in Sandalwood Bay on Lifu where boats can unload onto rocks at Chepenche and small beaches at Encho and Dueulu. Boats can also land at the inlets at Nu and Luengoni, and on the large beach at We, but only in the calmest weather. On Mare, ships can anchor protected from prevailing winds in the bays at Ro and Tadine, where landings are made directly onto rocks, and also at the tiny sandy inlets at Netche and Nebot. The Loyalty Islands, lacking safe anchorages and fresh water and having a topography completely unsuited for European agriculture, were useless for extensive European settlement; and the course of nineteenth century culture contacts was to be significantly influenced by this consideration.

At the time of European contact in the 1840s, the total population was possibly somewhere between 10-15,000 (in a rough ratio of two
for Uvea, four for Mare, and six for Lifu; and as village settlements were widely scattered, the population density was low. To European eyes, the Loyalty Islanders, in contrast to the Polynesians in the eastern Pacific, led a difficult existence, lacking fresh water and labouring long and hard on their subsistence plantations in the interior. They grew small quantities of taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, and sugar cane, as well as coconuts, but their diet consisted mainly of yams. 'On the whole', wrote one traveller, expressing a common opinion, 'these cultivations seem poor enough, though maintained with very great care, and in spite of the apparent fertility of the soil, the natives here are certainly more ill provided for than in New Caledonia.' The Uveans were able to catch quantities of fish in their sheltered lagoon, but there was little fishing on Mare and Lifu because of the dangerous coastline and the extreme depths of water surrounding these islands. To add to what Europeans considered an insecurity of life, warfare was endemic on each island.

Modern archaeologists and anthropologists have as yet ignored the Loyalty Islands and knowledge of their pre-history is, at best, fragmentary. Certain prominent developments can, however, be outlined. The islands were probably originally populated by the same people who settled on New Caledonia at least 3,000 years ago, and though Loyalty Island cultural patterns generally followed New Caledonian lines, the Loyalty Islanders developed some of their own racial and cultural characteristics over the centuries before European contact. The islanders' environment, for example, encouraged the development of maritime skills to a higher degree than among the New Caledonians because of the necessity to voyage

3 See below, chapter 13.
5 de Vaux, 490.
6 For recent developments in the archaeology of New Caledonia, see the publications of Brou, Golson, and Shutler listed in the bibliography.
7 Victor de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 20(1860), 27; and see below, 174-175.
among the Loyalty Islands, and to and from New Caledonia to barter for such essential items as stones for tools; and the shortage of fresh water, and the very different nature of the landscape meant that facets of New Caledonian material culture, such as agricultural techniques, especially terraced irrigation, were irrelevant on the Loyalty Islands. Cultural and racial differentiation between New Caledonians and Loyalty Islanders was heightened by the prevalence of Polynesians in the Loyalty group. Polynesian travellers drifting westwards along New Caledonian latitudes usually made landfall first on the Loyalty Islands where they were integrated into the existing society. There are reliable accounts of Tongans and Samoans settling on Mare and Lifou before and after European presence in Polynesia, and the first Europeans on the Loyalty Islands all noted the high incidence of Polynesian racial characteristics, and met numbers of Tongans and Samoans recently arrived. In particular, the northern and southern areas of Uvea were found peopled with descendants of Wallis (Uvea) Islanders who had migrated there in the latter part of the eighteenth century. There were fewer Polynesians in New Caledonia, and those who had settled there usually did so after living for some time, perhaps


10 See below, 80-82.
generations, on the Loyalty Islands, and particularly Uvea. As well as migrations to the Loyalty Islands from the east, there were innumerable instances of migration, and constant visiting, among these islands and New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines. Uvea was settled largely by Lifuans from Gaitcha and Wet, and New Caledonians from Kanala and Kone in the latter half of the eighteenth century; Uveans of Polynesian descent crossed to New Caledonia and established themselves at Belep, Balad, Puebo, and Yengen; there were migrations between Wet and Losi on Lifu and the northern and central east coast regions of New Caledonia, and between Losi and the northern areas of Mare; a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Isle of Pines, including the Vandeku chieftainship,


13 Jean Bernard, 'Notices historiques sur l'île Ouvea et les îles Beauprés', MS., [c. 1873], Archives de l'Archevêché, Noumea (AAN); Bernard to Yardin, 16 November 1861, Correspondence Générale (CG), IV Océanie Nova Caledonia (ONC), Archivio Farni Maristi (APM), Rome; Erskine, 340; Jean Guiart, *Structure de la Chefferie en Mélanésie du Sud*, Paris, 1963, chapter IX, passim. See below, 80.


15 Buzzacott, 'Cook Islands 1842... Rarotonga to Sydney...', SSJ, LMS; Guiart, *Structure de la Chefferie*, chapter VIII passim; Rougeyron to Poupinel, April 1858, Villa Maria Archives (VMA), Sydney.
originated from Losi; and the southern areas of Mare also had migratory links with south-eastern New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines. A series of socio-trading routes complemented much of this migratory network and formed a rough semi-circular pattern centred on Lifу. Mareans and Lifuans sent a variety of artefacts southwards to the Isle of Pines and southern New Caledonia: large shell necklaces and bracelets, small shells to be used as decorations, pandanus mats, decorated gourds, and small packets of strong filament which was woven into fine mesh nets for catching small school fish - these were known as 'white' articles. In return, the people of Mare and Lifу were given cord made from flying fox fur, ceremonial jade axes, jade necklace beads, (most of the jade originating from the island of Wan), and a variety of other stones for tools - these were 'black' or 'dark' articles. The Uveans and Lifuans sent shell trinkets to the north and central east coast of New Caledonia, as well as chiefs' daughters, for Loyalty Island women, especially Uveans of Polynesian descent, were valued highly as wives for New Caledonian chiefs. In exchange, the New Caledonians exported stones and large tree trunks, in demand because the Loyalty Islands, although heavily timbered, had no trees suitable for the construction of the large double canoes used for inter-island travel.


18 Maurice Leenhardt, 'L'Archipel des Loyalty', L'Anthropologie, 49(April 1940), 833; Gaite to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV ONC, APM; Garnier, 312; Goujon, 'La Mission de Marié 1860-1866', N.C. La Loyalty, III ONC, APM.

Through generations of migrations and intermarriage, most Loyalty Islanders, apart from the recent arrivals from New Caledonia and Polynesia, were readily distinguishable from Polynesians and Melanesians. One of the first Europeans on Mare, a missionary of the London Missionary Society (LMS), recorded:

They present a much less revolting appearance than the natives of the New Hebrides; they wear their hair short generally, but they have it changed from black, the natural colour, to a sort of dirty looking white which gives them a very singular appearance. They are very dark coloured and their almost black faces in some cases painted quite black and their white hair makes them look very strange. Their hair very much resembles coarse wool. They are a different race from any I have before seen. Their countenances have more of a European cast than those of any of the islands to the east. There is no appearance of the negro about them. Generally their expression of countenance is mild and pleasant, and they are on the whole a fine interesting looking people.

Andrew Cheyne, one of the first sandalwood traders in the Loyalty Islands, described the Lifuans as:

generally about the Middle size, and exhibit much variety of figure - their complexion is, in general, between that of the black and copper coloured races. Their Hair is frizzled, and besides the long bushy beards and Whiskers worn by many - they have a great quantity of Hair on their bodies - their eyes are generally fine being black and penetrating, and although equally savage with the Isle of pine Natives - their features exhibit rather a milder, and more pleasing appearance....

The Men both old and young go entirely naked, and the only dress worn by the Women is a fringe about 3 inches wide tied round the body, and which does not cover their nakedness - the unmarried women and young girls go entirely in a state of Nudity. The natural colour of the hair of both men and Women, can hardly be ascertained - for they are in the habit of dying it with lime - which gives it a White, Red, or Brown appearance according to the taste of the individual.... Circumcision is not practised here, as at the Isle of Pines.

20 Murray to LMS, 3 May 1841, SSJ, LMS.
21 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 104. Other writers commented that in contrast to the people of New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines, the Loyalty Islanders did not normally practise circumcision, e.g. Gustave Glaumont, 'Usages, moeurs, et coutumes des Néo-Calédoniens', Revue d'Ethnographie, 7(1889), 80; de Rochas, 'Îles Loyalty', 25.
Cheyne also pointed out some of the differences between the three islands. The Uveans, he found, were:

generally above the middle size.... Their complexion lies between that of the black and copper coloured races, although instances of both extremes are met with, which would lead one to suppose that some of them are descended from two different stocks. They are much fairer than the Isle of pine natives and less Savage in appearance.... At this island strict chastity is observed among both sexes before marriage and pruriscuous intercourse expressly forbidden. It is difficult to account for this difference in the morals of the inhabitants of two islands so near to each other as this and Lifu. There, neither men nor women are under any restraint in this respect before marriage; The natives of Uea speak a different language, have finer features, and some of them are evidently descended from a different race; perhaps from the Fijian Islands.

Later Europeans went into great detail recording the racial traits of the Loyalty Islanders, pointing out how they differed markedly from the New Caledonians and other Melanesians because of the prevalence of Polynesian features.23 'The Loyalty Islanders', wrote one traveller, 'more closely resemble the Tongans, and the Polynesians generally, than the races of Melanesia'.24

The Loyalty Islanders differed linguistically from New Caledonia, and among themselves. **Nengone** is the common language on Mare and **Bohu** on Lifu. In addition, both islands had their own 'respectful language', **Miny** on Lifu and **Iwateno** on Mare, used only for addressing chiefs and those at the top of the socio-political scale. Uvea has two separate languages - **Ial**, the

---

22 Cheyne, *Trading Voyages*, 127-129. The term Uea was sometimes used to refer to the north of Uvea. Cheyne uses it to refer to all the island.


Melanesian language, and *Uvea*, the language of the Wallis Island descendants which has retained its Polynesian morphology and syntax but has also borrowed considerably from Melanesian languages. Apart from *Uvea*, all the languages of the Loyalty Islands have 'similar grammatical systems' and are considered 'typically Melanesian', though less complex than the languages of the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides.25

WHILE the historian of culture contacts on the Loyalty Islands has vast amounts of material about the contact developments, and nineteenth and twentieth century studies of aspects of the islanders' material culture and way of life available to him, there is a great lack of competent research into the pre-historical or early contact socio-political systems. Many of the observant nineteenth century visitors and explorers who published valuable accounts of New Caledonian society wrote very little about the Loyalty Island social structure, because few had the opportunity to travel there, while those who did tended to assume that the social systems were the same as in New Caledonia and thus concentrated on other (though, to the historian, no less valuable) aspects of life on the Loyalty Islands. Apart from the LMS and Marist missionaries, most Europeans who recorded their experiences on the Loyalty Islands spent very little time there and many of the comments made about the society were impressionistic and often owed more to European socio-political models, with kings, princes, republics or monarchies abounding, than to any close understanding of the society. The missionaries, too, were more concerned with recording in great detail the complex and turbulent contact events.

than with any attempts to write up scholarly accounts of the social structure; and this is all the more regrettable for the missionaries were so deeply involved in these contact developments that of necessity they had an intimate knowledge of the workings of the island societies. It is not suggested that the missionaries, or for that matter other contemporary writers, never made intelligent, sympathetic, and extremely valuable observations about the nature of socio-political organizations; indeed, by sifting through their notes, letters, and publications, a considerable body of information can be built up. Though the Loyalty Islands had no equivalent of the Marist priests, Lambert and Gagnière, who wrote excellent studies of the New Caledonians, mention should be made of the voluminous notes on Mare written by Beaulieu, the Marist missionary; Bernard, his counterpart on Uvea, has also left valuable manuscript material; Emma Hadfield's Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group, and S.H. Ray's 'The People and Language of Lifu', which is based largely on information given to him personally by the Protestant missionaries Hadfield and Sleigh, are similarly valuable introductions. But on the whole, nineteenth century European accounts of the Loyalty Island social structure are limited in comparison to what was written about other Pacific island societies. Comprehensive twentieth century accounts are notable by their absence. Maurice Leenhardt, the renowned missionary and ethnologist who wrote prolifically about New Caledonian society, wrote extremely little about the Loyalty Islands. The only major works are the publications of Jean Guiart

26 Pierre Lambert, Moeurs et Superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens, Noumea, 1900; Matthieu Gagnière, Étude ethnologique sur la Religion des Néo-Calédoniens, Saint-Louis, 1905.

27 Most of Beaulieu's notes and letters are in the private collection of Father M.J. Dubois (PCD) in Paris; others are in ANP, and AAN; Bernard, 'Notices historiques sur l'île Uvea et les îles Beauprès' AAN; Emma Hadfield, Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group, London, 1920; S.H. Ray, 'The People and Language of Lifu, Loyalty Islands', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 47(1917), 239-322.

and the articles and unpublished notes and theses about Hare
written by Father M.J. Dubois,29 and the following discussion
owes much to these French 'sociologues'. Both have an intimate
knowledge of the Loyalty Islands, but although they have gone to
great lengths to reconstruct historical and pre-historical
developments, their work is based largely on their knowledge of
the contemporary society and the testimony of their informants;
and these are sources which have been subjected to a greater or
lesser degree of European influences for well over 100 years.

The material on pre- or early contact society, therefore,
is limited, and is open to qualification. No claim is made to
exactitude, but rather some of the apparently more obvious
characteristics of the Loyalty Island socio-political organizations
will be tentatively outlined - characteristics which, though
broadly following the patterns of the New Caledonian social systems,
seem to have had their own subtle, and sometimes striking
peculiarities.30

The basic social unit, to which each individual belonged,
was a patrilineal, exogamous, and patriloclal group known as a clan
which was in essence an extended family with its members
theoretically sharing a common ancestry.31 However, unrelated
individuals or groups could also become members of another existing
clan, or form an associated sub-clan. Immigrants to a new area,
or those seeking protection from an enemy, were frequently accepted
by and assimilated into another clan. Over the generations, clans
could develop into sprawling and complex organizations, with older

29 The bibliography lists the relevant works of Guiart and
Dubois.

30 For a description of pre- or early contact society in New
Caledonia, see Bronwen Douglas, 'A History of Culture
Contact in North-eastern New Caledonia 1774-1870', Ph.D.
thesis, ANU, Canberra, 1972, Chapter 1. Much of the
following discussion on the nature of the socio-political
organization on the Loyalty Islands should be read in
conjunction with Douglas's Chapter 1.

31 The Nengone word for clan, puhumameng, and the Dehu word,
lapa, both mean 'family'. M.J. Dubois, 'La Société, le
Clan, la Tribu', 'Papers Relating to Mare, New Caledonia
including Vocabularies in the Nengone Language and an
Ethnology of Mare', n.d., TS., microfilm in my possession,
56-61; Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 272-273; Ray,
289.
lines dying out and newer ones splitting into a series of branches with members often living far from the original clan village. But in spite of dispersion, each individual usually retained and publicly acknowledged his links with his clan and its place of origin. On Mare, personal names were prefixed by si or serei, meaning 'belonging to', and the place of the clan's origin: such as Si Mebuet. In addition, members of a sub-clan or a specialized branch further distinguished themselves by using the term re- tei or reboni, meaning respectively 'children of' or 'grandchildren of'. But such prefixes and clan names are not always a reliable guide to someone's lineage, for a person could hide some socially unacceptable event in his or his family's past by taking on new names. Clans, too, if they became powerful, were known to change their names in order to hide humble or disreputable origins. On Uvea and Lifu, the expression of clan ties was less specific. For example, ate or angate was used on Lifu in the manner of the Marean si or serei but there was no general equivalent of re-tei or reboni, though clans descended from chiefly lines could use the prefix ang angi - 'the grandchildren of'. Each clan had its own totem and detailed legends of clan origins, though the further into the past the clan history went, the more it owed to fertile imaginations. On Uvea, there were scores of clans, and hundreds on the two larger islands.

Each clan had a chief who was in theory the eldest male directly descended from the eldest son of the first couple who began the clan. In practice, the clan chief was more likely to have come from one of the stronger lines of the clan - a line which may or may not have been the original one. Clan chiefs, therefore, usually traced their lineage back through mythical

32 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 56, 61.
33 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 57-61; Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 272.
34 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 273.
35 Beaulieu, MS. notes for the theological conference in Noumea 1890, AAN; Bernard, ' Notices historiques sur l'île Ouea et les îles Beaupré', AAN; Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 59-60; Hadfield, 156.
36 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, chapters VII, VIII, IX, passim.
rather than through historical events. Regardless of whether or not a clan chief was the direct descendant of the clan's first born son, he was always referred to as the 'first born' to symbolize the real or supposed link. Within the temporal clan, he was also known as the 'father' and the clan members as his 'children', terms which naturally enough, were usually more symbolic than literal. 37

Few clans were autonomous and most belonged to an alliance with varying numbers of other clans which all paid a common allegiance to a 'great chief' who was normally the clan chief of the most powerful clan within the group. However, the great chief was very often a complete stranger, often an immigrant, who was offered the chieftainship by the clans: 38 the reasons for such a remarkable feature of both New Caledonian and Loyalty Island chieftainships will be discussed shortly.

On Nare, the clan alliance was known as a padoku, a term often translated as tribe, though perhaps better defined as simply a territory under a great chieftainship, or a great chiefdom. Each padoku had territorial limits, though these were often disputed, and each took as its name the clan name of its great chief. 39 Thus the most common use by Europeans of the term si, such as Si Medu, usually referred to the padoku Si Medu and not to the particular Si Medu clan. Lifu and Uvea were also divided into great chiefdoms,

37 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 58; Fagot, 'Relations Familiales et Coutumières entre les trois îles Loyauté', JSAO, 5 (December 1949), 87-88; Ray, 289. The indigenous names for clan chiefs are: tok in Nengone meaning elder, clan chief, first born of the family; tan in Dehu; and tuhan in Iai.

38 Beaulieu to Perrault, 24 April 1911, cit., M.J. Dubois, 'La Propriété Foncière Maréene au temps du paganisme', Etudes Mélanésiennes, 5 (January 1951), 87; Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 58; Garnier, 290-291; Leenhardt, 'Les Chefferies Océaniennes', 371. The indigenous terms for a great chief are: retok or doku in Nengone, and joxu or angajoxu in Dehu. The first Europeans all saw the distinction between the clan and great chiefs; the French used, and still use, the terms 'petit chef' and 'grand chef', terms which the islanders also use if they are speaking French; the Englishman most commonly referred to 'chiefs' and 'Kings'. I have used an English rendition of 'grand chief'.

39 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 58.
each with a geographic name, where clans paid a common allegiance to a great chief: on Lifu, the Great Chiefs Ukeneso, Zuela, and Bula, ruled over Wet, Gaitscha, and Losi respectively; and Uvea was also divided into three areas: Ohwen, Fayawa or Ina, and Muli (including Lekin and Fayawa), under the Great Chiefs Bazit, Whenegay, and Dumai. 40

Clan chiefdoms tended to be based on proclaimed kinship ties, whether real or not, whereas the great chiefdoms tended to be political organizations created by conquest or peaceful arrangements. Therefore, the great chiefdoms on each island had their own particular characteristics. The Mare padoku tended to be small, numerous (at least ten), unstable, and constantly at war with one another, largely as a result of the unique events in Mare's recent pre-history. According to indigenous traditions, which have been carefully studied by Guiart and especially Dubois, who consider them reliable, Mare was in a post-revolutionary situation when the Europeans arrived in the 1840s. Throughout the eighteenth century, numbers of immigrants from New Caledonia, Polynesia, and Lifu were dominated by the original inhabitants known as the elektok. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the immigrants and their descendants took control of Mare and in a series of wars massacred almost all the elektok, and the turbulent processes of regrouping clans and dividing the island into areas of political and territorial control had not been long underway by the 1840s. 42

---

40 The situation in Ohwen was rather more complex than indicated here, see below, 84-85; for Uvea generally and Lifu, see below, 57-61, 80-85.

41 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 56-59.

42 Dubois has written a voluminous study (944 pages) of the elektok, using nineteenth and twentieth century documents of the Marist missionaries, particularly Beaulieu and Boillot, and of various French Government administrators, in his private collection. But he has depended largely on oral traditions he collected during his thirty years on Mare as a missionary: 'Les Eletok de Maré d'après la tradition. Etude d'ethnohistoire'. He has also published some brief articles on the elektok: 'Les Eletok de Maré', Études Mélanésiennes, 3 (January 1948), 18-24; 'L'Origin des Eletok', JSO, 6 (December 1950), 248-250. See also, Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, chapter VII, passim; Henri Naissif, 'Histoire Mythique d'Ile Maré', Études Mélanésiennes, 8 (December 1956), 34-42; Sarasin, 239-242.
The organization of the great chiefdoms on Uvea was also quite recent, owing much to the two migrations from Wallis Island and New Caledonia in the latter half of the eighteenth century; but the rearrangement of areas of authority had been far less upsetting than on Mare.43

Lifu's recent pre-history had been far less troubled than either Mare's or Uvea's, and the Europeans found that the chiefdoms of Losi and Wet were large, relatively stable, and although they were constantly fighting each other, neither had any outright superiority, for they were equal in size and strength, with the small chiefdom of Gaitcha acting as a buffer between them.44

Once a great chieftainship had been constituted by conquest, or by peaceful means, particularly by offering the position to a stranger, the chieftainship was usually hereditary, with succession normally going to the eldest son, though there were exceptions: if the son was not considered fit to take his father's place, another son, a nephew, or indeed anyone else could be elected by a council of elders.45 There was no system of formal investiture of an heir either before or after the chief's death: from about the age of twenty, he would gradually assume some of the chief's duties, often the two working together until one of them died. If a chief died leaving an infant son, the boy's uncle was usually appointed to conduct the chieftainship until the boy was old enough to take over.46 The death of a chief or his heir was always attributed to the 'sorcerers of an enemy tribe',47 and the result was often bitter warfare.

---

43 See below, 80-82.
44 See below, 57-60.
45 Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into Certain Alleged Cases of Kidnapping of the Natives of the Loyalty Islands, Minutes of Evidence, (Henry Burns), Sydney, 1869, 22; Erskine, 340; Guitta to Poupinel, 26 November 1873, IV ONC, APH; Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
46 Report of the Royal Commission, Minutes of Evidence, (Burns), 22; Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML; Ray, 290.
47 Guide to Poupinel, 10 July 1880, IV ONC, APH; MacFarlane, 13.
Each great chief, like the clan chiefs, traced his origins back to mythical rather than historical events and an adopted chief could create a long and glorious past for himself. Each chief also used a 'dynastic' name to indicate the real or imagined line of patrilineal succession. A powerful great chief could change the name if he wished to associate the chieftainship more closely with himself than with his ancestors. Sinonawai replaced Tahmusu and Naïsiline replaced Yeɪone as the dynastic names of the Si Gureschaba and Si Gwahma respectively. Some great chiefs who did not wish to use a new name could choose from a variety of previously adopted names: the great chief of Wet could call himself Wenedhia, Guité, Gala, Ukonoso, or Sihazé.

Defence to the great chiefs was complete: on Lifu and Mare they were addressed in Minya and Teateno, and on all islands their followers would normally go on all fours if moving in their presence. None would ever stand while the chief was speaking, only a select few had the right to touch his body or his personal possessions, and only he could eat certain foods, such as tortoise meat, and the eyes, heart, and breast of a slain enemy. He held the lives of those from his own family line in his hands and the earliest Europeans reported with horror that he could punish someone for what appeared a minor offence by smashing their skull and remain 'as unconcerned as if he had killed a dog'. Almost without exception, Europeans thought the great chiefs were tyrannical autocrats, and failed to appreciate that the chieftainship was a trust and carried with it the responsibility for the well-being of the group that owed allegiance. Europeans also mistakenly saw the relationship between a great chief and the members of the great chiefdom as strictly that of ruler and subject.

Such a misunderstanding was reflected in erroneous European

---

48 Beaurepaire, MS. notes for the theological conference in Noumea 1890, AAR; Bernard to Yardin, 16 November 1851, IV ONG, APM; Hadfield, 17; M.J. Lavelle, 'Les Trois Districts d'Ouvea', Études Mélanésiennes, 4(July 1949), 16-18.

49 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 59-61; Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 273.

50 Report of the Royal Commission, Minutes of Evidence, (Burns), 22; Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 106, 128; Ray, 250.

51 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 97; MacFarlane, 6, 22.
translations of terms expressing the relationship. Great Chief Henri Naisiline of Mare explained to Leenhardt: "If I talk in my language, I say "my brothers" [when referring to the people of his chiefdom], if I talk in French I say "my subjects".

Furthermore, there were limits built into the social system designed to check a chief's arbitrary and irresponsible behaviour.

One of the most effective limits was that political authority and ownership of land were rigorously separated. Proprietary rights were vested in the clan and no chief had the right to own any land other than what was due to him as a member of a clan. And it was not uncommon for a great chief, particularly if he was an immigrant or was a descendant of an immigrant, to have no personal land at all, and be dependent upon his clans for food.

Male clan members usually held an hereditary right to portions of clan land, and in return they offered yams or some other produce to the chief as recognition that he, as guardian of the clan, was ultimately responsible for the protection and fecundity of clan land. As well as working on his own plots of land, any man could cultivate some land belonging to his mother's clan, with the consent of its chief, and a married man could work a portion of land belonging to his wife's clan, again with the permission of its chief. In the former case, the right was not extended to his children, and in the latter, the right ceased on the death of his wife. Strangers, too, could be granted rights to cultivate an area of clan land, provided they acknowledged their allegiance to

52 Leenhardt, Vocabulaire et Grammaire de la Langue Houilou, Paris, 1935, 131, cit., Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact in North-eastern New Caledonia', 349. However, the expression of familial relationships does not appear to have been as strong with regard to the great chief as it was with a clan chief, cf. Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact', 15.

53 Beaulieu to Perrault, 24 April 1911, cit., Dubois, 'La Propriété Foncière Maréene', 76-78; de Dollon, 'Rapports', 14 August 1879, AAR; Hadfield, 69; Jones to Resident, 13 July 1876, JHP 1845-1876, A399, ML; Leenhardt, 'L'Archipel des Loyalty', 834; MacFarlane, 4; Naisiline, 'Notes sur l'organisation sociale du district de Nece (Maré)', Études Mélanésiennes, 6(September 1952), 39-40; Governor Fritzburger, 'Règlement de Maré. Décision du Contre-Amiral Gouverneur Grand-chef des Loyalty', 4 June 1876, AAR; Ray, 292.

54 All the following information has come from Dubois, 'La Propriété Foncière Maréene', 70-73.
the clan chief by paying the required tribute which was usually yams. As long as a stranger associated himself with the clan, the right to work the same land passed to his children, but if he or they, or, in fact, any clan member, permanently left the clan, the land reverted to clan ownership. The mechanisms of land tenure were designed to ensure that clan land, with all its emotional and spiritual connotations for clan members, always remained the preserve of the clan, and that within the clan, ownership could never devolve upon one person. Nor could a chief increase his personal holdings by conquest of other clans or great chiefdoms, for the right to administer this land still belonged to the same clans, the difference being that they acknowledged and paid tribute in yams to their new great chief. If a clan was dying out, the last surviving members would hand over the land to another clan to administer, or, if a clan sought protection from another, they might also entrust the administration of their land to their protectors. Any individual could make use of land belonging to anyone else, whether belonging to his clan or not, providing the owner was agreeable and the necessary tributes were paid. It was common for permanent plantations, such as coconut trees and sugar cane, to have been planted and owned by an individual and his descendants, though the land on which they grew was not theirs.

Another limit to the authority of a great chief was his council of elders, consisting of other clan chiefs and important priests. All matters affecting the group, from the strategies of war to the planning of celebrations, were discussed with the chief in council in an attempt to reach decisions which would be in the best interests of those they represented. The councils had considerable influence in deciding whether or not a chief's son was worthy of the chiefship, and if he was not, it was they who chose the successor. The relationship between the chiefs and their councils was a flexible one, depending on the personality of the chief and the quality of the council members. But it does seem that few great chiefs refused to heed advice on important

55 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 60.
56 Guitta to Poupinel, 26 November 1873, IV ONC, APM.
...issues, and that the elders 'did not hesitate to speak boldly to the chief'.

On Lifu, another group of men, who had considerable influence over administrative decisions, were known as alulu in Wet and ten ado elsewhere - the 'masters of the soil'. These men were descendants of the original inhabitants who, over the generations, had lost direct political control, either by conquest, or by having given the chieftainships to new-comers, but who still retained most of the rights and privileges of their ancestors, particularly the right to distribute clan land. While they had no constituted authority over the great chiefs and could not usually participate in the councils of elders, they were nevertheless held in awe, and usually dreaded, for they had the right to carry certain supernatural powers and could bring prosperity or disaster to the clan depending on the wishes of the masters. The masters themselves were divine men because of their ancient and mythical links with the totems and spirits of the land. Those who had taken over the chieftainship by either peaceful or hostile means, usually forced to harm the masters and accorded them positions of great privilege within their administrations so that their supernatural powers might be used to sustain the chieftainship, and allow the spirits of the land to rest undisturbed. The masters themselves owed allegiance to a small group of highly select men called atesi, a shortened form of ate sine ite hase - men of divine essence. The atesi role was to keep the chieftainship under constant surveillance, and by compelling the masters to withdraw their supernatural support from the chief, they had, in effect, the right to depose him. They also claimed the right to physically punish a chief, as did the hingar in than on Uvea.

57 Ray, 290.
58 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 390. For further information on the hase, or kase as it was known on Mare, see Dubois, 'Sorcelleries Maréennes: le kase et le Fase', Mudes M'lenesiennes, 4(July 1949), 5-15; Hadfield, chapter IX; Ray, 295.
59 Fabvre to Yardin, March 1860, IV ONC, APW; Fagot, 'Relations Familiales', 88; Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 373-374, 558; Hadfield, 153-154.
The social category of the masters of the soil provides an explanation as to why the chieftainship could be given to strangers: Guiart sees it as part of an elaborate mechanism for integrating into existing society the numbers of immigrants frequently coming to the Loyalty Islands without upsetting those already in positions of privilege. By training an immigrant to take over the chieftainship, he would thus be in a position where he had obligations to the whole social group and where there were effective limits on his personal authority. Furthermore, he was less likely to be an embarrassment at the top of the social structure than at the bottom where he would have to be accorded land rights. Certainly on Lifu the atesi and the masters had lost little to the new-comers.

On Mare, the original masters of the soil, the eletok, had been mostly eliminated, but, according to Dubois and Guiart, immigrants from Lifu provided the means by which certain Mare clans were able to take over the supernatural role once played by the eletok. The Si Xacace were driven off Lifu by Bula sometime after the massacre of the eletok and they settled at Niri in the south of Mare. There they made and distributed the baze, or kaze as they became known on Mare, to chiefs who entrusted them to certain clans who became acania - 'the owners of evil'. Thus though the original masters had all but gone, the institution of the acania filled any gap in the social structure of the paduku.

The situation differed again on Uvea. The original masters lost the greater part of their aura and prestige to the large numbers of immigrants from Lifu, Polynesia, and, in particular, New Caledonia in the second half of the eighteenth century. The masters had neither the opportunity nor the necessary numerical support to allow them to deify their role, as happened on Lifu: instead of them integrating the new-comers, it was they who were absorbed, and not on their terms; but at least they were not killed, as on Mare.

---

60 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 641.
61 Dubois, 'Sorcelleries Maréennes', 5-15; Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 284, 347, 633-634.
62 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 626.
A great chief was also surrounded by large numbers of men of some rank who performed certain clearly defined tasks within the administration of the chiefdom. Each chief had a 'mouthpiece' - a man who announced publicly a chief's decisions, and who was responsible for disseminating information to other districts on the island, and there were other 'diplomats' who conducted relations with clans on the other islands. A chief's younger brother was usually in charge of warfare, and had his own retinue of men who helped decide war strategy and organized peace negotiations. Other men acted as household servants and prepared the chief's food, removed his rubbish and excrement: they alone had the right to touch the chief's body, and cut his hair. In addition to his council of elders, each great chief had many specialist advisors and skilled labourers who represented particular clans: some men were responsible for his health, others guarded his riches - shells, jade artefacts, and other personal accoutrements; there were men who killed tortoises, caught fish, and prepared human flesh for the chief's consumption; others worked on his clan land if he owned any. Some were responsible for keeping his hut and other buildings in good repair, and built his canoes. There were those who defended the chief from attack, and various clans had specific areas to keep under surveillance - some prepared for attack from the sea, others for attack from the north, and so on. As well, there were numbers of priests with specialized tasks involving all activities from rain making, to ensuring success in fishing and warfare, to scaring away evil spirits of the night. A few of these priests seem to have maintained their positions not so much as a right, but by their apparent ability to control the supernatural forces of cause and

63 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, chapters VII, VIII, IX, passim; Leenhardt, *L'Archipel des Loyalty*, 834; Leenhardt, *Les Chefferies Océaniennes*, 372-374. I have been unable to trace any nineteenth century documents which systematically list all these people and functions, though there are innumerable references to numbers of them. For example, a European might refer to a 'rain maker', a 'priest', a chief's 'spokesman' and his 'bodyguard', and there are many references to a chief's 'ministers' or 'Prime minister'.


effect; if, for example, a crop failed, the fate of those whose task had been to ensure the crops flourished was often death.64

As part of the policy of accepting and integrating strangers, the great chiefs readily made use of any supernatural or technical skills possessed by new-comers, and elevated such people to positions of great prestige, regarding them as enehmu, or favourites.65 Tongans were commonly enehmu because of their various skills, one of which was canoe making.66

Each great chieftainship rested upon a vast socio-administrative structure. The chief's retinue of advisors and helpers maintained those powers a chief needed to sustain the well-being of the clans which recognized him, while, at the same time, were effective counterweights to a chief's arbitrary behaviour liable to weaken the group. The great chiefs were there less to command than to serve as a centre of cohesion for the networks of their administration, and to be the object of affection.67

Within the framework of each great chiefdom, there were numbers of similar, though smaller and simplified hierarchies, for each clan chief, too, had his advisors and specialist helpers. The relationships among individuals and clans under a great chief were celebrated annually by the ceremonial presentations of the season's first yams. These yams were first given to the elder members of families by the young men. From there, the elders carried the yams on to the recognized head of the family line, who passed them on to the clan chief, and then to the various dignitaries of the great chieftainship until they finally reached the great chief, by which time the gift was considerable for each person had added to it.68 Not everyone paid the tribute: the

64 Ray, 295. An example of 'priests' being killed for not being able to control an epidemic is in Ta'unga, The Works of Ta'unga, ed. R.G. and Marjorie Crocombe, Canberra, 1968, 80.
65 MacFarlane, 27. enehmu is Dehu.
66 Jones, 23 August 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
67 Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 58; Leenhardt, 'Les Chefferies Océaniennes', 373.
68 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 271-275, and chapters VII, VIII, IX, passim; Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML; Naisiline, 'Notes sur l'organisation sociale du district de Nece', 41.
slulu and atesi, for example, by virtue of their privileged position, simply sent sithingen - their best wishes. The gifts did not all flow in the direction of the great chief, for he was sometimes obliged to show his respect and affection by giving yams to certain individuals; and among the various hierarchies of the great chiefdom there were other complicated networks of giving and receiving.

While the actual socio-political structures varied in size and composition in each locality, Loyalty Island society considered as a whole consisted of a number of social pyramids, each under a great chief, and each in a constant state of evolution as a result of warfare and the absorption of new-comers into all levels of society (which perhaps explains why there was no class of slaves). It was a society whose members placed great emphasis on the role of large numbers of 'nobles' associated with each chiefdom - a characteristic particularly marked on Mare and Lifu by the development of the respectful languages.

Loyalty Island society was generally more hierarchical than in New Caledonia with a very much clearer social stratification - great chiefs, atesi and masters of the soil and their equivalents, councils of elders, specialist priests and advisors, clan chiefs, and a variety of specialist labourers, down to the common man.

Writers have generally attributed such a social organization to the influence of Polynesian immigrants, and while some, like Leenhardt, have exaggerated the parallels with Polynesian social systems, nevertheless, Loyalty Island society had many of the

---

69 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 275, 374.
70 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 390, 500, and chapters VII, VIII, IX, passim.
71 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 639-640.
72 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 653.
characteristics more popularly attributed to Polynesian, rather than Melanesian, socio-political organizations. But whatever the intricate details of their social system may have been, the Loyalty Islands had a long history of evolutionary and revolutionary change before the Europeans arrived - a history which featured the acceptance and integration of strangers, warfare, and the fragmentation and regrouping of areas of political control.

The Loyalty Islands' low profile kept them hidden from Cook and d'Entrecasteaux, the earliest European discoverers of New Caledonia, though both had closer contact with Loyalty Islanders than they knew. Cook recorded the use of the term Alekee, and Labillardiere (d'Entrecasteaux's naturalist) Aliki for chief: Aliki is a Polynesian word, not Melanesian, and was also used on Uvea by the Wallis Island descendants. Cook also thought the language at Balad was a mixture of Tannese, Tongan, and Maori: the speakers he heard may well have been immigrants or visitors from Uvea, or New Caledonians who had borrowed Uvea words. D'Entrecasteaux certainly did meet Loyalty Islanders in a canoe at Balad in the north of New Caledonia:

the men who were in it spoke the language of the natives of the Friendly Islands. They were eight in number, being seven and one woman, all very muscularly built. They told us that the island from whence they came was a day's sail to the east of our moorings, and that the name of it was Aou-vea; it was doubtless the island of Beaupré which they meant.


76 Hollyman, 361.

77 Ray, 309.

78 Cook, 541.

79 Hollyman, 361; Hollyman and Haudricourt, 226.

80 Labillardiere, 246-247.
D'Entrecasteaux had, a few weeks previously, almost come to grief on the Beaufre reefs (which he named) some fifteen miles north-west of the Uvean mainland.\(^{81}\) It was probable that Aou-vea referred to Uvea, and not to the Beaufre reefs for their indigenous name is Heo. Small numbers of Wallisian descendants, however, sometimes lived on Heo.

The first recorded European sighting of the Loyalty Islands was in 1793 when the store-ship *Britannia* sailed passed the west coast of Hare on a voyage from Sydney to Jakarta. Three years later, another store-ship, *Providence*, put into the same coast for several hours and had 'intercourse with the natives... [who were] friendly'. Accompanied by the *Fancy* the *Providence* sailed into Sandalwood Bay on Lifu the next day to adjust her rigging. The log-keeper wrote: 'the natives made us a visit. The little paper I have left will not admit of my giving a description of the particularities of their behaviour, it is enough that I can with truth say, they were friendly and honest'.\(^{83}\)

Dumont D'Urville surveyed the three islands in 1827 and 1840, although he never landed,\(^{84}\) and until 1841, there are no further documented sightings. It is highly probable that there were other late eighteenth and early nineteenth century landings by Europeans, perhaps including La Pérouse, for there are at least two recorded oral traditions of brief European presence on Mare, and two for Lifu.\(^{85}\) And the islanders almost certainly had further direct or indirect knowledge of Europeans from the numbers of

---

81 Labillardiere, 188-189.


Tongans who had drifted westwards since Europeans had reached Polynesia, and from contact with northern New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines - two areas visited by Europeans before the 1840s.

Until the 1850s, the Loyalty Islands remained poorly charted and there was much confusion over their names. Even now, it is not known how or why they came to be called 'Loyalty'.

In the early 1840s, the lure of sandalwood and the challenge of a new mission field on the Loyalty Islands enticed sandalwood traders.

---

86 The name 'Loyalty Isles' first appeared on A. Arrowsmith's 1793 Chart of the Pacific Ocean (no. Mar.1 38, British Museum Map Room). In the 1798 edition, a dotted line was added to represent the track of the Britannia, and was marked 'Britannia 1703', a misprint for 1793. (no. S.T.P., British Museum Map Room). Collins, in his An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, 1798, 477, wrote that the 'Loyalty Islands' were discovered by Captain Haven of the Britannia. T. Butler's 1799 Chart of the Western Part of the Pacific Ocean, (no. 980C2f), British Museum Map Room, has Mare marked as 'Britannia Is', and a series of dots representing Lifu and Uvea marked as 'Loyalty Is'. Confusion over the names arose from this point - 'Britannia' or 'Loyalty Islands' was used to refer to any or all of the three main islands. Dumont D'Urville added to the confusion by naming Uvea 'Halgan', and Lifu 'Chabrol', though he retained 'Britannia' for Mare. His charts of the islands were not very accurate, and were not widely used on English vessels out of Sydney. Though sandalwood traders were well acquainted with the Loyalty Islands by the mid-1840s, they remained badly charted until the 1860s, and most other masters had only a vague idea of their presence. Some, coming across them for the first time, and thinking they had made a new discovery, hastened to name them: Mare was given the names 'Chrichton Island' and 'Burrows Island'. (E. Courtney, 'Seringapatam Reef... and Chrichton Island, Loyalty Group', Nautical Magazine, 11(1842), 341; H. M. Denham, 'Proceedings of H.M.S. "Herald"', Nautical Magazine, 23(1854), 363) By the mid-1840s, most Europeans acquainted with the islands referred to them collectively as the Loyalty Islands, and called them individually Mare, Lifu, and Uvea. The word Uvea was given to the island by the Wallis Island immigrants, in memory of their own island which is still sometimes referred to as Uvea; the non-Wallisian inhabitants sometimes used the term Uvea but usually called their island Iai. The Lifuaus called their island Dehu, and the term Lifu is possibly a European corruption of Dripu, the Mare name for Lifu. The Mareans called their island Nengone, and the Lifuaus called it M.engone. Mare was the name the people of south-east New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines used for the island.
from Australia, and LMS missionaries from Samoa. They were soon followed by Selwyn and Patteson of the Melanesian Mission, and shortly afterwards by French Marist missionaries. The French Government annexed New Caledonia in 1853 and in the 1860s actively intervened in Loyalty Island affairs. All these Europeans, with their religious and national prejudices, found themselves not only in bitter conflict with each other, but inextricably caught up in the islanders' own politics and hostilities. In the decades after 1840, much of the contact history concerns the way in which both Loyalty Islanders and Europeans vied with and amongst each other for positions of authority, seeking to take advantage of any opportunities that arose from the often turbulent contact events.
AUTHORITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND CONFLICT:
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
DURING the first twenty-five years of contact with Mare after 1851, the Europeans found that the population in the southern and eastern areas was divided into numerous warring and politically unstable padoku. Among the largest padoku, Si Medu, Si Rued, Si Gurawc, Si Gureschaba, Si Ruumec, and Node ri Kurubu, there was an ever changing network of alliances, and counter-alliances, and some, notably the Si Medu and Si Gurawc were split into hostile factions. There was greater stability in the northern regions by 1841 for the padoku were becoming increasingly dominated by the Si Gwahrna under the Naisseline chieftainship. Sometime during the 1830s, the Great Chief Yiewene Naisseline conquered the neighbouring Si Waeko at Ro, and when the Europeans arrived, his influence was well established from the eastern side of the Northern Bay to just north of Tadine; and he was intent on extending his authority into the lands of the

1 The term Node ri Kurubu provides an exception to the general use of the prefix si in the name of a padoku. Node ri Kurubu means: 'the people of the interior cultivations'. See Dubois, 'La Société, le Clan, la Tribu', 56. Throughout this thesis the prefix si indicates padoku names and not clan names unless otherwise stated.

2 There is a great deal of information on all these padoku in the Marist missionaries' notes in PCD and APM. Among the more important MS are: Beaulieu, 'Notes sur l'Ile de Mare'. Etat de l'Ile de Mare en 1866', [1876], PCD; Beaulieu, 'Histoire Sommaire de Penelo', n.d., PCD; and Goujon, 'La Mission de Mare 1850-1856', N.C. La Loyalty, III ONC, APM. The letters of Jones and Creagh to the LMS after 1854 similarly contain much information. One of the most useful is Jones to LMS, 23 April 1858, (which includes a map), SSL, LMS.

3 Hnawang Saiwene Umpelle, 'Convention Naisseline - Si Waeko', n.d., TS., uncatalogued, APM; Beaulieu to Cané, n.d., TS., uncatalogued, APM; Beaulieu, 'Litterature de Kétivane', n.d., PCD. Some of the Si Waeko took refuge in the southern region of Mare and were still there in the 1850s. See Jones to LMS, 23 April 1858, SSL, LMS.

Approximate padiku boundaries in the 1860s.
Based on a map by John Jones, enclosed in Jones to LMS, 23 April 1858.
Si Achakaze and Node ri Kurubu. Fortunately for him, and his successors, most of the Europeans visiting Mare came to their area for there were anchorages and landing places, whereas the exposed eastern and southern coastline kept the padoku in those regions virtually isolated from direct European contact for over twenty years. Much of the history of European contact with Mare is, therefore, inextricably connected with the consolidation and extension of the Naisiline chieftainship, and the attempts of the southern and eastern padoku to come to terms with each other and defend themselves against the encroachments of the Si Gwahma.

THE HMS missionaries first saw the Loyalty Islands when sailing from Tana to the Isle of Pines in 1840, though not having time to land, they simply noted the discovery of 'another missionary field'. In April the following year, their mission ship Camden was directed to land on Mare, or Britannia as it was marked on their crude charts. By mistake, the Camden made landfall at Tiga, a small island between Lifu and Mare inhabited by about 200 of Naisiline's people. The missionaries thought them 'a fine race and even peaceably disposed' but they were afraid to expose their Samoan teachers to possible starvation on such a small and 'rather barren' island. Squally weather drove the Camden from Tiga and the following day, those on board found themselves in Mare's Northern Bay. They were at first apprehensive of its 'barren sterile looking coast', but then two canoes put out through the reefs and to the astonishment and delight of all, one of the paddlers called out: 'I know the true God'. The missionaries discovered he was from the Tongan island of Niuatoputapu and that he had drifted to Mare with six others 'a long time ago'.

Taufu, as he was called, directed the missionaries to the village of Eoche, on the north-western tip of Mare, where they met Great Chief Yiewene Naisiline of the Si Gwahma. Murray spoke of him as:

---

5 Thomas Heath, 'Samoa 1840 April 23 - May 21 Voyage to Rotumah, New Hebrides and New Caledonia in the "Camden"', SSJ, LMS.
6 Murray, 'Samoa 1841 15 February - 13 April Tutuila to Sydney in the "Camden"', SSJ, LMS; Murray, 299-300.
Jeiue, the principal chief of one side of the island. He did not usually reside here, but was on a visit at the time; and this also was an important providential coincidence, as he was the only man on the side of the island where Taufa lived, and had influence, with whom the teachers could be left.

Both Yiewene and Taufa spent the night on the Camden while two Samoan teachers, Taniela and Tataio, went ashore to see if the conditions were suitable for them to settle. The next day, they reported they had been kindly treated and after Yiewene agreed to protect them and their property, the missionaries decided to let them remain and commence the task of evangelizing the islanders. Yiewene was then given a large axe, cloth, beads, and fish-hooks and the missionaries sailed away, delighted they had found islanders who, according to Murray, were in a 'remarkably prepared state for the reception of the Gospel, so peaceable and apparently so little attached to any system of false religion. They appear the most quiet and harmless heathen I ever saw'.

Yiewene took the teachers to Netchi, his village on a narrow coastal strip at the foot of the high coastal rim, where, along with Taufa and some other Tongans, they lived as his enehmu.

Sandalwood vessels reached Mare in 1842 and they too found 'the natives friendly'. A Mr White from the Achilles spent eight days alone with the islanders and gathered sandalwood without any difficulties. However, in April, the Martha, making a second voyage to Mare to cut sandalwood, put a boat ashore in St Rue맥 territory, near the present day area of Drain. The crew never returned and the Martha itself was threatened by armed warriors in canoes. Missionaries shortly afterwards found out

7 Murray, 301.
8 Murray, 'Samoa 1841... Tutuila to Sydney', SSJ, LMS.
9 Slatyer, 'Journal of a Voyage in the "Camden"', MS. A1770, NL.
10 Sydney Herald, 25 May 1842. See also Dorothy Shineberg, They Came for Sandalwood, Melbourne, 1967, 49. For sandalwood trading activities generally on the Loyalty Islands see Shineberg, passim., and especially chapters 4, 5. The following incidents between sandalwood traders and Loyalty Islanders are fully discussed by Shineberg. Dubois, 'L'Arrivée des Blancs', examines where each of them took place, 307-316.
11 Sydney Gazette, 24 May 1842; Sydney Herald, 24, 26 May 1842.
that the boat's crew had been massacred not because of any
provocation on their part, but through the 'jealousy' of the chiefs
of the Si Ruemce towards Yiewene because 'much property had fallen
from the Captains of Vessels visiting his part to procure Sandal
Wood' whereas few risked their windward coast. Yiewene was eager
to attack and 'kill those who murdered the foreigners, - for he
considered himself now as related to foreigners on act. of his
relation to them the 'Teachers'. But Taniela and Tataio, prevented
him from doing so.12

Though the Samoans were in a privileged position, they
made no headway in evangelizing the Si Gwahma, much to the
annoyance of the LMS missionaries who returned in July 1842. When
they asked Yiewene why he was not a practising Christian, he
rapidly devised the excuse that he had thought the Samoans were
'false men', adding, to placate the angry missionaries, that since
they had returned, he realized Taniela and Tataio were indeed
'genuine', and in future he would attend their prayers.13 Satisfied
with these assurances, the missionaries left two more teachers, Peo
and Zakaria, with instructions to sail to Lifu. Aaron Buzacott had
heard from a sandalwood trader that Bula, the blind Great Chief
of the southern half of Lifu, was eager for Europeans and teachers to
live with him; and as there was frequent friendly communication
between the Si Gwahma and the people of Losi, the missionaries
thought it more advantageous to introduce their teachers to Lifu
in association with the Si Gwahma, rather than as complete strangers,
directly off the mission ship.14

In spite of Yiewene's repeated assurances that he would
protect any Europeans and their property, more sandalwood traders
lost their lives. In November 1843, the Brigand anchored off Ro.
Aware the islanders were planning something devious, Tataio and
Taniela paddled out to the vessel and warned the captain not to

12 Slatyer, 'Journal of a Voyage in the "Camden"', HS. A 1770, ML. See also Aaron Buzacott, 'Cook Islands 1842 March 31-
July 20 Rarotonga to Sydney', SSJ, LMS; Sydney Morning
Herald, 11 August 1842; Shireberg, Sandalwood, 50-51.
13 Slatyer, 'Journal of a Voyage in the "Camden"', HS. A 1770,
ML.
14 Buzacott, 'Cook Islands 1842', SSJ, LMS.
land. But that evening, ten of the crew came ashore looking for women and apparently spent a pleasant night in the village. The next morning, the islanders set upon them, killing nine; the tenth was protected by one of Yiewene's sons. At the same time, those islanders who had stayed on the Brigand attacked the crew, killing one and losing two of their own men. The LMS missionary, George Turner, believed 'the great object which the natives had in view by this massacre was the acquisition of property, such as was obtained by the Isle of Pines people when they took the brig "Star" the year before'. This interpretation seems a reasonable one: the Samoan teachers' knowledge that something was going to happen to the Europeans, and the simultaneous attacks on the ship and the shore indicate premeditation; and there were visitors from the Isle of Pines encouraging the Si Gwahma to take a ship for its riches.

The following month, another sandalwood vessel was attacked by the same people. The Sisters anchored off Netche and Yiewene went out to do business with Captain Brend. An argument over prices broke out and Brend, losing his temper, took to Yiewene with a rope's end, and ordered all the islanders off his ship. To hit a great chief was, in the eyes of the Loyalty Islanders, one of the most monstrous of crimes, and not surprisingly the islanders poured back onto the vessel and killed all eleven crew members. They stripped the Sisters and then set it afame, emulating those on the Isle of Pines who had sacked and burnt the Star. After staggering ashore with their newly gained riches, they amused themselves by flicking gunpowder from a barrel onto a fire. The more excited with the results they became, the greater the amounts they threw on, until a spark ignited the barrel and four islanders, including Menedoku Bula, the heir to the Si Gwahma chieftainship, perished in a great explosion.

15 Turner, 404-406; Samoan Reporter, September 1845.
16 Turner, 406.
17 Murray and Turner, 'Samoan 1845 April 1 - June 7 From Apia. Deputation to New Hebrides, New Caledonia, etc', SSJ, LMS.
18 Samoan Reporter, September 1845; Turner, 406-407.
19 Turner, 407; Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
The youngest son and the reason why he, and not the eldest son, was appointed to be future great chief was given some years later by John Jones, the LMS missionary: a 'Prime Minister', against the wishes of Yiewene, appointed the youngest son because his mother came from Losi, and it was considered that such a gesture would strengthen ties between the Si Gwahma and the people of Losi. 20

The chapter of unhappy incidents continued: a party of seven runaway convicts from Norfolk Island landed at Medu and five were killed by the Si Fula. The remaining two managed to flee inland and were protected by a party of Si Gwahma. 21 Mare gained a terrible reputation and was often referred to as 'massacre island', 22 though sandalwood traders still tried their luck, 23 and the LMS missionaries continued to visit their now unpromising mission field.

On their third voyage to Mare, in May 1845, the missionaries learnt that Taniela had died, but Tataio was still in a position of some social prominence, although only four or five Tongans attended his services. He described how numbers of the Si Gwahma had started to attend during an epidemic of influenza in the hope that the new god could cure them, but on finding his powers in that direction were useless, the numbers dwindled. A visiting chief from the Isle of Pines, 'Mantungu', urged Yiewene to kill the teachers, saying they were the cause of the disease, but Yiewene

---

20 Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JHP 1845-1876, A399, NL. See also Beaulieu, 'Tableau de la Genealogie des chefs de Gouama', n.d., MS., PCD and AAN.

21 Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 23 March 1844; Turner, 408-411. Dubois is in error when he speculates this incident took place near La Roche, 'L'Arrivée des Blancs', 314, 316.

22 Sydney Morning Herald, 20 March 1844. There were two more violent incidents between Mareans and Europeans. In November 1849, Captain Lewis of the Wasp, fearing the people of Tadine were going to attack him, shot and killed three islanders. Lewis was later tried for the murder of the three, and acquitted. See Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 12 July 1851; Erskine, Appendix B; Shineberg, Sandalwood, 92-94. In 1851, the cutter Lucy Ann was captured and the crew of 17 killed at Medu. See Murray and Sunderland, 'Samoa 1832... Deputation from Apia to New Hebrides', SSJ, LMS; Shineberg, Sandalwood, 205. Shineberg is in error when she says these two incidents occurred in the same place.

23 See below, 173-175.
refused. He had good reason to keep them alive, for he was becoming increasingly fearful of retaliation for the deaths of the sandalwood traders. Tataio explained to the missionaries: 'This constant dread of white men, and guns, when a vessel heaves in sight, is unbearable.' The missionaries left the teachers Ikapo and Ta'unga, and departed. Ta'unga, the Rarotongan who wrote a valuable account of his experiences on the Loyalty Islands and elsewhere, was unable to gather a large following, though he did gain the support of one of Yiewene's sons, and a number of Tongans. But much of his time was spent quarrelling with the other teachers who were all Samoans. Soon after his arrival, disease again struck Mare. According to Ta'unga, Yiewene thought that it was the priesthood of the land who were the cause; perhaps they were angry with the offerings of food; maybe with some other thing. Thus they threw the blame for such misfortune on to their own idols. They searched and searched for the reasons for that sickness. One of the priests was killed, then another two, but still the deaths from the epidemic increased. So they began shifting the blame for the disease on to us. We were assumed to be the cause, so they tried to devise means of killing us. Some time later the epidemic abated and the people were saved.

When the LMS missionaries visited Mare in 1846, they found that Yiewene, Ta'unga, and many of the Si Gwahma were on Lifu. Since the last visit of the vessel no visible progress has been made in the work, - that by the command of the chief none of the people go to the services... A Tongan family in the neighbourhood are the only individuals who regularly attend worship, and some of the chief's sons occasionally go, but it appears they are always scolded for doing so by their father... On the whole his [Yiewene's] conduct has been kind, but he always got angry when they the teachers introduced religious conversation. The sons say that they are much restrained by their father, and that it will be a good thing when he dies, for then they will be able to do as they desire.

24 Murray and Turner, 'Samoa 1845... Deputation to New Hebrides', SSJ, LMS; Turner, 402-403, 411.
25 Ta'unga, chapter 9.
26 Ta'unga, 80.
27 Gill and Nisbet to LMS, 28 October 1846, SSL, LMS.
At the end of 1848, Yiewene died of dropsy and on his deathbed was reported as saying to his sons that he had been wrong to oppose 'the Word of Jehovah... let the heathenism of our family die with me'. He was later placed in a canoe fastened to the side of a cliff with chains taken from the Sisters. The youngest surviving son, Yiewene Kicini Bula, became the great chief in preference to his older brothers, Naisiline Alakuten and Naisiline Nidoish, because he had the same Lifuan mother as his deceased younger brother. The death of old Yiewene was the turning point for the LMS mission, for his sons saw the possibilities of increasing their own political and economic influence by supporting the teachers and encouraging friendly relations with Europeans.

When the LMS missionaries made brief visits to Netche in 1848 and 1849, they noted with delight that the 'more gross practices of heathenism' were dying out, the sons regularly attended services, and their people were 'not slow to follow'. The LMS also managed to increase the number of teachers to six.

In September 1849, Captain Erskine in the HMS Savannah, accompanied by Bishop Selwyn in the schooner Undine, sailed into Northern Bay and were met by two of the teachers stationed at Ro, an indication of their increasing influence for no longer were they dependent for protection upon the proximity of the great chief at Netche. They instructed Erskine to sail on to Netche, and as he headed down the west coast a canoe came out.

She contained three black men, who turned out, however, not to be natives of the island: one being a native of the Isle of Pines, and the other two of Lifu. They said the people were very much frightened at our appearance, never having seen so large a ship, and were apprehensive that we had come to punish them for having killed white men some years before. They had evidently been sent to reconnoitre, on the supposition that their character of foreigners would preserve them from injury...
As the Havannah hove to, another canoe appeared, containing Maka, who was a teacher, an Englishman called James Reece, who had recently been living with Bula on Lifou but who had been driven away by war, and three Tongans. The Tongans fascinated Erskine:

I looked at these people with the strongest interest, as the first actual illustration of those migrations which have peopled many of the various groups of islands, and are now changing the character and language of others; but, although I had afterwards living testimony of the truth of their story from the mouth of the only survivor of the party, an aged woman, the events of that long voyage and the whole history of her early life seemed to have almost entirely passed from her memory. The young men themselves, with wives of their own race, we were told, lived in some degree apart from the natives of the island, still preserving many of their original country's habits; but it can require but another generation to effect a complete amalgamation with the black race, whose habits and language are at the same time operated upon by the comparatively large number of six Polynesian teachers.

Erskine learnt from those in the canoe that since Yiewene's death 'the government of his tribe was... during the minority of his son Bula, carried on by two brothers of the name of Naisilini, and a third chief, Tike, who was said to have on more than one occasion interfered to save the lives of white men doomed to death by his countrymen'. Erskine later met Bula and described him as 'the hereditary chief, a fine boy of thirteen or fourteen'.

As he entered the tiny, land-locked cove at Notche, Erskine saw Yiewene's canoe-coffin and its chains high on the cliff, and then he was led before 'two chiefs, Naisilini and Tike'. 'We had in no instance yet', wrote Erskine, 'met with so formal a reception, and it was evident, from the anxiety depicted on the countenances of all present, that they considered the great question of forgiveness or punishment for past offences was now to be settled'. After some discussion, Erskine told the two men that since the teachers had related how the Si Guahma were abandoning their 'savage customs', he was prepared to 'forget the past' if those articles taken from the Si Guahma, with the exception of

---
33 Erskine, 373.
34 Erskine, 374. I have been unable to trace Tike in any other documents.
35 Erskine, 379.
Yiroene’s coffin chains, were surrendered. There was a general feeling of relief, and within seconds, men appeared dragging chains, hoop-iron, and other articles. Erskine sat stone-faced as the pile grew higher and ‘Naisilini’ poured out excuses. Finally, Erskine expressed his satisfaction, and gave small gifts to the two men. At once the islanders began to barter with the *Havannah*’s crew. Selwyn attempted to address the people, but in vain for they were in a ‘ferment of excitement which rendered any conversation on serious subjects impossible’. Selwyn did, however, manage to encourage three young men to sail with him to Auckland for instruction at St John’s, the Melanesian Mission College.

Relationships between the Melanesian Mission and the LMS became embittered over the question of which mission should work on the Loyalty Islands; and for five years after Selwyn’s first visit, each mission did its utmost within the limits of its resources to establish control over the now promising mission field on Mare. In May 1850, Selwyn returned on the *Undine*, this time accompanied by Captain Oliver in HMS *Fly*, and walked from Netche to Ro surrounded by excited islanders. The following year he was again met with ‘noisy joy’ and discovered to his delight that Sispo, one of his scholars who had been in New Zealand, and the LMS teachers had encouraged the islanders to build large chapels at Ro and Netche which were each packed with 500 eager listeners: ‘every

36 Erskine, 375-377.
38 It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the involved negotiations between the two missions. Voluminous correspondence can be found in SSL, LMS from 1849 until the mid-1850s. Some of this correspondence is appended to Murray and Sunderland, ‘Samoa 1852 April 29 - July 9 Deputation from Apia’, SSL, LMS. See also ‘Correspondence between the London Missionary Society and the Bishop of New Zealand’, folder 1, George Augustus Selwyn Papers, MS, 273, Auckland Institute and Museum, Auckland.
knee is bent during the prayers - every voice joins in the responses'. Selwyn thought that among the Si Gwahma and Si Waeko there were 'probably more Christians than anywhere in these seas'.

When the LMS returned in 1852, after an absence of three years, they too were ecstatic at the religious progress. In addition to the chapels, the most important chiefs and teachers all had large plaster cottages, and there was one built in anticipation of a permanent missionary. The Sabbath was rigorously observed, classes for candidates for baptism were well attended, and over thirty had learned to read and 'hundreds' were applying themselves to the task with the 'utmost vigor'. Pieces of cloth were worn over their genitals, and the people had stopped smothering themselves with lime and ash. Naisiline Nidoish and Naisiline Alakuten were at the forefront of such a movement, setting the example, and had even publicly given up their many wives.

Shortly after the LMS visit, Selwyn returned to Mare and William Nihill, who was a New Zealand missionary, his wife, and a Maori helper, Henry Taratau, were put ashore at Netcha: there they spent four months. Nihill had some expertise as a linguist and he began translating some religious texts into the Mare language and printed them on a small press. Though dying of consumption, he was a tireless worker, conducting services, teaching English, and travelling through the Si Gwahma and Si Waeko districts, writing down the names of everyone he met, and collecting insects, plants,
and shells. Everywhere he went he was treated with great kindness and with the utmost respect: 'The natives supply us with food in abundance, yams, etc. at all times, fowls very frequently, pork occasionally. They treat us just as they do their own chiefs, attending to our wishes, saluting us etc.'

He made the following notes on the great chief and his brothers:

Naisiline, the elder, one of the chiefs, is a quiet amiable man, who in his father's life-time, withstood all the attempts of a brother, younger in years, but superior in rank, since dead, to cut off boats coming ashore from vessels. It is principally owing to him that the teachers have been allowed to pursue their labours among the people in peace.

Hezekia, the younger Naisiline, was, when a heathen, always foremost in fighting & all sorts of evil. He is now one of the steadfast friends of the teachers. He has the best houses in the place, and is a good disciplinarian.

Bula or Angadoku, a younger brother of the two others, is the principal chief, and would be more industrious if he were not.

The religious fervour of the people amazed him:

These people spend more time in worship & religious exercises than any I have ever known. I do not know what time monks in religious houses are supposed to spend in common worship, but every Sunday these people devote seven & a half or eight hours to public worship during the whole of which time, broken up into five parts, they are either hearing prayer, or reading, or a sermon, or being catechized, or singing. Everything is conducted with the greatest solemnity & decorum, and I am quite anxious & perplexed because I fear that this can not last, and that without God gives these simple converts greater share of grace to keep them steadfast than is usually vouchsafed to men, there must be a falling away. Religion has become the business of their lives, & without their mode of life is changed, and something given them to do, they cannot, I fear, withstand the temptations which their easy mode of life must continually expose them to, when the novelty has worn off.

But the religious enthusiasm was restricted to the Si Guahma and Si Waeko. Throughout the rest of Mare, the islanders looked and behaved just as they had when the Europeans first arrived. In an

---

44 Nhill to 'Papa', 1 August 1852, W. Nhill Papers, MS. 720, Hocken Library. The following two quotations are from the same letter.

45 'Naisiline' is Naisiline Nidoish, 'Hezekia' is Naisiline Alakuten, and 'Bula' is Yiewene Kicini Bula. The term 'Angadoku', or more correctly angajou, is Dehu for great chief.
attempt to enlighten such 'heathen', Nihill travelled with the two Naisilines through the lands of the Si Hmed and Si Medu, and reached Penelo, the principal village of the Si Gurcowoc. Though all these padoku were the enemies of the Si Gwahma, each chief in the villages they passed through presented them with strips of 'native cloth' as a 'token of amity'. At Penelo, they met a chief Nihill identified as 'Maga' who told them that he could easily give them an opinion of most things, but Christianity required 'thought and consideration, and he could not tell which course to pursue till he had learnt more about it'. Everywhere Nihill went, he came up against a barrage of excuses from those he urged to become Christian. Some argued they did not want to give up their wives, while others said their neighbouring padoku would be very annoyed if they gave up fighting. Nihill realized the main objection was a political one: the Si Gwahma were identified with the new religion under the patronage of Yiwe i Kicini Bula, and to accept the religion would have been a sign of submission to him. Undaunted, Nihill travelled across to the principal village of the Si Gureschaba. These people were in a position of some strength because of the great natural upthrust of coral known as titi (now la Roche) above their village. Shaped like a castle, the impregnable sheer-sided rock, which has only one precipitous route to the top, rises some 160 feet above the surrounding plain. Small numbers could hold out indefinitely against the strongest attacking force, for there is a plantation of several acres on its flat-topped surface. Nihill met the great chief of the Si Gureschaba, Buama, but failed to convince him that he should adopt Christianity. Like the people at Penelo, Buama feared to accept a way of life so closely associated with that of the Si Gwahma. Nihill sadly returned to Netche, having failed to 'plant the tree'.

Selwyn called for Nihill and took him back to Auckland. In November 1853, Nihill was again landed at Netche, for although

46 Extracts of Nihill's journal he kept on the trip were published in [Church of England], Island Mission, 60-70, and are not in the N. Nihill Papers, MS. 720, Hocken Library.
47 P. O'Reilly, 'Deux Sites Fortifiés du district de la Roche dans l'Ile de Maré (Iles Loyalty) I. La Porteresse de la Roche', JSS, 6 (December 1950), 87-92.
suffering badly from consumption he hoped he could continue with his translations in the last months of his life. He died at Netche the following year. 48 Milhill's death, together with the settlement of two LMS missionaries some months previously, effectively ended the Melanesian Mission influence on Mare. Though the mission vessels made brief visits in 1856, 1857, 1858 and 1860, to take off and return island scholars from St Johns, no further attempts were made to establish a permanent mission. 49 Selwyn's ambitious scheme of educating islanders at Auckland, who would return and instruct their fellow countrymen, 50 met with little success. Some of the most disappointing islanders were those from Mare and Lifu— islanders whom he thought would have been ideally suited for such instruction since, he believed, 'They had a less relaxing climate at home, and a soil which needed hard work to make it supply them with food; and they had thus been trained in habits of energy and industry.' 51 From 1849 until 1858, 120 islanders from the south-west Pacific were instructed at St Johns, and thirty-nine of these came from the Loyalty Islands (twenty-two from Mare, three from Tiga, thirteen from Lifu, and one from Uvea). 52 But Auckland's damp winter climate was too severe for many of the boys and some died. 53

48 [Church of England], Island Mission, 82-83; Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LMS.


50 [Church of England], Island Mission, 17-19; Selwyn to Coleridge, 12 August, 21 December 1849, published as Two Letters from Bishop Selwyn, Eton, 1850; Patteson to Jones, 25 August 1858, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML. See also David Hilliard, 'John Coleridge Patteson: Missionary bishop of Melanesia', Pacific Islands Portraits, ed. J.W. Davidson and Deryck Scarr, Canberra, 1970, 179-180.

51 [Church of England], Island Mission, 148.


53 [Church of England], Island Mission, 72-79.
Those who returned to Mare and Lifu contributed very little to the mission work and never had the influence of the Rarotongan and Samoan teachers. During Nihill's stay on Mare, when it could be expected he would rely on the help of Selwyn's scholars, he lived and worked with the LMS teachers, in particular Mita, Haka, Parehou, and the Tongan, Samuelu, all of whom served him devotedly: the Melanesian Mission boys received scanty mention in his letters.

Of Samuelu he wrote:

A Tongan man, makes his arrangements about his work so as to accompany me on every long journey. I always find him ready to go, & I am always glad of his company. He was born at Uzeri (I. of Pines), is son of old Sarai, who was one of a party of Tonga people who drifted away from their own island some fifty years ago. He talks the Uzeri, Nengone, New Caledonia, Samoan & Lifu languages... equally well, besides the Vea language, which I think has some little resemblance to the Samban, New Zealand, & Rarotonga dialects. He is a vigorous minded zealou5 man, was the first on this island to put away his numerous wives, is always first in good.

The Melanesian Mission scholars had neither the material wealth of the LMS teachers, nor, apart from one Lifuan, any significant standing in their own communities, and their well-known conceit when they returned from New Zealand may well have made them unpopular in their villages.

The LMS made one visit in 1853, and the incessant demands by the islanders for a permanent missionary caused some wonder:

It would seem as if the old and usual order in such matters were reversed in the case of this people - instead of our going to them to compel them to come in, they have to use their utmost effort to compel us to go to them, and teach them the way of life and salvation.

54 Nihill to 'Papa, 1 August 1852, W. Nihill Papers, MS. 720, Hocken Library.
55 See below, 64.
56 [Church of England], Island Mission, 148.
57 Murray, 311. See also Murray and Sunderland, 'Samoa 1853-1854 June 20 - January 7 Apia to New Hebrides and New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
But not until a year later did the LMS find two suitable men—John Jones and Stephen Creagh. In October 1854 they landed amongst an excited crowd at Netche, and found themselves in a village of plastered cottages, a large church, and houses ready for them and their families: 58 'Seldom or ever has it been the lot of missionaries to commence their labours under circumstances so favourable, among a people so prepared to receive them, and to benefit by their instructions.' 59 Jones and Creagh divided the mission between them—Jones and his family went to Ro, and Creagh remained at Netche. With his aggressiveness, initiative, and stern self-righteousness, Jones quickly overshadowed the gentler, more studious Creagh, and became the spokesman for the Mare mission, with the unofficial LMS headquarters at Ro, in spite of the great chieftainship at Netche. Their mission was, in their terms, an instant success. By 1855, the entire population of the Si GwahnFl and Si Wacko, about 2-3,000, were considered 'Christians' 60 and throughout the remaining 1850s, the missionaries delighted in reporting to the LMS how their flocks were clothed, clean, and reading from books, and in sending off impressive figures for church membership, and congregations. Every Sunday at both Ro and Netche the services drew over 1,000. 61 By the early 1860s, the mission boasted twenty-three agents—catechists, and Rarotongan and Samoan teachers. 62 The mission stations themselves, with their large missionary houses, tool sheds, forges, printing presses,
carpentry sheds and workshops, all bore ample testimony to the LMS 'success'.

Among the Si Gwahma and Si Weeko, the LMS missionaries' influence was closely associated with the great chiefship. Yicwene Kicini Bula died some months before the missionaries arrived, and his infant son was declared great chief. Until he was old enough to rule, Naillisine Alakuten conducted the chiefship. But authority was effectively in the hands of his elder brother, Naillisine Nidoish - a man of great ambition who now had designs on the chiefship and who saw his opportunity in steadfastly supporting Jones and Creagh. When Naillisine Alakuten died in 1858, Naillisine Nidoish (hereafter referred to as Naillisine) was the undisputed ruler, supposedly until Yicwene Kicini Bula's infant son came of age. The missionaries' obsession with 'law and order' strengthened their influence and gave powers to the great chief which he might normally not have had. Within a year of arriving, Jones and Creagh declared a series of 'dispensations' designed 'for the rule of this land, for the punishment of evil doers, for the dread and terror of the hearts of men who are obdurate and unbelieving'. Such offences as theft, adultery, failure to attend church, and failure to obey chiefs and missionaries, were punishable by imprisonment, chaining for months at a time, and hard labour. Together with Naillisine, the missionaries organized a police-force of young men who roam about seeking out miscreants and firmly supporting the Polynesian and Marean teachers.

But the influence of the great chief and the missionaries was based on far more than coercive powers: the material prosperity of the mission, the missionaries' palatial houses, the large coral block churches and chapels, all conferred prestige upon Naillisine and the missionaries, and, through them, the Si Gwahma and Si Weeko generally. And such temporal developments indicated to other Europeans a level of 'civilization'.

63 Creagh to LMS, 16 December 1862; and Jones to LMS, 6 May 1863, SSL, LMS; Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JMP 1845-1876, A399, NL; Beaulieu, 'Tableau de la Genealogie des chefs de Gousma', PCD and AAN.
64 Jones, 26 April 1856, Diary, JMP 1845-1876, A399, NL; Taka to Gill, January 1864, SSL, LMS.
65 See below, 160, 224-227.
unprecedented in the south-west Pacific. English vessels flocked into the Northern Bay, and anchored off Netche, bringing with them untold prosperity for the islanders who bartered their island produce and/or signed on as short-term crew members. Also, the excitement, novelty, and prestige of wearing clothes and participating in church activities and impressive religious ceremonies and feast days organized by the missionaries cannot be underestimated. No amount of coercion by Naisilane or the missionaries could ever have resulted in the genuine popular enthusiasm for Christianity and its socio-economic trappings shown by the vast majority of the Si Gwahma and Si Waeko. But the more aggressively these people associated themselves with Englishmen and their religion, the more the islanders throughout the rest of Mare were determined to maintain their own unchanged identity. A visiting Church Missionary Society missionary commented:

What struck me was the great difference at once discernible in the Heathen and Christian Natives as they stood together - the former naked with painted bodies and weapons in their hands, the latter clothed and the countenance altogether different it is most remarkable how the reception of the Gospel changes and softens a fierce and savage expression.

The proximity of the 'heathen' lands was a constant challenge to Jones and Creagh, and with their Polynesian teachers they made periodic journeys southwards. They were invariably received in a peaceful manner, and the islanders crowded about, eager to find out more about these two men who had brought such changes to the north of their island. At night they sneaked up, said Creagh, 'to see if we slept like themselves: they could not fancy we did as we were enveloped in blankets'. Little heed was paid to what the missionaries said about the new religion for the people were far too concerned with the trade the missionaries brought: 'nothing pleases them more than to barter, & nothing displease them more than to hear anything about religion'. One man told Jones he was glad he came with fish-hooks, but, said Jones,

66 See below, 177ff.
67 See below, 246ff.
68 Ashwell, 5.
69 Creagh to LMS, 29 September 1858, SSL, LMS.
70 Jones, 4 November 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
he asked 'why could not I leave alone the preaching of the Gospel'. 71 But Jones saw the 'extensive presents for the sake of Christ' as a useful means of entering the 'heathen' world; once visiting 'under cover' of bartering, there was no telling what miracles might happen. A few of the chiefs adopted similar tactics, and made extensive promises for the sake of trade. A chief sometimes expressed interest in accepting a Polynesian teacher, and after Jones had plied him with goods, and they were safely hidden away, the chief declared he was no longer interested in further discussion. 72

While these islanders were eager for fish-hooks, glass, and cloth, there were numerous instances where such articles were rejected on the grounds that they might 'bring a curse upon them, if they did not at once receive the word of God'. 73 Though rejecting the missionary religion, the southern and eastern padsoku never doubted its power, or that the missionaries were men of supernatural influence. If any of these islanders visited Netchc or Ro and were enticed into a church, they were terrified that some evil would befall them for trespassing 'on what they considered Sacred ground'. Those who stayed on during a service trembled wide-eyed in the pews, and only when they came out did they 'breathe freely' again. 74 Nor were goods ever stolen from the missionaries on their southern visits: the islanders pointed at an article and asked, 'Is it not sacred?' 75

The great chiefs readily acknowledged the material and technological advantages of becoming a Christian, and agreed that the prospect of living in peace would be 'good', 76 yet they could not be induced to accept the new religion. Their reasons varied:

71 Jones, 5 November 1856, Diary, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
72 Jones, 9 April, 4 November 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
73 Jones, 9 April 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
74 Sunderland to LMS, 16 August 1855, SSL, LMS. Sunderland took Creagh's place during his absence for a few months in 1855.
75 Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LMS.
76 Jones to his parents, 25 May 1859, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML; Sunderland to LMS, 6 July, 16 August 1855, SSL, LMS.
some argued that Christianity would spread disease among them, 77 others shrewdly suggested that if they became Christians they would have to work very hard and erect churches and houses, and none wished to give up their numerous wives. 78 Jones and Creagh knew such objections were 'nothing but excuses': the great chiefs had no intention of accepting Christianity because they thought it would indicate deference to Naisiline who would then send Polynesian teachers and the dreaded policemen to challenge their authority. 79 And they were fearful also that if they declared themselves Christians, they would antagonize the neighbouring padoku. Great chiefs of the smaller padoku confidentially told the missionaries that if the stronger padoku accepted their religion, the smaller ones would follow. If we accept Christianity first, said one great chief, our rival padoku will kill us. 80 Even the largest padoku were frightened to accept in case all the other padoku joined together to oppose them. Others told Jones not to come again 'until they had fought to see who were the conquerors'. 81 Every great chief interviewed by Jones and Creagh was aware that Christianity would upset the existing networks of political alliances and hostilities: better the enemy they could understand, than a Christian enemy who was unpredictable and obviously very powerful. 82 Said one missionary: 'There is truth in what they say.' 83

Hostility between Naisiline and the southern great chiefs increased throughout the later 1850s and the missionaries were forced to stop sending deputations of teachers after two had been killed. 84 Naisiline's first battle, however, was with the

77 Jones, 4 November 1856, Diary, and 5 November 1856, Journal, JNP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
78 Creagh to LMS, 15 February 1860, SSL, LMS.
79 Creagh to LMS, 15 February 1860, SSL, LMS.
80 Sunderland to LMS, 16 August 1855, SSL, LMS.
81 Jones, 9 April 1856, Journal, JNP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
82 Creagh to LMS, 7 May 1860; and Jones to LMS, 11 February 1856, SSL, LMS; Jones to his parents, 25 May 1859, JNP 1845-1876, A399, ML; Sunderland to LMS, 6 July 1855, SSL, LMS.
83 Sunderland to LMS, 16 August 1855, SSL, LMS.
84 Creagh to LMS, 29 September 1858; and Jones to LMS, 23 April 1858, SSL, LMS; Murray, 321-322.
neighbouring Si Achakaze on his eastern flank. Relations between Si Gwahma and Si Achakaze were generally friendly and some of the Si Achakaze had accepted Christianity and made frequent pilgrimages to Ro and Netche. But Gocene, the great chief, and the majority of his people, were determined to maintain their independence from Naisiline, much to Naisiline's annoyance. In 1860, he and Gocene quarrelled over a woman, and the Si Achakaze attacked and killed five members of a Christian deputation. Creagh explained that Naisiline, in his Christian charity, had not the slightest desire for revenge, but thought that the 'heathens' should be taught a lesson to prevent future trouble. 'Mr Jones and myself', wrote Creagh, 'think this would be a good step. Something decided must be done to intimidate these hardened heathen & to prevent a repetition.... We trust & pray that God will protect these poor people who wish to do right.' Jones and Creagh thought that 'Even Christian England' would agree Naisiline should attack Gocene to protect the 'Christian institutions of the country'. Naisiline's men murdered five of the Si Achakaze and Naisiline asked Gocene 'as a climax... what they thought now of the God of the Christians, whom they had despised'. Gocene's answer was to kill five of the Si Gwahma, after which he and his people fled to Menaku where they ensconced themselves high up in the coral cliffs. The Si Gureschaba and Si Ruemec promised to help Gocene, and so too did a few Si Gwahma who 'hated the restraints of religion, law and order' and who called Naisiline, in a derogatory manner, 'The Law'. Before these people could organize themselves to aid Gocene, Naisiline made a surprise attack on Menaku at night, leading his warriors with the battle cry, 'Naisiline the chief of Jehovah', a modification of his former cry, 'Naisiline the son of Jewessi'. The Si Achakaze were soundly defeated, though Gocene managed to escape with a spear sticking through his throat. Jones and Creagh were delighted: 'The Christians are encouraged having right & light on their side.' One Si Gwahma warrior acted, they said, 'very scriptually' for he emulated David, and cut off the head of

85 Creagh to LMS, 26 November 1860, 18 April 1861, SSL, LMS.
a fallen enemy. The Si Gwahna, having conquered the Si Waeko and now the Si Achkaze, effectively ruled the northern half of Mare.

Although the missionaries habitually condemned the islanders for fighting amongst themselves and preached the notion of Christ as the Prince of Peace, nevertheless they were always prepared to encourage violent aggression by 'Christian soldiers' to force recalcitrant islanders to accept the authority of a mission-supporting chief.

The crushing defeat of the Si Achkaze had a profound effect upon the rest of Mare: Naisiline and his new god were demonstrably more powerful and dangerous than many of the other great chiefs had realized, and there was talk that they would have to come to terms with them. One priest at Penelo declared his gods were no longer of any use, and he, along with priests in other padoku, said they 'could be great' only with the new god. The deputations of Polynesian teachers were once more peacefully received. Yiewene, a member of the clan Si Thuahmio and great chief of the Node ri Kurubu at Tadine, declared himself a Christian. He had recently fought the Si Hmee and won a temporary victory, and Creagh claimed: 'they are afraid if they should engage in battle they might be conquered; & they gave up now that they have the best of it... But let us not complain, rather let us rejoice that "by any means" and in any way they are induced to give up their heathen abominations'. Yiewene later told Creagh in confidence that had the European missionaries and teachers come to them first, they would have become Christians much earlier, but since the Si Gwahna were Christians first, he and his people wished to maintain their independent identity. "It must not be supposed that these people at Tadini are Christians, they are not so far advanced as

86 Creagh to LMS, 6 November 1861; and Jones to LMS, 6 June 1861, SSL, LMS. The details of the events were later investigated and confirmed by the Marist missionaries, see Beaulieu, 'Litterature de Katiwane', PCD.
87 Creagh to LMS, 14 December 1862; and Jones to LMS, 6 June 1861, SSL, LMS.
88 Creagh to LMS, 14 December 1862, 23 April 1863, SSL, LMS.
89 Creagh to LMS, 23 October 1862, SSL, LMS.
90 Creagh to LMS, 14 December 1862, SSL, LMS.
that', said Creagh; but both missionaries saw the events as 'tending towards light'. The other breakthrough for the missionaries was with the Great Chief Jomae, of the Si Gurewe at Penelo, who accepted two Rarotongan teachers. On hearing of Jomae's decision, a chief of the Si Medu, whom the missionaries did not name, told Creagh to consider him as having 'embraced Christianity' but because of his connections with his own and other padoku, he could not accept a teacher at that time. Creagh noted: 'There seems to be some political hinderance at present.' Even Gocene and many of his followers returned to their lands, and agreed to owe allegiance to Naisiline, their new great chief. Wanakami, great chief of the Si Ruemec, and a small number of his subjects also declared their allegiance to Protestantism. Not surprisingly, the mission reports were enthusiastic about so many 'heathen' now sitting 'at the feet of Jesus', though, as Jones wrote: 'their hearts are not converted'.

To add to Naisiline's triumphs, Yiewene Kicini Bula's infant son, for whom he was regent, died at the end of 1861, and Naisiline was appointed great chief. In December 1862, the missionaries organized a 'coronation', and amidst scenes of unprecedented ceremony, the pageantry of Westminster was slowly enacted in the coconut groves at Ro, to the delight of thousands of islanders. Jones personally crowned Naisiline as 'King' who then read out a code of laws drawn up by the missionaries for his kingdom. Jones quietly confessed he had his doubts about Naisiline's ability to rule justly, for, said Jones, he was having 'great difficulty' in entirely abandoning his former methods of 'arbitrary government and sometimes in the cause of serious unpleasantness.
both to the people and ourselves'. But Jones realized that if he was to consolidate and extend the mission, the LMS had no option but to back such a powerful ruler.

However, at the very time that the expansion of the mission throughout Mare seemed assured, enemies the Protestants thought even worse than degraded savages, were planning to land on Mare from the Isle of Pines.

The French Marist Mission established small stations on Uvea in 1857 and Lifu in 1858, but their position in these islands was far too precarious to enable any of the priests to travel across to Mare. However, the Catholic mission on the Isle of Pines was well established, for by 1857 virtually the entire population had accepted Catholicism; and the socio-trading ties between the Isle of Pines and the south of Mare, and particularly the Bay of Niri and the Si Medu, provided a natural line of communication for the Marist missionaries. Many of the Si Medu who visited the Isle of Pines in the later 1850s, were quick to see the possibilities of using the French Catholic missionaries to oppose the increasing influence of the English Protestant missionaries. One of the most enthusiastic advocates of a Marist mission on Mare was Waikosone, a man who claimed the great chieftainship of the Si Medu, and who, with his wife, spent long periods on the Isle of Pines. The first attempt to establish Catholic influence was in 1861 when three large double canoes carrying 150 people from the Isle of Pines, set sail for Mare. Two canoes vanished at sea, but the third landed on the tiny beach at Medu. Waikosone was there to meet them, and

97 Jones to LMS, 6 May 1863, SSL, LMS.
98 See below, 68ff, 91ff.
99 Pisier, 184-186.
100 Goujon, 'La Mission de Maré 1860-1866', N.C. La Loyalty, III ONC, APM, provides a very detailed account of the origins of the Marist Mission to Mare and the islanders' response. Much of the following discussion is based on this MS. See also Goujon, 29 August 1848, Journal 1848-1852, AAR; Poupinel to Germain, 5 June 1865, AMO, 2 (n.d.), 346-347.
101 Forestier to Poupinel, 3 September 1861, VMA; Goujon, 'La Mission de Maré', N.C. La Loyalty, III ONG, APM; Goujon to Poupinel, 1 December 1861, VMA.
declaring he would follow their religion, made arrangements to return to the Isle of Pines with them to enlist further support. But the Si Medu elders, led by Wabutane, stressed the 'political difficulties' of a young chief introducing a new religion and forbade him to return to the Pines. In 1862, the Isle of Pines' canoes made a second visit to Mare, and Waikosone, ignoring the elders, departed with them. Pierre Rougeyron, superior of the New Caledonian mission, was so impressed with Waikosone's persistence and enthusiasm, that he instructed Jean-Baptiste Fabvre to make preparations for a mission on Mare.

Waikosone's voyage to the Isle of Pines had meanwhile caused great unrest on Mare. Naisiline threatened to kill any Catholic, whether European or islander, who dared set foot on Mare, and the southern padouk were deeply troubled by the political implications of having a Catholic missionary in their midst. The Si Medu, with a population of 250, was already split into two factions, one led by Waikosone and the other by Waithane. Waikosone's faction had the upper hand at that time, and Waithane and his supporters had taken refuge with the Si Gurewoc, numbering about 400, at Penele. Rumours filtered back to the Isle of Pines that Naisiline was planning to form a coalition with the Si Gurewoc and Waithane to drive any Catholics away, and Rougeyron decided it was far from an opportune moment to send Fabvre. Furthermore, the French administration in Noumea was still unsure as to what claims they had over the Loyalty Islands generally, and Mare in particular. Governor Guillain later wrote that Mare was: 'the most removed from us, and the one whose political sovereignty was... the most contestable for many good reasons.... I did not, therefore, think

102 Goujon, 'La Mission de Maré', N.C. La Loyalty, XIII ONC, APM.
103 Goujon, 'La Mission de Maré', N.C. La Loyalty, XIII ONC, APM.
104 Beaulieu, 'Notes sur l'Ile de Maré. Etat de l'Ile de Maré en 1866', and 'Histoire Sommaire de Penele', PCD; Goujon, 'La Mission de Maré, N.C. La Loyalty, XIII ONC, APM.
it wise... to authorize an establishment which may have... complicated the situation'.

When Waikosone returned to Medu in 1864 or 1865, he was met by a hostile coalition made up of Waithene and his Si Medu supporters, and the Si Hned, Si Gurewoc, and Node ri Kurubu. Fighting broke out at Eni and Waikosone and his people fled across Mare and took refuge with the Si Gureschaba under the Great Chief Sinewami, or Tahumuu as he was sometimes called. Sinewami agreed to protect Waikosone, for he too was an enemy of the Si Hned and Si Gurewoc.

Waithene was now in control of the Si Medu lands and he shifted from his former refuge at Penelo and set up camp at Eni. A short time later, Waikosone and Sinewami made a surprise attack on Eni and killed Waithene. His supporters and the Si Gurewoc marched on the Si Gureschaba village but Waikosone and Sinewami took refuge on top of titi, and, within a few days, drove the attackers back to Penelo.

Once he had re-established the superiority of his faction, Waikosone again asked Rougeyron for a priest, and this time he was successful. Rougeyron understood that the anti-Catholic coalition had been defeated, and Guillain had been assured from Paris that Mare was indeed under French jurisdiction, and he supported the establishment of a Catholic mission to oppose the English Protestant influences in the north of Mare.

In June 1866, Prosper Goujon, a missionary who had spent most of his time since 1848 on the Isle of Pines, travelled to Mare with two double canoes manned by fifty Isle of Pines people. They landed at Medu and he and his followers climbed the steep
coastal rim and walked across the plain to Tītī, where they were received joyously by Waikosone and his protector, Sinewami. Goujon shook hands with Sinewami, whom he estimated to be about 30 years old, and with the hundreds of excited islanders covered in ash and heavily armed; in the background, all the women had been gathered in a group, and under instructions from Marie-Rose, Waikosone's French-speaking wife, they were doing their best to cover their nakedness with their hands. Goujon was then taken into a large hut where he found a rough altar covered with crucifixes, statues of Mary, and religious paintings, which had all been brought previously from the Isle of Pines.

Though Sinewami welcomed Goujon enthusiastically, he had no wish to turn Catholic at Goujon's urging. His great worry, he told Goujon, was to know exactly how Naisiline and the other great chiefs would react if he took the Catholic medallion: he suspected they might join together and destroy him. After long discussions with Goujon, he consulted his advisors and sounded out the opinions of his followers; in particular, he visited some of the neighbouring great chiefs, and exhaustively questioned those from the Isle of Pines on their experience with the new religion. For two days and nights he went without sleep, and finally, shaking with fear, he quietly announced he would become a Catholic but refused to wear the medal. Goujon immediately demanded that as proof of his sincerity he must tear down all the human bones proudly displayed on the roofs of the huts. 'I asked him for an enormous sacrifice', said Goujon, 'he hesitated, he reflected, consulted' and then had them removed. One old warrior who owned a skull and used it for a cup, staggered forward and offered it to Goujon, saying that other white men had sailed past in ships and dared not land, whereas Goujon was the first European to come right to their village. He lied - since Nihill and Jones and Creagh had also been there.

Sinewami, imagining little more would be demanded of him, was greatly annoyed when Goujon told him to build a church. Again he went to his advisors and later returned to tell Goujon that he would build a small one, but only in Waikosone's name. Goujon was impatient at Sinewami's hesitancy, and when a party of Si Gwahrna warriors arrived and threatened to pull down any church, Goujon mocked Sinewami and accused him of being afraid of Naisiline, and
of not being master of his own land. Stung by such insults, Sinewami ordered his men to defend the village against Naisiline and started to build a church in his own name: Naisiline's men did not attack. The same day, 100 Si Gureschaba and Si Medu took the Catholic medals.

Satisfied that the church at La Roche was well under way, Goujon travelled to Penelo where he met Tabe, who had assumed the great chieftainship of the Si Gurwoc on the death of Jomae, his father. Tabe does not appear to have favoured the Protestants as had Jomae, and refused to declare his support for the Catholics, pointing out the difficulties such a move would cause with other padoku. But when Naisiline's warriors marched on Penelo, along with Jones and Creagh, and tried to persuade Tabe to become a Protestant, he felt the greatest threat to his authority came from Naisiline, and he announced that he and his followers would become Catholics.

Goujon met other great chiefs, most of whom told him that if Waikosone, Sinewami, and Tabe, came to no harm supporting the Marists, they too would join the church. Altogether, Goujon spent three months on Mare, and returned to the Isle of Pines well satisfied with his mission based on the Si Medu followers of Waikosone, and the Si Gureschaba. Of Waikosone and the Si Gureschaba he wrote: 'He led us to the most evil, dark tribe, the most backward, the most distant, but the most influential and the most central with regard to the pagans.'

Among the padoku of the southern and eastern regions of Mare, there was a growing realization that their existing alliances would have to be reorganized to come to terms with the influence of the two European missions. It was this awareness of imminent change that enabled the missionaries to conclude a series of 'peace treaties' between hostile padoku. While Goujon was still on Mare, Jones and Creagh arranged a 'peace' between Wanakami of the Si Ruemek and Tabe of the Si Gurwoc. In November 1866, the permanent Marist missionaries, Francois Beaulieu and Jerome Guitta arrived at La Roche, and within a month arranged a 'reconciliation' between Sinewami of the Si Gureschaba and Tabe. Only the Si Medu followers

109 Jones to LMS, 21 June 1866, SSL, LMS.
of Cegowene, son of the recently killed Waithane, remained openly hostile and refused to participate in any missionary arranged negotiations. 110 The Protestant and Catholic missionaries believed they had effectively ended the incessant fighting among the largest padoku, and both were optimistic for the future of their respective missions as they considered that the fighting had been the greatest obstacle to the acceptance of their beliefs. The LMS missionaries, assured of their domination in the northern areas, were confident of further successes, in spite of the Marist mission, for they had teachers, though few supporters, among the Si Ruemec, Si Gurewoc, and Node ri Kurubu. For their part, the Marists felt they had a position of some strength among the Si Gureschaba, and half of the Si Nedu, and they looked forward to a rapid conversion of the remaining padoku in the south and east.

Naisiline's ambitions coincided with those of Jones and Creagh - both parties were determined that Naisiline should become the great chief of the whole of Mare. The great chiefs of the southern and eastern padoku were nearly all prepared to give up fighting each other, and at least consider supporting the Marists, in an attempt to close ranks and stave off Naisiline's threat to their independence and authority.

110 Guitta, 22 November 1866, 'Journal du P. Guitta 1866-1868', PCD.
Chapter Three

Lifu 1842-1864

The first sandalwood vessels to discover Mare, the Achilles and Martha in 1842, learnt of the existence of Lifu from the Mare people. White, who spent eight days alone on Mare, also crossed Lifu alone, and noted the prevalence of visitors from the Isle of Pines. It was later reported that White had been 'in continual intercourse with the natives alone, frequently forty miles from the ship, so, had they meditated anything against him, they might very easily have effected their purpose'.

In April, the Queen Victoria attempted to ascertain what had befallen the Martha's boat crew on Mare and sailed to 'an island called by the natives Leefoo, where there were several natives of Tongataboo, who had previously been cast there some years previously [sic]'. The Queen Victoria put into the tiny inlet at Mu, residence of the aged and blind Great Chief Bula, or 'King Boora' as those on the vessel called him, who made it plain he welcomed European visits. A month or two later, the Munford sailed into Mu and Charles Bridget, a young crew member, deserted the schooner. Bula was delighted to offer him protection and, along with a group of Tongans, Bridget lived at Mu as an enigma for five years, glorying under the name of 'Cannibal Charley'.

The anchorage at Mu was a difficult one. Cheyne thought that none but the most experienced hand among coral Reefs should attempt it. The passage in leads through a number of Sunken rocks, which can only be discerned from the Mast Head in the morning when the Sun is to the Eastward. The anchorage is formed by a small reef which breaks the Sea off with the Wind at East, but affords no shelter if the Wind hauls to N.E. The place is so small, that a vessel has hardly room to Swing and will require to moor with chains to the shore.

1 Sydney Herald, 25 May 1842.
2 Sydney Herald, 24 May 1842.
3 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 108; Erskine, 372; Murray, 328; Turner, 396-397.
4 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 102-103.
Some sandalwood traders risked the reefs, but most found Sandalwood Bay a preferable anchorage. Cheyne entered this bay in August 1842 and was the first European to record, and become involved in the local hostilities.

He anchored off a village he called "Kyjah" or Kygha' whose chief was 'Zoulah'. The village was in fact Dueulu, the principal village of the region of Gaitcha, ruled by the Great Chief Zeula. By anchoring off Dueulu, Cheyne had immediately antagonized the Great Chief 'Gweath', or Gwict, of the district of Wet, who was at war with Zeula. After several days of difficult trading in the Gaitcha region, four large double canoes came across the bay from Wet, loaded with sandalwood and 'carrying about 40 men each, all painted black for War, and armed with Spears, clubs, Tomahawks, Slings & Stones'. Cheyne organized the ship's arms to cover any possible attack, and managed to make them understand that if their purpose was to trade peacefully only one canoe at a time could pull alongside.

I stood on the gangway myself buying their Wood, with a pistol in my left hand, and Iron Hoop & Bends in the other, paying them for each stick of Wood as they passed it up, the remainder of the crew were at their stations at the Guns on the Quarter deck. Although keeping my Pistol pointed at their heads, and threatening to fire on them, I could not prevent them from coming on board, and by the time I had purchased all the wood from the first canoe we had about 35 of her crew on deck, stealing everything they could pick up, and flourishing their clubs and Tomahawks over my head. No threats or entreaties of mine, would make them go into their canoes, and at last we were obliged to charge on them with the Bayonets to clear the deck, for some time they showed fight, but after a few of them got wounded, they Jumped into their Canoe and shoved off. We then allowed another canoe to come alongside, and so on until we had purchased all their Wood, but had to charge on each crew similar to the first after buying their wood, before we could get them to leave the deck. The wretches were so eager for plunder, that they did not mind a few bayonet wounds, provided they could steal anything. They then hauled off to about one hundred yards, and commenced dancing their War dance and sling stones at us, and before going away told us, that they would come back in a day or two with Twenty War Canoes, and take the schooner.

5 Cheyne, Trading Voyages; 93, 98.
6 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 94-95.
Two days later, another canoe-load of warriors came from Vet, but they were not very interested in selling any wood, 'having come', said Cheyne, 'apparently for the purpose of taking the schooner'.

They came on like wild Bulls, and boarded the vessel in spite of us - we drew our men up across the quarter deck two deep while we were buying their wood, and after allowing them to remain on board nearly two Hours, we were at last obliged to charge them with the bayonets, and drive them overboard. 7

Cheyne was frequently attacked by 'These Bloodthirsty Villains' and when some twenty canoes approached one night, he fired off a nine-pound cannon which hit a canoe and 'sickened them pretty well'. He later learnt that he had killed Gwiet's son. 8

The attacks ceased, and so too did the trading, probably as a result of the fatal shot.

Towards the end of his stay, Cheyne met Bridget:

It appears he was living on the S.E. part of the Island, under the protection of King 'Bulah' - who had sent him overland to our vessel - to caution us against the Treacherous disposition of the natives in the Bay, and to request us to go round with the vessel to his Village... 9

But Cheyne was eager to leave Lifu, and on hearing from Bridget that sandalwood was plentiful on Uvea, he sailed for that island, taking Bridget along as an interpreter. 10 When Cheyne returned to Lifu three years later, he went to Nu, where he was warmly welcomed by Bula and Bridget. 11

Of the Lifuans Cheyne wrote:

[they] are divided into two Tribes, who are independent and often hostile to each other - they are classed into Kings, chiefs, land-holders and servants or slaves. The King of the North part of the Island is named Gweath, and that of the Southern end Bulah who is quite blind. 12

Cheyne was never able to sort out the relationship between Zeula, and Gwiet and Bula, and it was left to later Europeans to point out

7 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 96-97.
8 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 100.
9 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 108.
11 Cheyne, 10 April 1845, Log of the Brig自然灾害, extract in the possession of Dorothy Shineberg.
12 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 105.
that Zeula was the great chief of the small independent chiefdom of Gaitcha, wedged between Wet and Bula's chiefdom of Losi.13

In 1844, Captain Simpson of the Strathisla sailed into Sandalwood Bay and anchored off Chepenehe.14 He was received by 'Ghewit' whom Simpson described as about fifty or sixty years of age, 'short stature, grisly beard, dark restless eye deep sunk in his head, thick bushy eyebrows, rather a wooly head of hair'. He also wore a large lock of hair on one side of his head, and until he had killed his rival, Bula, the lock was not to be cut. Ghewit, who was accompanied by an old man who acted as a spokesman, and surrounded by a bodyguard, was delighted with Simpson's gifts and especially the three gun salute. And doubtless pleased that Simpson had come to him and not Bula or Zeula, Ghewit exchanged names with him, conferred upon him the rank of 'chief', and, according to Simpson, gave him half his land.15 It is likely that Simpson was offered the usufructuary rights to the land and not, as he imagined, proprietary rights.

The trading was peaceful enough, though not without incident: the theft of Simpson's chronometer key, and his efforts to recover it, left, he said, 'feelings of revenge... deep, dark and terrible'. Simpson also sent a boat into the Gaitcha area and met 'Zula', whom Simpson thought was an ally of Bula and an enemy of Ghewit. Ghewit did not take offence at Simpson's trading with Zeula: perhaps he felt Simpson was a reliable friend, and may have even considered the Captain under his patronage. Also, the loss of his son to Cheyne's cannon fire may have convinced him that it was far more to his advantage to treat the Europeans in a kindly manner. While trading in Gaitcha, a Lifuan threw a bundle of grass, which was to be used to feed Simpson's sheep, into a boat and accidentally hit a boatman. In a fit of temper, the boatman fired his musket into a crowd of some 150 islanders gathered on the beach. Luckily no one was hit, and Simpson, himself in a rage,

---

13 Fabvre to Yardin, March 1860, IV ONC, APH; Pakazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, lettres des missionnaires en passage 1861-1894, Provincia Oceaniae (OP), APH.
15 Shipping Gazette, 23 August 1845.
immediately held a 'court of inquiry' and demoted the sailor from 'able to ordinary seaman'. Zeula was placated with some scarlet cloth and an old cuirass, and the relieved Simpson commented:

the different tribes may be at variance with each other, in the case like the present, any of them are but too glad to make it an excuse to commit depredations on the whites, as a retaliation for the outrage. 16

ALTHOUGH Sandalwood Bay provided the best anchorage, the centre of permanent European contact on Lifu reverted to Mu until the mid and later 1850s. Fao and Zakaria, the two Samoan teachers who had been left on Mare in 1842 with instructions to find their way to Lifu, reached Mu some months later where they were accepted into Bula's household along with the Tongans and Bridget. Bula was anxious to live up to his reputation of kindliness towards strangers in order to attract English vessels to his half of Lifu. He therefore supported the teachers, in contrast to Yiewene on Mare, and they soon had a congregation of thirty or forty Lifuans. 18

When the first LMS vessel made towards Mu in 1845 they were pleasantly surprised. A canoe approached them, with five Lifuans on board, and after trading coconuts they 'covered their faces with their hands, bowed their heads, pointed to the skies, and said, 'Iehovah' .... 'Iesu' .... 'Atua'. The mission ship stood into the reef off Mu, 'in danger of being drifted on shore', and Fao, Zakaria, Bula and some Tongans came out. 19 Zakaria, the missionaries were informed, had 'turned out bad' and they replaced him with Iona: Fao, however, had remained faithful.

a number are gathered together on the side of nominal Christianity. They still fight, however, have night dances, pray to their ancestors, and add to all the worship of God. A change has of late come over the chief Bula; he has given up cannibalism. Formerly he has had sixteen cooked bodies laid before him at a meal, now he will not touch human flesh, and threatens death to any of his family who ever again tastes of it. 20

16 Shipping Gazette, 13 September 1845.
17 See above, 31.
18 Murray, 329.
19 Turner, 397-398.
20 Turner, 399.
The missionaries were still hesitant to trust the Lifuans, especially since their Marean friends had been involved in so much bloodshed with Europeans. But Bula was eager to reassure them:

"In all past generations Lifu has had a good name. Lifu has always been kind to strangers. You see these Tongans sitting here? Go on shore, and you will see the graves of their fathers who were drifted hither, and lived and died among us. Go on shore, and you will see the children of Tanna men. The fathers are all dead and buried, but the children live. We have always been kind to white men too. Do not be suspicious. We are not going to take a bad name for a good one." 21

Although he was determined to welcome Europeans, he had no intention of ending the fighting with Gwiet. The two parties, wrote the missionaries, 'live on the most barbarous terms, constantly lurking for victims on either side'. 22

In September 1846, Ta'unga travelled from Mare to Mu with Yiewene, and just as he quarrelled with the Samoan teachers on Mare, so too did he argue with, and ridicule, those on Lifu. His harshest words were for Zakaria who, according to Ta'unga, had slept with six women, and had three offspring all bearing his name. Ta'unga, in fact, declared that his own teaching saved the nascent mission from the wicked influences of the lascivious Samoans. 23

Within a month of his arrival at Mu, the mission ship called in again. Bula once again insisted he was a 'praying man to Jehovah' and the missionaries were pleased to see a hut had been erected to serve as a chapel.

Even now missionaries might, not only without danger, but with almost sure success, live among the people. The power and authority of the chief are very great, and are at present decidedly in favour of the introduction of the Gospel.

Iona and Ta'unga were removed and three more teachers were left to help Fao. 24

21 Turner, 400.
22 Murray and Turner, 'Samoa 1845 April 1 - June 7 from Apia. Deputation to New Hebrides, New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
23 Ta'unga, 81-83.
24 Gill and Nisbet to LMS, 28 October 1846, SSL, LMS.
BUŁA died in an epidemic in 1846 and all missionary and trading activities ceased during the subsequent three year long civil war in Losi between the clans Anga Haeta, Bula's opponents, and the Angete Losi, his supporters. Information about the causes of the war is scant. One interpretation is that the war resulted from rival claims to the chieftainship; another is that Ngaisone, who was Bula's advisor and considered 'a sort of prime minister to the chief', had incurred the wrath of others in Losi who felt that while Ngaisone was alive, they could not 'get their will upon the teachers'; and when Ngaisone accused two atesi of Bula's death, war broke out. The other, and less plausible explanation, is that Zakaria's promiscuity had annoyed the men of the Anga Haeta who seized the opportunity of Eula's death to oppose Ngaisone and those who supported Christianity.

Whatever the exact cause, Ngaisone, Bridget, the Samoan teachers, along with James Reece, a sandalwood agent who was working at Mu, were forced to flee to Mare for protection, while Bula's sons and many of the Angete Losi, took refuge with Zeula in Gaitcha. Sometime during 1849 there was a reconciliation between Anga Haeta and Angete Losi, whereupon Bula's son was elected great chief, and adopted his father's name. He immediately sent word to Netche, inviting Ngaisone and the teachers to return and recommence their work. Gaitcha and Wet appear to have been unaffected by the turmoil in Losi. Two sandalwood vessels, Sarah and Castlereagh, were wrecked at Eacho in Sandalwood Bay during a cyclone in February 1848, and their crews were kindly looked after by the Lifuans of Wet. Erskine and Selwyn who were in Sandalwood Bay in September 1849 recorded: 'The southern tribe was also said to have been lately quarrelling among themselves in consequence of the death of their old chief, Bula.'

25 Murray, 330.
26 Murray, 332.
27 MacFarlane, 35.
29 Erskine, 374.
31 MacFarlane, 36-37; Murray, 333.
32 Turner and Nisbet, 'Samoa 1848 July 3 - August 28 Upolu to New Hebrides, New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
33 Erskine, 368.
Erskine and Selwyn were somewhat shocked at one of the sailors' influence on the Lifuans:

The first salutations of these poor people, generally accompanied by a smile that betokened their ignorance of the purport of the words, were the foulest English oaths, a legacy... left them by the wrecked crews, who had resided six or eight months in the bay.... Many of them were perfectly naked, but on pieces of cotton cloth being given to them, they were always applied as aprons.

As on Mare, the islanders were more concerned with trade than with Selwyn's pious exhortations, though he managed to take one Lifuan, John Thol, back to Auckland with him. Selwyn and Patteson made brief visits to Lifu in 1850, 1851, and 1852, each time taking off, or returning one or two 'scholars'. The most notable of these was John Cho, either the brother, or brother-in-law of Bula, who, according to Selwyn and Patteson, was acting as a regent. Cho went to New Zealand four times in the 1850s, and of all the places Selwyn and Patteson visited on the Loyalty Islands, they were nowhere so fondly regarded as at Mu.

The real impetus to the Protestant mission on Lifu, came, however, from the Rarotongan and Samoan teachers, ably led by Fao, and from the influence of developments among the Si Gwahma on Mare. The young Bula, aware of all the advantages the Si Gwahma great chief was receiving through his association with the LMS mission, did all he could to emulate him, and make up for the time lost during the three year war. When the LMS missionaries made their second voyage to Lifu, in 1852, they were amazed at the external signs of Christianity and 'civilization' among the people of Mu. There was a large cemented coral block chapel complete with pulpit, reading desk, and 'neat venetian blinds', and the teachers and Bula were housed in whitewashed plastered coral cottages surrounded by gardens, gravel paths and picket fences.

---

34 Erskine, 363.
35 [Church of England], Island Mission, 30.
36 Colonial Church Chronicle, 6(1852-1853), 463; New Zealand Church Almanac, 1852, 20; Nibhil, 'Journal of a Voyage to the New Hebrides, New Caledonia', 1850, Auckland Public Library.
37 [Church of England], Island Mission, 156; Patteson to his father, 12 May 1858, Patteson Papers, ANU.
The inhabitants of Hu were all 'more or less clothed', they had ceased fighting Gwiet, and 150 had publicly abandoned polygamy. Sabbath services were regularly attended by 600-700 people and a select class of 300 had pledged themselves to at least an 'outward conformity to the requirements of Christianity'. Lifu, the missionaries thought, was 'one of the finest and most inviting field for missionary labour among the many islands on which our teachers are at work throughout Western Polynesia'. The Lifuans continually urged the missionaries to establish a permanent station. One young chief, when told he would have a missionary some day, replied 'Say not some day!.... I do not like to hear that word some day! Why not say to-day? Why not one of you stay?'

MISSION influence was limited to Hu and the surrounding districts: neither Zeula nor Gwiet's son, Ukeneso, who was the new great chief of Wet, had any intention of associating themselves with the religion of their enemies to the south. An LMS missionary later wrote:

Ukeneso was by no means disposed to embrace the religion of his great enemy Bula, although many of his subjects were. He too, had heard of the 'power of Jehovah;' and, like many others, seemed far more impressed by this attribute than by the tale of His love and the gift of His Son... They felt that the latter might be mythical, but that there was no mistaking the former: they considered that they had had indisputable evidence of the superiority of Pao's God over any they possessed. But then He was the God of their enemies. Had Pao landed on their side of the island he would doubtless have been received by Ukeneso as he had been by Bula; but, coming as the friend and teacher of his enemies, he not only looked upon him as one of them, but as the chief cause of his defeat in their late wars; and declared that he would club and cook him whenever he got the opportunity.

The Polynesian teachers commenced their usual tactics of organizing deputations into 'heathen areas' in an attempt to widen the basis of their popular support. Their first breakthrough was in Wet where Pao managed to gain the allegiance of Haneka, an old

38 Murray and Sunderland, 'Samoa 1852 April 29 - July 9 Deputation from Apia', SSJ, LMS.
39 Murray, 336.
40 MacFarlane, 38-39.
priest, and his son Tubaisi. Haneka, for whatever reason, gave all his carved gods to Fao, and he and his son began to visit the villages in Wet urging the people to follow the religion of Fao. Ukeneso prevented them from crossing Wet, but they paddled around the coast. 41

The distance from Mu to Wet and Gaitcha was a drawback for the teachers, and Fao shifted his headquarters to the Bay of We, strategically situated on the boundaries of the three great chiefdoms; and he was still under Bula's protection for Losi encompassed the southern end of the long beach where he built his hut. When the LMS missionaries visited Lifu in November 1853, they found Fao's new station well established. 42 On this visit, and on their next in 1854, the demand for a permanent missionary by the people of Losi was 'louder and louder', especially since the people found out that Jones and Creagh had just settled on Mare: the Lifuans wanted 'their missionary'; and whenever the missionaries set foot on the shore at Mu, they were surrounded by crowds of up to 3,000 clamorous islanders. 43

The absence of reliable anchorages hindered the mission visits. In 1854 they had to wait off-shore for five days before they managed to get a boat into Mu, and the landing place on the beach at We was just as unreliable. Therefore, they urged the teachers to establish a post somewhere in Sandalwood Bay. 44

At the end of 1856, Jones sailed across to Lifu on an English commercial vessel and landed at Mu. From there he sailed to We, and on to Sandalwood Bay where he found a Samoan teacher, Apollo, had a hut in the village of Chepenehe. 45 Apollo had been able to make such a breakthrough because Wainya, chief of the Wainya clan which made up the village of Chepenehe, had rebelled

41 Creagh to LMS, 27 December 1880, SSL, LMS; MacFarlane, 39-41.
42 Murray and Sunderland, 'Samoa 1853-1854 June 20 - January 7 Apia to New Hebrides and New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
43 Hardie, 'Samoa 1854 Voyage to New Hebrides, New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
44 Hardie, 'Samoa 1854 Voyage', SSJ, LMS.
45 Jones to 'My dear friend', 16 May 1856, JMP 1865-1876, A399, ML; Jones to LMS, 12 December 1856, SSL, LMS.
against Ukeneso and had agreed to become a Christian. Wainya was one of the most influential clan chiefs in Wet, was ranked next to Ukeneso, and had married his daughter.\(^{46}\) By virtue of his geographic position in the bay, he had been able to build up considerable expertise in dealing with English trading vessels,\(^{47}\) and had amassed some wealth. Ukeneso, on the other hand, was a weak, timid man, and as the great chieftainship was based at Nathalo, about seven miles inland, he had gained little advantage from the European shipping. Wainya had calculated that by accepting a teacher he could attract further wealth from the LMS as well as the traders and could firmly establish his independence from Ukeneso.

Jones met Ukeneso who told him that he was determined to remain a 'naked savage' although many of his people were supporting Wainya. But he was quick to add that if a European missionary came to live with him at Nathalo, he would at once become a Christian: but he had 'no disposition' to accept Polynesian teachers.\(^{48}\) Jones wrote pleading letters to the LMS asking for at least four missionaries. He thought it conceivable that if Bula, Zeula, Wainya, and Ukeneso each had a missionary, the whole of Lifu would opt for Christianity at once. Lifu, he argued, was politically stable and there were only three or four principal chiefs to contend with, whereas mission expansion on Nare was limited by fighting paduku and 'chiefs without number'.\(^{49}\) The LMS were unable to send even one.

Nevertheless, the Protestant teachers continued to extend their influence and when the LMS missionaries called into Mu and Chepenehe in 1857, they found that seven teachers had posts throughout Losi, Apollo had congregations of 700-800 at Chepenehe, and Akatangi, another teacher, was at Dueulo in Gaitcha. Zeula had recently died, leaving his nine year old son as great chief, and seeing their opportunity, the teachers had agreed to support a

\(^{46}\) MacFarlane, 49.

\(^{47}\) Visits by these vessels are discussed below, 173ff.

\(^{48}\) Jones to 'My dear friend', 16 May 1856; and Jones, 16 May 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.

\(^{49}\) Jones, 16 May 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML. See also Jones to LMS, 21 July 1857, SSL, LMS.
'secondary chief' who hoped to take over the great chieftainship with their aid. 50

Bazit, an Uvean great chief who had accepted the Marists in 1857, 51 urged Ukeneso to ask for a Catholic missionary. Ukeneso, realizing his authority had been greatly supplanted by Wainya, responded enthusiastically and visited Uvea three times to invite a priest to live with him at Nathalo. 'Ngeda', another 'secondary chief' from Gaitcha, and a supporter of the infant Zeula, also travelled to Uvea, requesting a priest to help oppose the influence of Akatangi. 52 Rougeyron and the Uvean priests were keen to accept Ukeneso's invitation for they saw their chance to establish a mission on Lifu before permanent Protestant missionaries arrived. They were well aware, however, that Ukeneso wanted them 'in the hope of regaining' his former influence. Ukeneso, wrote Poupinel:

hoped that by having some [Catholic] missionaries, he would be protected by the French against the ambition of a subordinate chief who wished to supplant him. The chief of Kepenehe was supported by the catechists, who wished to give him authority over the first chief, who was not amenable to their religion. 53

Xavier Montrouzier was chosen to lead the Lifu mission mainly because, as he said himself, of his 'belligerent nature'. He saw the situation on Lifu as 'desperate'; the island was to be

50 Harbutt and Drummond, 'Samoa 1857 July 7 - August 7 From Apia in the "John Williams"'. Deputation to New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands', SSJ, LMS. See also Palazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, lettres des missionnaires en passage 1861-1894, OP, AP; Poupinel to Germain, 5 June 1865, AMH, 2(n.d.), 343. See also Bernard to Fabvre, 28 August 1858; Montrouzier to Yardin, 8 September 1858; Palazy to ?, July 1858, IV CNC, AP.

51 See below, 91-92.

52 Palazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, OP, AP; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 29 April 1858, VMA. Bazit and Ukeneso are supposed to have descended from the same clan, see Guitart, Structure de la Chefferie, 608.
his 'Sebastapol' where he would 'do battle with the Protestants'.

The Marists approached the French administration and asked for their support. Major Jules Testard, commandant of New Caledonia, was eager to see a Catholic mission on Lifou to combat the increasing English commercial and religious influence. He himself sailed on the warship Styx to pick up Montrouzier from Art in the Belep Islands, and then across to Uvea to collect François Palazy who was to be Montrouzier's fellow missionary. The Marists also took on board Teubet to act as an interpreter. Teubet, an Uvean, could speak seven New Caledonian and Loyalty Island languages, English, and a little French. Montrouzier thought his character was as versatile as his linguistic ability: among sailors he was a 'purveyor of infamous pleasures', among the priests he 'preached with zeal'; on French ships he mocked the English, and on English ships he mocked the French.

The Styx dropped anchor off Eseko in Sandalwood Bay in April 1858. Most of the Lifuans, and especially those a short distance away at Chepenehe were terrified, for the Protestant teachers had been spreading stories of how wicked the French had been on Tahiti. The French government officials, said the teachers, would take all the Lifuans' land and would destroy the authority and status of their chiefs; the priests were the spies and envoys of the French, as well as being heretics. Montrouzier sent word inland to Ukeneso who arrived at Eseko the same day, but not until the next morning did he pluck up the courage to come on board.

54 Montrouzier to his parents, 21 May 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM; Montrouzier to Yardin, 8 September 1858, IV ONC, APM. For further information on Montrouzier see Hugh M. Laracy, 'Xavier Montrouzier. A missionary in Melanesia', Pacific Islands Portraits, 127-145.

55 Testard to Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies (Min.), 23 April 1858, CG 1856-1862, carton 42, Archives Nationales, Section Outre-mer (ANCM), Paris; Montrouzier to his parents, 21 May 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM.

56 Montrouzier to Henri, 28 April 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM; Palazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, OP, APM.

57 Montrouzier to Henri, 28 April 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM.

58 Montrouzier to his parents, 21 May 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM; Montrouzier to Fauvre, 1 January 1859, IV ONC, APM.
Testard formally introduced him to Montrouzier and Palazy, declaring that they had come to bring them the benefits of 'civilization'. Montrouzier was pleased Testard did not touch on the question of religion. Testard presented Ukeneso with a trunk full of clothes and some cows, and Ukeneso agreed to accept the priests. He wanted them to travel back to Nathalo with him and begin their mission at once, but Montrouzier refused, saying they had to stay by the sea where they would be in contact with any vessels. Ukeneso was annoyed but 'did not insist for the moment', and asked the missionaries to select a place on the bush-covered plain behind the low coastal cliffs at Eacho. The two priests were landed on the beach and the Styx put to sea. 59

The missionaries quickly realized Ukeneso was a timid and unimaginative character, for no sooner had he seen the two into a dirty hut, than he made his way quickly to Nathalo for fear of being assailed by Wainya and his people. 60 Ukeneso remained quietly at Nathalo for several days and Montrouzier and Palazy were left alone, hungry and thirsty, sitting dejectedly in their hut, not daring to move away in case someone stole their property. Ukeneso had shown them a giant hole in the coral with a cavern at the bottom containing fresh water, but neither of the priests had the 'courage' to climb some eighty or ninety feet down the vertical coral sides.

For the natives, who have no clothes to wash, nor pots to boil, it means little to them if there is water or not. Instead, they drink coconut juice and suck sugar cane; if they wish to bathe, they go to the sea. But it is not the same for us, accustomed to another way of life, and having other needs.

The first Lifuans to approach them paddled across from Gaitcha. Negeda, the man who led the party, and the one who had been to Uvea asking for a priest, was annoyed that the two missionaries had gone to Wet and not Gaitcha. Palazy explained as best he could that as soon as possible they would travel to Gaitcha, and Negeda had to return to Deneulu content with this promise.

59 Montrouzier to Honra, 28 April 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM. Palazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, OP, APM.

60 'Notes sur le R.P. Jean-Baptiste Fabvre. Lifou 1858-1883', Fabvre Personal File, APM. The following account is based on Palazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, OP, APM.
Five days after he had left Eacho, Ukeneso returned with more men and built a larger hut for the missionaries. When it was completed, the priests held the first service, though they were upset that they had to speak English to make themselves even vaguely understood. And they were disgusted that the English their listeners spoke was 'mostly dirty words rather than expressions appropriate for discussing spiritual ideas'.

The missionaries felt ready to travel about once they could lock up their goods, and Ukeneso escorted them to Nathalo. There he proudly displayed his cows, but expressed the greatest concern because they had not yet multiplied. He also confided in Palazy that his uncle 'Itupoupou' had designs on the chieftainship. They journeyed on to We where they were amazed to see four or five European-type houses and a Protestant temple, all built by Fao. One of the houses was occupied by two French sandalwood traders. Montrouzier and Palazy had heard much about Fao and were surprised to find him an amiable and tolerant man, 'always calm & very modest in his words', in contrast to many of the other Polynesian teachers who had screamed abuse at the priests. Once they learnt that We was on the boundaries of the three great chiefdoms, they decided to have a hut built for them. Those from Losi strenuously opposed the idea but Fao, in an act which would have alienated him from the LMS forever had they known, had one built for them. The missionaries later crossed Sandalwood Bay from Eacho to Dueulu where they were welcomed by Negeda. Some three days previously, Bula had sent a deputation to try to persuade the people to accept the Protestants, but those supporting the infant great chief held firm in their opposition and only a very few continued to support Akatangi, the Rarotongan teacher. The priests were given a rousing reception when it was discovered that seven of the Gaithcha Lifuns had previously met Palazy on Futuna, and two had actually lived with him there. Within a short time, the people had erected a hut for the priests.

From their headquarters at Eacho, the two men travelled frequently to Nathalo, We, and Dueulu, staying for a few nights at each place in their own huts. By September, Montrouzier could write:
The mission goes well. The obstacles are disappearing, the prejudices fall, the natives see that the protestant catechists have abused their credulity and they are coming to us.

The priests baptized several children in secret and under the pretext of giving medical aid in case the islanders objected violently, and they had some 600 'listeners', out of a total population of over 5,000. But if their figures conveyed optimism their existence was unhappy. Both hated the Lifuan landscape, their poverty, and the hardships of their day to day lives.

THE Melanesian mission scheme of taking islanders to Auckland for training proved unworkable because of the vast distances that the mission ship had to travel each year, and because Auckland's winter climate was unhealthy for the boys. Selwyn and Patteson hoped to overcome such difficulties by setting up a school on one of the islands, and chose Lifu for it was close to the New Hebrides where they hoped to collect 'scholars', it had the reputation of already being a 'Christianized' island, and Patteson could speak the language reasonably well. Mu was selected as the site because of the Melanesian Mission ties with John Cho (Bula's brother, or brother-in-law). Another reason for selecting Lifu was that the UMS was unable to supply any missionaries, and it was considered essential to send a Protestant missionary since the Marists had a foothold on the north of the island.

Patteson called into Mu in May 1858 to make the initial preparations; he then sailed to the New Hebrides, taking Bula with him, to collect the students. Returning the following month with twelve New Hebrideans, he was full of confidence that his school would be a great success. He was excited at the prospect of living on Lifu for several months and tended to romanticize his mission. Taking ashore with him nothing more than a little tea and some ships' biscuits, he intended to live as the islanders did, on yams and coconuts, and he thought he would also eat pigs, fowls,

---

61 Montrouzier to his parents, 22 September 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM.
62 Palazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, OP, APM.
63 Patteson to his father, 12 May 1858, Patteson Papers, ANU; Report of the Melanesian Mission for the Year 1857-1858, 35-37.
turkeys, fish, and perhaps turtle meat: 'I have no doubt I shall live very well'. But his three month and three week stay on Lifu dispelled any visions of a comfortable life spent instructing eager minds: there was little fresh water, and few fish to eat, and the unvarying diet of yams and coconuts oppressed him. The Lifuan pupils thrived on such a diet, but the New Hebrideans would say: 'Lifu people very kind, but no water, no bread fruit, no banana, no fish. Very good to go to New Zealand.' Where Selwyn and Patteson believed the New Zealand environment hindered the islanders' training, it was precisely the prospect of going to New Zealand that attracted many young islanders to the Melanesian Mission, for in Auckland they could experience some of the novelties of the white man's world. Patteson spent a great deal of his time organizing food for the boys: 'it proved very difficult to keep... [the Lifuans] up to bringing a sufficient supply, and as they had a full share of the universal spirit of higgling [sic], the commissariat was a very harassing and troublesome business.' He had limited opportunities for teaching, and the Mission later admitted that the school 'did not prove very successful'.

Patteson met the Marist priests, and to the surprise of the Lifuans, they treated each other with courtesy and respect. Patteson thought Montrouzier was a 'gentleman, thoroughly well informed', though he took exception to Montrouzier's threats to establish the Catholic mission by force. Patteson spoke of the priests' 'frequent introduction of the words "man of war" into all discussions'. Montrouzier, said Patteson, 'let me see that he knew he could force upon the Lifu people whatever he pleased, the French Government having promised him any number of soldiers he may send for to take possession, if necessary, of the island'.

64 Patteson to his sister, 4 June 1858; and see also Patteson to his father, 12 May 1858, Patteson Papers, ANU.
66 Charlotte Mary Yonge, Life of John Coleridge Patteson, 1, London 1874, 362.
67 Papers relating to the Melanesian Mission, 1858, in Two Letters and Melanesian Mission Reports, NL.
68 Yonge, 369. See also Report of the Melanesian Mission for the Year 1857-1858, 39.
Patteson impressed upon the Lifuans the dangers of antagonizing the priests in case they did call on the Government, and public scorn and abuse of the priests did abate, at least for a time, probably as a result of Montrouzier's intransigence and Patteson's sensible counsel. Even Montrouzier admitted that Patteson had done much to cool Protestant tempers. Both priests thought Patteson was a humble, pious, 'very polite and moderate' man. At the end of September, Selwyn collected Patteson and took the twelve New Hebridean boys back to their islands. In December, Montrouzier was transferred to Yengen on New Caledonia. He believed his contribution to the Marist Mission on Lifu had been to establish a beach-head in a land of Protestants and to have intimidated the more outspoken Protestant teachers: no longer, he said, do they 'vent their spleen' against the French. Also he had secretly baptized twenty-six Lifuans, twenty of whom were, he was convinced, already in Heaven. But he wrote of the 800 Lifuans who at least tacitly supported the Marists:

What they desired was not knowledge of the truth, it was guns and above all the alliance of the French to crush the protestants, who... wished to proselytize by armed might.

He went on to describe how many of these people went about publicly boasting of the might of their new-found allies.

Jean-Baptiste Fabvre and Brother Annet replaced Montrouzier, but with Montrouzier's departure, the mission lost all momentum. Palazy fell ill, Annet hated Lifu so much he did nothing more than mope about the hut at Encho, and Fabvre was unable to travel to the other stations because all his shoes had worn out on the rough coral ground. Only the mission ship, which took away Annet, called into Encho during the next ten months. The priests had few resources for improving their huts or building chapels; their flour and tobacco ran out, and they were forced to live on a diet of yams.

69 Patteson to his father, 12 May 1858; and Patteson to his sister, 6 June 1858, Patteson Papers, ANU.

70 Palazy to ?, July 1858, IV ONC, APM. See also Montrouzier to his parents, 15 August 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM.


72 Montrouzier to Fauvre, 1 January 1859, IV ONC, APM.

73 Montrouzier to Fauvre, 1 January 1859, IV ONC, APM.
and the little rice that remained. Presenting a spectacle of dejection, misery, and virtual isolation in the bush at Encho, the priests were scarcely likely to impress the Lifuans or be of much assistance to Ukeneso. When Rougeyron visited the mission in December 1859, he was appalled at its poverty and the disillusionment of Fabvre and Palazy who were watching two permanent LMS missionaries set up a base at Chepenehe. 

JONES and Creagh on Mare sent frantic reports to the LMS, detailing the activities of both Patteson and the Marists, and urging the LMS to send missionaries before the Lifu field was lost to them forever. It is hard to judge whom the LMS viewed as the greatest threat - Patteson or the Marists. Tidman, the LMS secretary, thought that the Melanesian Mission would bring only 'evils' to the people of Lifu.

It is a lamentable circumstance that in their efforts for the Evangelization of the Islands of the Pacific, the Society's Agents have in some instances met with no less serious obstruction from the professed friends of the Gospel than from its avowed enemies.

In October 1859, several thousand Lifuans gathered to greet Samuel MacFarlane and William Baker and their families when they arrived on the Island of Lifu. The LMS divided the island into two mission districts: the Bakers went to Mu where they were at once 'comfortably lodged in a neat plastered six-roomed cottage, which the teachers gave up for their residence', and the MacFarlanes settled in a similar house at Chepenehe:

---

74 Fabvre to Poupinel, 24 October, 18 November 1859, VMA.
75 Forestier to Poupinel, 13 December 1859; and Rougeyron to Poupinel, 7 December 1859, VMA.
76 Creagh to LMS, 26 May 1859; and Jones to LMS, 23 April 1858, SSL, LMS.
77 Tidman to Creagh, 12 July 1858, '5 letters Tidman to Creagh 1854-1862', MS, AT24, ML.
78 Jones to LMS, 10 November 1859, SSL, LMS.
79 Turner, 507. See also Baker to LMS, 29 October 1859, SSL, LMS.
The willing crowd picked up the things from the boat as soon as it touched the beach, and trunks, casks, and cases flew up to the teachers' house, in at the door, and were laid down in whichever of the seven rooms Mr. MacFarlane pleased to direct.

'By the evening of the first day', wrote MacFarlane, 'all our goods were landed, and cups and saucers were rattling, and the tea-pot steaming'.

The Marists watched from across the bay as the MacFarlanes settled into their huge house and unpacked crates of provisions, tools, books, and launched a whale boat. The Catholics' Lifuan supporters ran off to gaze at MacFarlane's establishment, soon surrounded by a great wooden fence, and returned to tell the disgruntled priests that MacFarlane was 'prodigiously rich'. Fabvre wrote to his superiors that the Protestants had everything, and the Marists nothing.

MacFarlane, a witty, articulate, and supremely arrogant Scotsman, who quickly became the unofficial leader of the LMS in the Loyalty Islands, gloriéd in the accord the Lifuanas paid him, and the setting up of his home comforts.

We have never been troubled with the feeling that because we are missionaries we ought to deny ourselves of easily-acquired conveniences and comforts; indeed, it has always been our endeavour to have things as neat, clean, and convenient as possible: trying to raise the natives to us, rather than descend to them.

On looking across the bay, he disdainfully acknowledged the existence of the two priests living, he remarked accurately enough, 'in miserable houses, remarkable only for their filth and disorder'.

The Protestant mission on Lifu developed as quickly as had the mission on Mare. The islanders eagerly built store-houses and workshops for the missionaries, and erected very large churches. Each mission station was set amidst acres of cleared ground, surrounded by wooden, and later coral block walls. In Wet, MacFarlane, who could speak fluent Lifuan within four months, selected 200 from the 600 keenest 'inquirers' to form a church;

80 Turner, 508.
81 MacFarlane, 70.
82 Fabvre to Poupinel, 20 November 1859, VMA.
83 MacFarlane, 72.
his wife commenced day schools, and mission festivals were organized so that the Lifuans could donate food and other goods to the mission. Similar developments took place at Mu and in some of the interior villages, particularly at Muatul. Throughout Losi, there were twelve churches, eighty 'preaching places' and almost the entire population of Losi, put at over 3,000, attended public worship.

The authority of Bula and Wainya was greatly increased by MacFarlane's 'Five Laws' drawn up to apply Christian principles 'to social life, and to substitute them for the ferocity and revenge by which all classes had been previously influenced'. The laws proscribed such 'crimes' as theft, adultery, 'unchristian activities', and disobedience to the missionaries and Wainya and Bula, and listed a series of punishments ranging from fines to corporal punishment. 'Officers were appointed in different villages to investigate minor offences and impose suitable fines or punishment, whilst the supreme court was held at Mu.' MacFarlane was the first to admit that the 'officers' were often 'more vigorous than just in enforcing their five laws, or rather their own ideas, for their little code became ludicrously elastic sometimes'.

In 1860, the Marists Lubin Gaide and Jean Bertrand arrived to strengthen their mission. Bertrand remained at Encho, Gaide went to Dueulu, and Fabvre went to Nathalo. But the priests continually changed their areas, and some were recalled, leaving only Gaide and Fabvre by 1862. Such mobility added to the difficulties of their already unsettled lives, and prevented them from forming close personal ties with their local supporters. The priests' mood of discouragement persisted: they lacked food, had little communication with Noumea, and their poverty was 'proverbial.
in all the Vicariate of New Caledonia. The Protestants dominated most of Lifou. Out of a population of over 5,000 in 1860, the priests had a total of 600 supporters from Eacheo and Nathalo, and about 150 from Dueulu: they thought less than half were 'Christians'. They had no influence at all in Losi, although Ketiwan, an important clan chief at Inangod, who had long opposed the Bula chieftainship, and chased away the 'officers', hinted that he and his forty-five followers might support the Catholics. The priests, however, had neither the time nor energy to travel so far from Wet. Knowing that they formed a minority group and unable to gain much material advantage from their priests, the Catholic supporters were initially lethargic in their attitude to the new religion. Gaide exhorted the people of Dueulu to build a chapel, and although they agreed to do so, only three or four would ever turn up for working parties. The priests frequently wrote of their supporters being 'cold and indifferent' and 'lacking in ardour'. Furthermore, none of the priests had mastered the Lifu language. They watched in despair the Protestant missionaries who had wives to care for them, and thus ate and lived very well, and above all, the aggressive Protestant system with its 'phalanx of catechists, with its books, with its schools, with its material resources...The Catholic work advances slightly and slowly'.

Where MacFarlane referred to the 'ludicrously elastic' interpretation of the laws, the Marists labelled it an 'inquisition'. Bula's 'policemen' became increasingly fanatical in their opposition.

---

86 'Notes sur le R.P. Jean-Baptiste Fabvre', Fabvre Personal File, APM. See also Bertrand to Poupinel, 3 October 1861, VHA; Fabvre to Yardin, March 1860, IV ONG, APM; Guitta to Poupinel, 9 May 1860, VHA; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 5 June 1860, VHA.

87 Bertrand to Poupinel, 1 June 1860, 3 October 1861, VHA; Fabvre to Poupinel, 4 May 1860, IV ONG, APM; Forestier to Poupinel, 7 August, 3 November 1861, VHA; Rougeyron to Rocher, 23 October 1862, VHA; 'Rapport', 4 December 1862, N.C. Rapports, III ONG, APM.

88 Fabvre to Poupinel, 16 November 1861, VHA; Gaide to Fauvare, March 1864, IV ONG, APM.

89 Forestier to Poupinel, 4 May 1860, 3 November 1861, IV ONG, APM; Gaide to Poupinel, 13 July 1860, VHA.

90 Fabvre to Fauvare, 20 November 1863, IV ONG, APM.
to Ukeneso, Zeula and their supporters, and many Catholic followers were tortured and forced to labour for those supporting the Protestants. Neither Ukeneso nor those looking after the chieftainship for Zeula were able to retaliate for most of their people supported the Protestants. 'The policemen', wrote Gaide, 'believed they were above the great chief, and became tyrants'.

Through association with the LMS, the Bula chieftainship achieved a position of dominance over most of Gaitchena and Wet. Ukeneso's attempt to redress the balance by accepting the Marists had achieved little, because he had already lost popular support and because the mission was so lacking in resources. But the prospect that he and the Marists would soon be completely at the mercy of Bula and Winya in conjunction with the LMS, resulted, as Montrouzier had threatened, in the forceful intervention of the French in 1864.

91 Gaide to Fauvot, March 1864, IV GNC, APM.
Chapter Four

Uvea 1842-1864

Uvea was originally populated by Lifuans from Gaitscha and Wet, and immigrants from New Caledonia. By the mid-eighteenth century, the northern half of the island was dominated by the Great Chief Bazit who lived at Weneki. The Great Chief Taume, based at Fayawe, controlled the southern half. Two subsequent migrations provided the basis for most of the political developments of the early contact period. According to oral traditions recorded by many Europeans who visited Uvea in the nineteenth century, and

---


2 Bernard, "Notices Historiques sur l'île Uvea et les îles Beautrêts", MS. (1873), AAN. Much of the following account of pre- and early contact developments on Uvea is based on this very detailed 60 page MS. See also Bernard to Yardin, 16 November 1861, IV ONC, APM.

3 The Marist missionaries were among the first Europeans to record the migration, and subsequently wrote about it in some detail. See (in order of writing) Viard to Colin, 27 October 1845, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, (APP), 18(1846), 614; Pelazy to Fauvre, 11 May 1857, IV ONC, APM; Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1856, IV ONC, APM; Montrouzier, "N.C. Fragments Historiques", Moniteur, 7 October 1860; Bernard, "Notices Historiques", AAN; Pionnier, "Origins d’Uvea", TS., n.d., uncatalogued, APM. The LMS missionaries also presented details of the migration. See MacFarlane, 251-252; Hadfield, 15-17. Some travellers gave details. See Leconte to M., 1 April 1847, CG 1842-1857, carton 40, ANOM; Erskine 340-341; A. Cheyne, Sailing Directions from New South Wales, London, 1855, 28; Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 8; de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Caledonie, 115, 124; Garnier, 288-290; Glaumont, 'Usages, moeurs et coutumes', 139-140.
confirmed by twentieth century linguistic and sociological studies, a party of Polynesians drifted from Wallis Island (Uvea) to Uvea in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The story of the migration was repeated with remarkable consistency and in essence went as follows: a group of men were building a canoe for a Wallis Island chief when a cutting stone broke from its lashing and injured the chief's son. The workers were terrified of retribution and decided to head out to sea. They were led by the Wallisian chiefs Beke, Dumai, and Nekelo, and among their number were some Tongans from the Pumali clan, and some Samoans. Their canoe drifted a thousand miles in a south-westerly direction and they made landfall on Lifu's east coast. Two or three of the men are reputed to have landed there and settled with the Lifuans. The canoe then sailed north-westwards and landed on Uvea at Onyat, but, afraid that the inhabitants were going to attack them, they sailed further around the coast until they came to the apparently uninhabited island of Uneis. The Great Chief Bazit travelled to the island and is reputed to have welcomed the Polynesians, and given them the island in return for their declaration of obedience to him. There were no women among the immigrants and they intermarried with the original inhabitants and adopted most of their customs, though they retained much of their own language. After some time, tension developed between Beke, who appeared to have most authority among the Wallisians, and Nekelo. Nekelo and his supporters left Uneis and settled at Heo near Woncki, and a smaller group migrated to the tiny Beaufemps-

---


5 Based on Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.

6 Hollyman, 362. Hollyman, using linguistic evidence, has suggested that the Wallisian migration may have been the last, and the only one remembered, in a series of small migrations from Polynesia. See Douglas, 'A Contact History of the Balad People', 190 fn. 65.
Beaupré islands which were also called Heo. Dumai, and the Tongan Pumali, also left Uneis and either by conquest, or at the invitation of Taume, settled on the island of Muli, at the south of the atoll. At the time of European contact, Polynesian racial and linguistic characteristics were readily apparent to travellers in both the northern and southern extremities of Uvea.

Soon after the arrival of the Wallisians, a large number of New Caledonians from Kone were led by Whenegay across to Canala and on to Uvea. In a series of wars, Whenegay established his supremacy over Taume and built up a powerful chiefdom centred at Fayave, and when the first sandalwood traders arrived, they found that Fayave and Weneld were the two centres of political power and men with the names Whenegay and Bazit were constantly at war with each other.

In September 1842, Cheyne sailed from Lifu and approached Uvea from the north. While he was looking for a way to enter the lagoon, a canoe came out to meet his vessel and two Uveans offered to guide him through the chain of islets. Once safely in the lagoon Cheyne sailed south and anchored off Fayave where he found the sandalwood vessel Juno which had arrived from Lifu some days beforehand with a large party of Lifuans on board. Captain Banks of the Juno told Cheyne that the islanders were friendly and that 'any quantity of Sandal Wood could be procured'. Later in the day, 'the King of Fitzaway's Son' came on board and invited Cheyne ashore.

---

7 Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN; see also Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 614-624. Bernard says Taume gave the land to Dumai and Guiart says it was Dumai's by 'right of conquest', Structure de la Chefferie, 624.
8 Erskine, 340; Cheyne, Sailing Directions, 28; Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN. See also Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 586-594; Guiart, Les Origines de la Population d'Ouvea', 29. As Whenegay's migration was apparently very soon after the Wallisian migration, it seems likely that Bazit used the Wallisians as military auxiliaries against Whenegay. See Douglas, 'A Contact History of the Balad People', 195; Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 553, 619-620; Hollyman, 362.
9 The following account comes from Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 109-134.
The prince is named Joqui - about sixteen years of age, tall and well made, with a very intelligent expression of countenance, and much less savage in appearance than the Natives generally.

Cheyne, accompanied by Bridget whom he had brought with him from Lifu, was escorted to Whenegay's huge 'council house', ninety feet long by twenty feet wide, surrounded with a large palisade of kohu logs. There Cheyne was introduced to Whenegay, 'attended by a number of chiefs', and was informed that the Juno and his own ship were the first to have ever visited Uvea. Whenegay told him he wished 'to establish a friendly trade with Europeans' and was eager to sell them sandalwood for his people 'did not use it for any purpose'.

the King [wrote Cheyne] was in the lowest grade of Savage Ignorance and a Cannibal - yet there was something straightforward about him - which I had not before met with at any of the other Islands - and which led me to think he might be trusted. It was evident to me that he had great power over the Natives - and sufficiently able to protect any vessel that might visit his place. The King's name is Whiningay - he is about 45 years of age, nearly 6 feet high, well made with rather a Wild and Daring expression of countenance - has Elephantiasis in his right leg, and holds his present rank through having been a great Warrior. He has six Brothers, who all live within the same fortification, and act as his Ministers & body guard - they are considered very high chiefs - but are not possessed of much property - they hold their influence over the people chiefly through being great Warriors, and are considered as brave men. They Command all War Expeditions.

According to Cheyne, the chief ranked next to Whenegay was Kauma, or 'Koumah' as he called him, Whenegay's 'Half Brother'.

he appears to have large tracts of land under cultivation - and can command about 200 fighting men, is of a mild disposition, inclined to be hospitable - but does not appear to have much command over his natives although they will at all times obey his orders yet he is rather inclined to be easy & Indolent he seldom goes himself on any war expedition: and is not in much estimation as a warrior.

---

10 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 110.
11 For a description of this building see Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 129.
12 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 111.
13 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 111-112.
Kauma lived at Banut, some three miles north of Fayave, and also had a palisade surrounding his hut. The island of Nuli, Cheyne described, was ruled over by 'Boumulli', the Tongan Pumali, who ranked next to Kauma and was 'married to a daughter of the King'.

Whenegay was 'constantly at War' with 'Nicolo', or Nekelo, from the northern end of the island. Captain Banks had been invited to a feast at Whenegay's house just before Cheyne arrived.

Cheyne related how Banks:

had witnessed a Human banquet, and had been asked to partake of it, which being refused, appeared to incense the chief highly. He saw the operation of cutting up and dividing the body performed, and which was done without the least emotion or feeling of shame on their part. The natives were laughing and joking during the whole time...

Since Nekelo had moved from Uneis to Heo, he and his descendants appear to have risen to a position of great authority in Ohwen and because he led the northern people in battle against Whenegay, Europeans who spoke with the residents of Fayave often came away with the impression that Nekelo was in fact, 'King' of the north.

Cheyne, however, was remarkably perceptive, although his terminology was inaccurate, when he noted that the northern 'tribe' was a 'Republic as there are a number of other chiefs besides him, all equal in rank and power'. The LMS missionaries some years later were a little more accurate when they said that the north was 'under a king named Pasil and six tribal chiefs'. Bazit was the highest ranked great chief in Ohwen, and there were four other chiefdoms, similar to great chiefdoms in that each comprised a number of clans. The Melanesians Owa, at Onyat, Iowane, who lived at Weneki with Bazit, and the Polynesians Beka, of Uneis, and Nekelo, of Heo, led these chiefdoms. All of them had varying degrees of autonomy from Bazit, though they had a greater or lesser

---

18 Murray, 354.
system of formal or informal ties with him, such that Ohuen formed a region of some political coherence, distinct from the rest of Uvea.

Cheyne, without knowing it, had already met Nekelo, for he was one of the two men who guided Cheyne’s ship into the lagoon. Banks told Cheyne that Nekelo had been annoyed to see the Juno trading with his enemies in the south, and had determined to bring the next vessel to his village. Cheyne, unaware of his pilot’s rank, had paid him little attention, and now felt ashamed that he had not even asked him below or offered him something to eat. Once he saw Cheyne sailing directly for Fayawe, Nekelo had angrily left the vessel and vowed that if he ever caught Cheyne he would eat him.

Nekelo was extremely jealous and angry at the sight of two ships trading off Fayawe and his enemies accumulating riches from the sale of wood. After a week he could no longer contain himself and sent off two double canoes loaded with sandalwood. As they came in sight off Fayawe, Whenegay’s men fled ashore and did not return until the canoes had sailed away. Banks bought the wood while Whenegay, who was on Cheyne’s vessel, ‘tried hard’ to persuade Cheyne to fire his cannon as the enemy canoes passed by.

After some ten days of trading, Cheyne’s relations with the Lifuans, who had been brought by the Juno, deteriorated. They began to demand higher prices than Cheyne was prepared to pay for the sandalwood, and Bridget, against Cheyne’s wishes, favoured the Lifuans by paying them more than the Uveans. Cheyne was finally forced to order Bridget off his ship and the Lifuans replied by ‘quivering their Spears, and shaking their clubs’ when Cheyne later went ashore. But Whenegay stepped in, and taking Cheyne by the hand, took him to his boat and urged him to return to his

19 Guiart, Structure de la Chefferie, 608-624. Beka paid tribute to Bazit, but Nekelo, possibly because of his military strength, did not. There is some evidence that at the time of European contact Bazit’s authority vis-à-vis Nekelo was on the wane. See Bernard, ‘Notices Historiques’, AAN. The situation was later reversed when Bazit associated himself with the Marist missionaries, as will be described below.


21 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 116-117.
ship. Some of the Uveans, too, became annoyed with Cheyne, and a number of 'inferior chiefs' plotted to massacre his crew and take the ship; yet again Whenegay 'put a stop to it'. Cheyne was sure Bridget and the Lifuans had been behind it all, and he was relieved when they soon afterwards sailed back to Lifu in canoes.

The trading continued but at a slower rate. Cheyne had been on Uvea for over a month and, he said, 'the natives were evidently getting tired, and appeared anxious for us to leave'. On the 12 October he sailed for New Caledonia.

On his 1845 visit, Cheyne took on board Jokwie, and Whenegay's brother and nephew, 'they having requested me', said Cheyne, 'to let them see Annatom'. A few days out from Uvea, they met the LMS vessel, John Williams, making its way to the Loyalties. Jokwie spoke with the missionaries and, they wrote, 'with an earnestness which we shall never forget, entreated us to take teachers to his island'. The following year, when Ta'unga was on Lifu, he met Jokwie who was visiting Bula. Jokwie asked Ta'unga to return to Uvea with him and Ta'unga was willing to go. However, the Hare people he was travelling with were jealous and prevented him from leaving. Ta'unga told the missionaries of Jokwie's entreaties when they called into Mu in 1846, and they set sail for Uvea. But when they entered the lagoon, a gale blew up and they were forced to return to the open sea.

Jokwie seems never to have missed an opportunity to travel on European vessels and was among the seventy or more Lifuans and Uveans who signed on to work in Australia when Benjamin Boyd's

---

22 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 119-120.
23 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 121-122.
24 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 122.
25 Cheyne, 3 May 1845, Log of the Brig Naiad.
26 Murray and Turner, 'Samoa 1845 April 1 - June 7 From Apia. Deputation to New Hebrides, New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
27 Ta'unga, 83-84.
28 Gill and Misbet to LMS, 28 October 1846, SSL, LMS.
recruiting vessels Portentia and Velocity called into the Loyalty Islands in 1847. Some fifty islanders jumped ship at Rotuma, where numbers of them, including Jokwie, met Captain Marceau of the Arche d'Alliance, the vessel often used by the Marist Mission. The Marists had recently been expelled from New Caledonia by hostile islanders, and they quickly saw the possibility of establishing a mission on Uvea if, they reasoned, they could earn the gratitude of the Uveans by returning some of the people 'kidnapped' by Boyd's ships.

The Arche d'Alliance anchored off Fayawe and instead of the expected friendly reception, the vessel was surrounded by canoe-loads of threatening warriors. Marceau panicked and fired his cannon, sinking several of the canoes. Then the Uveans recognized Jokwie and laid down their arms. Marceau and a priest were escorted to the palisade where they waited while Jokwie related his story to his father. The response was hardly what the Marists expected, for Wheenegay and some of his 'principal' chiefs began arguing amongst themselves. The Marists later discovered that some of these chiefs wished to kill the Européens. One of Wheenegay's brothers was most vociferous in his demands that they should die, and it was suggested he was annoyed to see his nephew return for he now lost the chance to succeed to the chieftainship. But Wheenegay escorted the Marists back to their ship, and they sailed away to make further preparations, still unaware of the hostility they had provoked.

29 FitzRoy to Grey, 24 December 1847, Colonial Office (CO), New South Wales Series, Public Record Office (PRO), Admiralty Section, CO 201/386, microfilm, ANL. This letter gives the results of a government inquiry into Boyd's labour trading activities.

30 Charles Brainne, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, Paris, 1854, 135-136; Erskine, 342; Selwyn to his father, 17 June 1848, 'Letters from Bishop Selwyn and others', 445-446; Samoan Reporter, March 1848.


33 The following information comes from Brainne, 133-143; Mayet, 125-167. See also Eugène Alcan, Les Cannibales et leur temps, Paris, 1887, 98-118.
Some months afterwards, Marceau was in Sydney and he met more Uveans who had deserted Boyd's vessels. Seeing their chance to please Whenegay once again, the Marists went back to Uvea. Their reception off Fayawe was more agreeable this time as Whenegay and his followers seemed genuinely pleased to see more of their own people return. But suddenly Whenegay recognized some of Bazit's men among the returning Uveans and told Marceau he had recently fought with Bazit and described how he was still eating the flesh of Bazit's fallen warriors. He then stalked off the ship, warning of Bazit's treachery and the dangers of travelling into his area. Marceau immediately sailed to Ne' o where Nekelo was delighted to meet them and eagerly showed them freshly scraped bones of Whenegay's men. When Marceau said he was going to return to Fayawe, Nekelo insisted his son go along too. His reasons for doing so are not clear, though it was suggested he may have wanted his son to reconnoitre enemy lands, or perhaps he saw the chance to insult Whenegay by sending his son, under European protection, into Whenegay's territory. Marceau, though aware of the intense hostility between Whenegay and Nekelo, foolishly agreed to take the boy, with inevitable results. Jokwie was mortified to see Nekelo's son off his village and demanded that Marceau allow him to kill him. Marceau berated Jokwie for his behaviour, which added insult to injury, for as Jokwie told him, his ancestors would 'turn in their graves' if they saw him being abused in front of an enemy he was not allowed to strike down. He ordered his men to take the ship, and only Marceau's panicked retreat across the lagoon prevented, as he imagined, a certain massacre. Back off Nekelo's village, the Arche d'Alliance was surrounded by war canoes, and having been in enough danger for one day, Marceau decided to take no further chances: he quickly landed Nekelo's son, and sailed for Aneityum.

A group of Marist missionaries on Aneityum were meanwhile preparing to land a permanent missionary on Uvea, for since Marceau had twice returned lost Uveans, they had little doubt they would be enthusiastically received. Prosper Goujon, together with a catechist, and two brothers, sailed for Uvea, but half-way there

---

34 Brainne, 141.
they met Marceau who told them of the Uveans' 'darkest treason', and the two vessels sailed together to Aneityum: it was ten years before the Marists again set foot on Uvea.

SELWYN also met some of the Uveans who had run from the Velocity and Portentia, and he decided to visit Uvea as soon as possible. In 1849, accompanied by Erskine in the Havannah, Selwyn's Undine anchored off Hoo. The brig Lyner was also at anchor and had just returned thirty-six Uveans from Sydney after they too had left Boyd's ships. Selwyn and Erskine also met a Mr Edwards whose sandalwood vessel had been wrecked and who had spent 'some months' living amongst the Uveans. There was no indication of any hostility towards any of these Europeans, nor were the islanders fighting each other. Whenegay had recently died and Jokwie, who took his father's name, became great chief. Perhaps as a result of Whenegay's death, Nekelo, said Erskine, had 'lately brought a war, which had been carried on for some time with Weningae, to a close'. Nekelo appeared to Erskine to be a:

sombre-looking man, in no ways differing in appearance from his people, except in wearing a high cylindrical cap of thin cloth, resembling paper, and having tattooed on his chest, in large Roman characters, "Nicolo, King of Mars," which was soon concealed under a shirt which I gave him.

Selwyn and Erskine also met Basiu, who, not to be outdone by Nekelo, had 'Basset' tattooed on his chest. Both he and Nekelo, said Erskine, 'appeared to be on very friendly terms with each other'. Neither Selwyn nor Erskine had time to visit Whenegay at Fa'ayaue.

Before he left, Selwyn gathered together fifty-six children at Nekelo's village and, he wrote, 'scrutinized them with such physiognomical skill as long intercourse with boys has given me'. He selected two for the mission school in Auckland, but as

35 Goujon to Lagniet, 28 October 1848, APF, 22(1850), 117-119.
36 Erskine, 342.
37 Erskine, 340.
38 Erskine, 340.
39 Erskine, 343.
40 Erskine, 344-345.
the Undine sailed from the lagoon, they leapt overboard and swam to a canoe fishing nearby.41

Selwyn again made brief calls to Uvea in 1850, and 1852, visiting Bazit, Nekelo, and Whenegay, who remained at peace with each other and with Europeans.42 Because both their areas were readily accessible to European ships, neither side had any particular advantage over the other, and both seemed content to trade with vessels calling in to pick up Uvean crews and replenish their provisions.

IN 1856, the harmony and balance between the Whenegay and Bazit chiefdoms was destroyed. Early in 1856, Nekelo was either killed, or died of natural causes, and his death led to a renewal of fighting with Whenegay. Under the pretext of arranging a peace, Whenegay was enticed to Weneki where he was assassinated in December 1856, and the fighting assumed more serious proportions.43 At about the same time, two Hareans who had been trained by the LMS missionaries on Mare, settled at Fayave. Details of this event are obscure but it seems that the chiefs on Lifu who had accepted the Polynesian teachers and who had ties with the Whenegay chiefship, were instrumental in first suggesting to Whenegay that he ask for teachers.44 Whenegay saw the advantages that had accrued to Bula, Wainya, and Naisiline and, wishing to emulate these chiefs, made the arrangements with Creagh early in 1856.45 Shortly after Whenegay’s assassination, Henry Burns established

41 Selwyn to his father, 14 March 1850, 'Letters from Bishop Selwyn and others', 265.

42 Colonial Church Chronicle, 6(1852-1853), 468; Nihill, 'Journal of a Voyage to the New Hebrides, New Caledonia', 1850.

43 Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAM; Bernard to a colleague, 28 July 1858, APP, 32(1860), 447; Report of the Royal Commission (HC), Minutes of Evidence (HE), (Burns), 22; Drummond and Herbutt, 'Samoa 1857 July 7 - August 7 From Apia.... Deputation to New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands', 35J, LMS.

44 Jones to LMS, 26 October 1858, SSL, LMS. There was frequent communication between Uvea and Lifu along the socio-trading routes. See Gill and Nisbet to LMS, 28 October 1846, SSL, LMS.

45 Creagh to LMS, March 1856, SSL, LMS.
a sandalwood station at Fayawe and every year until 1861 he spent the pleasant winter months there. The Fayawe people were pleased to have him for not only did his station bring them material prosperity, but, as he later related:

When I returned to the island in 1856, there was no head to the tribe, the king having been killed in fight; he had an only child, who was but two years of age, and his brother who was a sort of regent was imbecile, the power was therefore placed in my hands. The people had every confidence in me. I was the king there. We had a regular code of laws for our government, established by myself and the chiefs. I am sorry to say I have not a copy of them, as they with my journals were lost when I went to England. The people looked to me to settle all their disputes ... If I said anything it was right.

Within the space of a year, the Whenegay chieftainship had allied itself more closely than ever with English traders and Protestantism. In a now thoroughly predictable pattern, those in the north of Uvea accepted Marist missionaries.

Before his death, Nekelo had been in touch with Rougeyron at Balad and Pwebo and had asked for Catholic priests to help him to combat Whenegay's teachers who had already or were shortly going to arrive. It was not until April 1857 that Rougeyron was finally able to organize an expedition, and along with Jean Bernard, a Wallisian named Siano Lave, and four or five Uveans from New Caledonia, he landed at Neo. The young Nekelo, who had taken over his father's position, gave Rougeyron a cool reception, saying, correctly enough, that permission for the missionaries to live with them would have to come from Bazit, his superior. Bazit, too, made out that he was hesitant to accept the missionaries, pointing out that Uvea produced little food and there was little water, and that he was far too involved in the war with the south to bother with them. Bernard, however, hinted that the French

46 RC, MS, (Burns), 20.
47 RC, MS, (Burns), 22.
48 RC, MS, (Burns), 20.
49 Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.
50 The following information comes from Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN; Bernard to a colleague, 28 July 1858, APP, 32(1860), 447-450; Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV ONC, APM.
Government would not be very pleased if the Catholics were not allowed to stay, and Bazit then agreed they could settle, providing they did not make him or his people take part in any religious activities. Bernard reassured him he had no intention of forcing his religion on anybody and, said Bernard, 'I shook his hand and slipped him some pipes and a little tobacco. This summing up of my speech seemed to impress him; he adopted a gaier attitude, his face brightened up'. The priests then invited Bazit and his 'notables' back to their ship where they were given lavish presents, and promised to protect the missionaries and their property. Bernard and Lave off-loaded supplies to last for a month, when it was planned other priests would join them. They set up their hut not at Bazit's village of Weneki, which is about a mile inland, but on the coast at Heo, which now is usually referred to as St Joseph.

Bernard spent most of his time learning the language for he was left alone by the Uveans and he did not feel confident enough to travel about. He blamed his lack of popularity on the strong anti-French and anti-Catholic sentiments inspired by the English traders and the Protestant teachers. He also thought that the islanders feared his spiritual powers, and were afraid that their own gods might punish them if they had anything to do with him; he believed however, that the greatest obstacle to his influence was the islanders' pre-occupation with their war against the people of Fayave. In May, François Falazy, who had spent some time on Wallis Island and among the Uveans at Pweho, and Brother Gabriel, were landed to reinforce the Marist mission. They found a dejected Bernard in his 'small and wretched hut', and in spite of the newcomers the Uveans still kept away.

Joseph Fidèle-Eugène du Bouzet, Governor of the French establishments in the Pacific, entered the lagoon on the warship Styx, in August 1857. The priests explained the necessity to end the fighting before Catholic, and hence French influence could hope to combat the English influences on the island. Du Bouzet and the priests managed to coax the terrified Bazit and Nekelo aboard the

51 Bernard to a colleague, 28 July 1858, APP, 32(1860), 448.
52 Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV ONC, AP.M.
53 Falazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, OP, AP.M.
Styx which then sailed to Fayaue where the 'notables' there were also coaxed aboard. Burns appears to have lost the regency by this time for the position was in the hands of Ombalu, a brother of the deceased Jokwie. After the briefest of interviews, and acting under the priests' directions, du Bouzet drew a rough map of Uvea, divided it into northern and southern areas, and declared the two parties were to live in peace from then on. As the Styx was due elsewhere, the islanders were hastened off the ship, doubtless bewildered by the Europeans' actions, and within days were fighting again.

The LMS made their first visit to Uvea in the same year. Kama of Banut was one of the first chiefs to meet them and asked if he could have a teacher. But he had no intention of ceasing his fighting because:

as their king Whenegay had been killed by Pascet, the principal chief of Viki [Heneki], a place on the other side of the island, where two Roman Catholic priests reside, he was resolved to avenge his death.

The missionaries also met Ombalu, who was acting as 'regent' and was just as obsessed with avenging Whenegay's death. Deeply disturbed that the priests had already landed on Uvea, the LMS missionaries left two more Marean, and two Rarotongan teachers.

The priests were pessimistic about their chances of success in the south:

[the islanders] remain true to the sentiments of their ancient hostility: perhaps also they are afraid of appearing to submit to the chiefs of the other [northern] tribe, if they accept their religion.

Nevertheless, they decided to travel into the southern regions to see if there was any possibility of setting up another post. As they made their way down the long, curving beach, the clan chiefs at each village hid in the bush, and no one spoke to them; fortunately they had brought their own provisions. Even at those

54 Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV OHC, APM; Du Bouzet to Min., 25 August 1857, Campagnes, B24 747, Archives Nationales, section Marine (AMH), Paris.
55 Samoan Reporter, October 1859.
56 Samoan Reporter, October 1859.
57 Commentary, ANO, 3(1875), 262.
villages where some of the inhabitants were Wallis Island descendants, the people were unwilling to offer any hospitality. The priests discovered that water holes had been carefully hidden so that they would not linger about. The people, wrote Bernard, 'had been so fanaticized by the Protestants... that they refused even to receive what we gave them'. At Fayawe, the only islanders they saw were old women, and it was Burns who offered them food and shelter. The priests crossed to Huli where they hoped for a better reception from the Wallisian descendants there, but were received in the same cold manner, and neither Dumai, or Pumali, whom they called 'the second chief', came to see them. 58

Bernard launched into a tirade when he returned to Fayawe, demanding to know why they had been treated so indifferently. Was it because of instructions from the Protestant teachers? He did not want to inform the government in Noumea about their attitude, for, he said, they would not 'let the matter rest there'. 59 The threat was taken seriously, especially by Burns, who did not want the French given any chance to close down his station on the pretext of removing hostile English influences, and he urged the people to treat the priests with respect. No sooner had the priests returned to Neo than a deputation of Fayawe chiefs, together with Burns and the Protestant teachers, came and apologized for the way the priests had been treated, and blamed the reception on 'vagabonds' visiting from the Isle of Pines. 60

THE turning point for the Marist mission came with Testard's visit to Uvea on the Syvra when he and Montrouzier came to collect Palazy to help them commence the mission on Lifu in April 1858. The priests explained to Testard, as they had done to du Bouzet, the opposition to their mission, and told him they needed a station at Fayawe. Testard sailed to the south and tried to assemble all the Fayawe chiefs, but they were visiting Lifu, and his audience finally consisted of all the old men of the village. He 'demanded' they allow Bernard to build a hut in their village, and satisfied

56 Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV ONC, APH; Palazy to Colin, 10 June 1861, OP, APH.
59 Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV ONC, APH.
60 Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV ONC, APH.
with their mumbled assurances of goodwill, sailed for Lifou. When
the chiefs returned two weeks later, they were in no mood to
oppose Testard's order. 'The fear of the warship', wrote Bernard,
'was stronger than their faith.' The day after they arrived, they
travelled to Néo and told Bernard and Eugène Barriol, who replaced
Palazy, they could live at Fayawe. The priests hastily 'took the
opportunity to go there immediately to found an establishment beside
the Protestant one'.

Barriol took up residence at Fayawe, and was faced with
great difficulties: he had to learn the Iati language, and was
continually abused by the people of Fayawe and the Marean and
Polynesian teachers. Furthermore, at both Fayawe and Néo, the
priests had few resources. They ran short of food and water and
had great difficulty in gathering wood and other essential materials
for their huts and chapels. Barriol complained he was 'crushed by
work' for when the Uveans saw the priests labouring, they kept
well away. 'The construction of my church', wrote Bernard,
'seems have caused some indifference and has diminished the
congregation.' Brother Gabriel was a hindrance: he 'detested'
Uvea, and the sight of all the naked women, especially when they
crawled past him on all fours to enter or leave a hut, made him
ill. No mission ship arrived for six months, and Bernard felt
they had all been 'abandoned in the wilderness'.

Nevertheless, support for the mission increased in both
regions. By 1859-1860, the principal chiefs in the north, Bazit,
Imwene, Nekelo, Beka, and Owa gave at least tacit support to the
Marists, and the entire population of about 1,000 attended
services. In the south, several of the lesser clan chiefs in
the Wakat-Lekin areas asked the priests for support. One chief,

61 Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV ONC, APN.
62 Barriol to ?, August 1858; and Bernard to Fauvre,
14 July 1859, IV ONC, APN.
63 Rougeyron to Poupinel, 6 March 1859, VMA.
64 Bernard to Poupinel, 16 November 1859, VMA.
65 Gabriel to Poupinel, 19 March 1860, VMA.
66 Bernard to Poupinel, 16 November 1859, VMA. See also
Bernard to Poupinel, 8 September 1858, 19 January 1859, VMA.
67 Barriol to his parents, September 1859; and Bernard to
Fauvre, 14 July 1859, IV ONC, APN.
unfortunately not named by Bernard, explained that some of his people who supported the Protestant teachers were trying to supplant his authority with the teachers' aid, and he wanted a priest to help him regain his position. The breakthrough in the south came when the entire population of 300 on the island of Nuli decided to support the priests in August 1858. Their motives for doing so are not clear, though perhaps Dumai saw his chance to emphasize his independence from the Whenegay chieftainship, and there were the strong socio-historical ties between the Wallisian descendants on Nuli and those in the north. Some people from Fayawe told Barriol:

Father your prayer is the best, we wish to accept it, but as it comes from Veneki [Weneki] we are ashamed ... you must come yourself and take the principal chiefs by the hand and everyone will follow. However, some 200 people from the Fayawe region, out of a population of about 1,000, decided to openly support the Marists. Some of these islanders appear to have been influenced by the ever present fear of the French warships. 'They said', recorded Barriol, 'perhaps with truth, that if we kill the missionaries, that they [the French] will take our country.' The priests reported that few of these people had 'changed their pagan life', and were Catholics 'only in words', but, thought Rougeyron on one of his visits, better than their becoming Protestants. The LMS continued to make annual visits to Fayawe, virtually the only area where they were welcomed. Because of the apparent strength of the Marists, the Protestant missionaries appealed to the LMS to send a permanent missionary, but none could

68 Barriol to Poupinel, 15 July 1859, VMA; Bernard to Fauvre, 28 August 1858, IV ONC, APM.
69 Barriol to his parents, September 1858, IV ONC, APM.
70 Barriol to Poupinel, 25 December 1859, VMA.
71 Rougeyron to Poupinel, 15 June 1860, VMA.
72 Barriol to his parents, September 1858, IV ONC, APM.
73 Rougeyron to Poupinel, 15 June 1860, VMA.
be spared and the missionaries could do little else but leave more teachers. 74

As support for the Marists gained momentum, and the numbers of Protestant teachers increased, violence between Catholic and Protestant supporters regularly broke out. The hostility between Fayawe and Weneki came to an end, for the islanders became too preoccupied with the squabbling among factions in their own areas. The Fayawe region was particularly disturbed, partly because of the presence of Barriol surrounded by large numbers of Protestant supporting islanders and their teachers, and partly because the great chief Whenegay was still a child and the regent Ombalu had none of the authority of the former Whenegays to maintain order. One traveller commented: 'thanks to a crowd of little chiefs without influence, anarchy is permanent'. 75 The Protestant supporters burnt down Barriol's hut; at Wakat, a Catholic supporting clan chief was beaten up by some Protestant catechists; and at Lekin, other Protestant supporters built a large hut for a 'secondary' chief to help him upstage a superior chief supporting the Catholics. 76 News of the constant fighting reached Noumea, and the French Government sent warships in 1860 and 1861 for brief visits, but the captains were able to do very little. They listened to conflicting tales from the priests and the Protestant teachers and then attempted to hand down a 'ruling', and as soon as the vessels left the lagoon, the islanders turned on each other with renewed vigour. 77

The northern region, too, became unsettled when, in 1860, the Marists attempted to draw up a code of laws in an attempt to

74 Stallworthy and Gill, 'Samoa 1858 May 21 - August 22 Deputation... to New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands', SSJ, LMS; Turner, 'Samoa 1859 September 27 - December 17, New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands', SSJ, LMS; MacFarlane to LMS, 16 October 1860, SSL, LMS. See also Loyalty Island Minutes, 20 January 1859, SSO, Box 12, LMS.

75 Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 11. See also Garnier, 303.

76 Barriol to Poupinel, 25 December 1859; Bernard to Poupinel, 17 November 1860; Emprin to Poupinel, 16 January 1861; Gabriel to Poupinel, 15 November 1860; all in VMA.

77 Saisset to Min., 10 October 1860, BB4 1036, ANM; Durand to Min., 31 December 1861, B94 797, ANM; Emprin to Poupinel, 16 June 1861, VMA.
consolidate their support and authority before the Protestant teachers had any chance to make their way there. Bernard and Bazit called together the principal chiefs of Ohwen, and in Bazit's name, promulgated laws for compulsory attendance at church services, strict observance of the Sabbath, and for the prohibition of polygamy and the dissolution of marriages. As well, there was a list of punishments. The implications of such laws upon the political structure of Ohwen were potentially profound, for they gave Bazit the opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of the other chiefdoms - a right he did not normally have. However, every chief except Owa of Onyat, who was determined that his authority should not in any way be weakened by Bazit, agreed to accept the laws. The Protestant teachers and catechists at Fayawe quickly supported Owa's stand, and declared him an independent chief without any obligations whatsoever to Bazit. Owa proclaimed he would support the Protestants, and symbolically broke his ties with Bazit by returning a fibre belt Bazit had once given him. Within a few hours, Protestant supporters from Fayawe and Wadrilla flocked to Onyat and erected a grass chapel next to the Catholic one. Bernard and Bazit declared that Owa was a rebel, and Nekelo's warriors destroyed the entire village and drove the inhabitants south to Wadrilla where they took refuge. Owa's brother and a small girl died in the fighting.

The vigorous attack on Owa and his Onyat people caused great anxiety among many of the clan chiefs in the north who were opposed to the centralization of authority of Ohwen under Bazit and Nekelo. In 1863, 'Wadgyulia' of Weneki, an 'old minister' of Bazit, and 'Lengaon' of Uneis, both of whom had connections with the Wadrilla Protestants, plotted to kill Bazit and Beka. They intended to blame Bazit's murder on Imwene, the 'second chief' at

---

78 Bernard to his sister, 14 April 1861; and Bernard to Yerdin, 16 November 1861, IV ONC, APN.
79 Bernard to Fauvre, 15 April 1861, IV ONC, APN.
80 Full details of the events are in Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN. See also Bernard to Fauvre, 19 June 1862; and Bernard to ?, [1862], IV ONC, APN. The LMS missionaries also gathered details of the events, see Creagh to LMS, 23 April 1863, SSL, LMS; MacFarlane, 255.
He11.e:.ki, and in so doing hoped that Wadgyulia would have no opposition if he claimed the Weneki chief'sanship. 

The two ambushed and killed Beka on his way to church, and then attacked and burnt Weneki, without, however, managing to kill Bazit. Bazit and Nekelo quickly organized a party of warriors and drove out the 'rebels' in a series of fights all down the island to Fayawe.

When a permanent Protestant missionary arrived at Fayawe in December 1864, he was in an unenviable position. The Marist missionaries, although they had achieved very little in their attempts to evangelize the islanders, and had no schools, and were still materially poor, had, nevertheless, the support of most of the Uvean population. In conjunction with Bazit and Nekelo, they had an iron grip on the people of Ohwen and no Protestant teachers or supporters dared travel into the area. Everyone on Muli and most of the people in the Lekin-Wakat region, as well as some 200 in Fayawe itself, followed the priests. Wadrilla was one of the few villages where the Protestants held power unchallenged.

---

81 Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.
82 Bernard to Rocher, 9 September 1863, VMA; Bernard to Yardzin, 13 September 1863, IV ONC, APH; Forestier to Poupinel, 1 August 1863, VMA; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 18 August 1863, VMA.
83 Poupinel to Colin, 5 June 1865, AMO, 2(n.d.), 325.
84 'Etat de la Nouvelle-Caledonie', [1861], AMO, 2(n.d.), 8; Bernard to Poupinel, 13 July 1862, VMA; Rougeyron to Rocher, 23 October 1862, VMA; Loyalty Island Minutes, 14 November 1863, SSO, Box 12, LMS.
By 1864 on Lifu and Uvee, and 1866 on Mare, the majority of the islanders had allied themselves with either the English Protestant or the French Catholic missionaries. For most individuals, the decision to do so was initially made for them by the great chiefs, who chose the faith they believed could best help them regain, defend, maintain, or extend their authority. The missionaries' religious and national differences were utilized by the islanders and fitted into their existing patterns of hostilities. Those who achieved the most success through their association with one or other of the missions were Bazit, Bula, and Naisiline, each of whom assumed an authority within their own chiefdoms and over others which they might otherwise not have had. The unfortunate losers at this time were Ukeneso, Whonegay, Gocene and Oma.

The division of the islands into areas of Catholic and Protestant influence was, however, more complex than a division along the boundaries of individual chiefdoms, for the new religions aggravated existing, and created new intra-chiefdom hostilities, which seriously threatened the existing structures of authority, as in Wet and Fayawe. Ambitious men within the chiefdoms saw opportunities to break former allegiances and sought the support of the mission most opposed to the interests of their superiors in order to aggrandize their own distinct influence and attract as many supporters as possible. Thus the political organizations and alliances of each island were significantly altered during the time of the establishment of the missions, and through mission influence, though it is possible that broadly similar developments could have taken place without European contact.

An explanation of the extent and power of the respective missions and their supporters concerns partly the topography of the islands, and partly the time at which the missionaries arrived. The Protestant missionaries, through their teachers, were first to establish a mission on Mare and Lifu and naturally enough went to the most accessible areas around the coast. Their greatest influences were, therefore, at Ro and Netche on Mare, and Nu, We, and Chepenene on Lifu. Consequently those chiefs whose territories encompassed these areas were those who gained the most from this initial European contact - Bula, Wainya, and Naisiline. When the Catholic missionaries arrived, they had to content themselves with the inland areas where access was difficult and they and their
supporters had little opportunity for contact with coastal shipping - Nathalo, where they had the double bad luck of finding themselves supporting a timid great chief, and La Roche. Where they did settle on the coast, at Eacho and Dueulu, and with a temporary outstation at We, they gained little advantage because, in the case of We and Eacho, there was no resident great chief, and they were surrounded by Protestant-supporting islanders. The Great Chief Zeula, at Dueulu, was an infant, and Gaitcha was a small and weak great chiefdom. To add to all these disadvantages, the Narists lived in poverty.

The two main centres of authority on Uvea, Fayawe and Weneki, were equally accessible to European shipping, so the timing of the missions was crucial - here the Catholics were dominant largely because they arrived some eight years before the LMS sent a permanent missionary.

Indigenous communication links among the Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, and the Isle of Pines also played a significant part in the establishment of the missions. Protestant influences had a northwards movement. Once established on the north of Mare under Neisiline's patronage, the Si Guahma links with Bula were a ready-made medium for the Polynesian teachers to cross to Mu and gain support in Losi. From there, they penetrated into Gaitcha and Wet and gained the allegiance of Weneka and Mainya. Trading links between Wet and Fayawe led to the establishment of two teachers there, and finally a permanent missionary.

Marist mission influence moved in the opposite direction. From their association with Uveans of Wallisian descent in northern New Caledonia, and, more tenuously, because of their mission on Wallis Island, the Catholic missionaries gained the support of Bazit and the other chiefs in Ohwen, and moved from there to Muli which was settled mainly by Wallisian descendants who had strong ties with Ohwen. Once Bazit decided to follow the Marists, he encouraged Ukeneso of Wet to do the same. The Marists' southward movement penetrated no further than Dueulu because of lack of popular support, missionaries, and resources. But since they had a strong mission on the Isle of Pines, they were able to reach Mare along the socio-trading ties between the two islands.

The missionaries were well aware that the islanders wanted them for whatever economic and political advantages they had to
offer, and that their relationship with the great chiefs, or those aspiring to that position, was a symbiotic one: if a chief saw the possibility of increasing his status and power through association with one or other mission, the mission similarly benefited. MacFarlane wrote of Bula: 'having secured the favour of the king, you were not only safe, but the gospel became popular, and multitudes attended the services who would not have dared to be present, if the king had expressed his disapprobation'.

Just as the islanders were quick to pick up and shrewdly utilize the religious and national differences between the missions, the missionaries, too, were quick to grasp the fundamentals of the islanders' political aspirations and took an active part in them, for the future success or otherwise of their missions depended upon the political fortunes of their island patrons. The arrival of the French Government, however, provided another source of authority, with which both islanders and missionaries, after a period of intensified national, religious, and indigenous political conflicts, were finally forced to come to terms.

85 MacFarlane, 22.
AUTHORITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND CONFLICT:
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRENCH CONTROL.
Chapter Five

Lifu 1864-1871

REAR-ADMIRAL Auguste Febvier Despointes annexed New Caledonia for France at Balad in September 1853. His proclamation referred to 'New Caledonia and its dependencies' and although he did not specify the dependencies, it was generally agreed they were the Loyalty Islands. Until 1864, the local French administration in Port de France had no wish to concern itself with these economically insignificant islands, but it became increasingly concerned with what it considered hostile developments there, and finally felt it necessary to intervene and establish control.

In the months following the annexation, French warships sailed around the Loyalty Islands, and their captains noted that they were poorly charted, lacked anchorages, and generally offered 'nothing outstanding'. Governor du Bouzet received a ministerial statement in 1854 informing him that, as the Loyalty Islands were so close to New Caledonia, they could be regarded as a dependency although M. Febvier Despointes did not specially take possession of them, and instructing him to 'make an act of presence' to let the islanders know they were under French jurisdiction. He was also to raise the French flag and set up a military post, but only if he felt it necessary to warn other European powers that the islands were French. Du Bouzet, who thought 'the possession of these islands cannot be very useful', never visited them. However, information, often gleaned second-hand from the pages of the *Samoan Reporter*, about the prevalence of English sandalwood traders and the LMS missionaries and their Polynesian teachers on the

1 Document of annexation, 24 September 1853, BB4 1604, ANM.
2 Port de France was renamed Noumea in 1866 to avoid confusion with Port de France in Martinique.
3 Bevis to 'Amiral', 17 October 1853, MS. 9448, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Paris; Captain of the *Phoque* to 'Amiral', 11 December 1853, BB4 1604, ANM; 'Limites de la Nouvelle-Calédonie', 1854, MS. 9448, BN.
4 Min. to du Bouzet, 17 May 1854, CG 1854-1864, carton 96, ANM.
5 Du Bouzet, 'Note sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie', 25 October 1858, MS. 9448, BN.
islands, caused him some anxiety for he assumed such English influences were 'hostile' to French interests. But lacking ships, men, and finance, and since there were no harbours on the islands, he thought it impracticable to set up a post unless he was ordered to do so. 'The establishment of a Catholic mission on these islands', he wrote, 'seems to me at this moment the only way to extend our influence.' But he had few resources to put at the Marists' disposal and when they went to Uvea in 1857 it was on an English trading vessel, the Black Dog.

The first official French visit to the islands was in 1857 when du Bouzet called at the Catholic mission on Uvea for several hours and attempted to settle the dispute between the people of Payame and Ohwen. The French administration played a more active role when the Stray again visited Uvea in 1858 before sailing to Lifu where Montrouzier and Palazy were deposited to set up a mission. Jules Testard, commandant during du Bouzet's absence, met Selwyn on this visit and learned of his intention to land Patteson at Mu to run a school. Testard was very angry. Selwyn, he said, was 'a man eaten up with pride and bad faith... we should make every permissible effort to stop him'. He accused du Bouzet of having been 'remiss' in not making an 'act of possession' on the Loyalty Islands. 'It is of the utmost importance', he said, 'to annex these islands to Caledonia. If we are not careful they are going to become a foyers of agitation on our east coast.' When du Bouzet returned, he explained he had always considered the islands as a dependency, but he 'did not wish to raise the flag there, not being able to leave anyone to guard it'. But he admitted the islands were more important to the French than he had realized because of their proximity to New Caledonia and 'the multiplicity of kinship relations between the Natives of the groups'. Du Bouzet feared that if English influences were consolidated on the islands, they could readily penetrate into New Caledonia. The French, he decided, must visit the islands more often, give presents to the chiefs, and persuade them to support the Marist missions —

6 Du Bouzet to Min., 5 May 1855, CG 1854-1864, carton 86, ANOM.
7 See above, 92-95.
8 Testard to Min., 21 June 1858, CG 1854-1864, carton 86, ANOM.
the simplest and cheapest method, he suggested, of ensuring French sovereignty. In accordance with this policy, Charles-Marie-Léon Chambeyron, commander of the Loyalty, called into Sandalwood Bay in November 1859 to interview Ukeneso, Wainya, Zeula, and Bula. Ukeneso and Zeula were too frightened to go on board and sent deputies who, wrote Chambeyron, 'calmly accepted to be French subjects, and were pleased with the presents'. Wainya came on board and was described as a man 'devoted to the English who scarcely recognized the authority of Gouyet [Gwiet or Ukeneso] and who seemed... a wicked rascal'. Chambeyron also interviewed MacFarlane and was shocked at the contrast between the LMS resources and the Marists' poverty.

The more the French saw of the Loyalty Islands, and learned of the fighting between English Protestant and French Catholic supporting islanders, the more alarmed they became at English influences so close to New Caledonia. Jean Saisset, Governor after du Bouzet, said that such influences caused 'considerable prejudice. The natives are more English than French. A vigorous occupation alone will establish there our supremacy. But it takes men, and money.' Governor Durand made brief visits to all three islands in 1860, and Lifu and Uvea in 1861, and confirmed such opinions: he saw the islands as a centre of anti-French and anti-Catholic agitation.

Although the predominant European influence was undoubtedly English, there is no indication that Britain or any other European power had the slightest interest in the Loyalty Islands, and those Englishmen living or visiting there were aware they were under French jurisdiction. In 1858, Selwyn realized that 'France has taken possession of the Loyalty Islands'; MacFarlane in 1859

9 Du Bouzet, 'Note sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie', 25 October 1858, MS. 9448, BN.
10 Copy of Chambeyron's report, 28 November 1859, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
11 Saisset to Min., 26 May 1860, CG 1856-1862, carton 42, ANOM.
12 'Note pour la Direction des Colonies', 29 April 1861, CG 1854-1864, carton 86, ANOM; Durand to Min., 31 December 1861, BB 797, ANM.
13 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 83, ANOM.
H admitted he 'knew the island was French'; 14 and Burns on Uvea was well aware that the French could have him removed even before Durand informed him in 1859 that 'the Loyalty Islands belong to France, they are dependencies of New Caledonia. Strangers who reside there are under French laws.' 15

Charles Guillain, who succeeded Durand in 1862, was annoyed at the reports of intense English activity on the islands, but because he could not afford to set up a military post, he decided to wait until events necessitated such a 'desperate expedient'; 16 he did not have to wait long.

UKENESO, the young Zeula, and Fabvre and Gaide were powerless to stop Wainya's and Bula's policemen from roaming freely through Gaiitcha and Wet, terrorizing the Catholic supporters. The Marists claimed that MacFarlane was behind such activity and suggested, accurately enough, that he wished 'to be the sole master, he wanted to dominate all Lifu' and turn it into an English Protestant stronghold in the south-west Pacific. 17

In December 1863, an Irishman by the name of Williamson landed at Chepenehe and refused to attend church on Sunday when ordered to do so by Wainya's police. He evidently made some insulting remarks about the Protestants and found himself gagged and bound to a coconut tree. Seeing that his supporters' zeal was exceeding their discretion, MacFarlane freed the terrified man who then set off for Port de France and personally complained to Guillain. Guillain sent a magistrate to investigate the incident and arrest the culprits, but Wainya refused to surrender those who

---

14 Copy of Chambeyron's report, 28 November 1859, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
15 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM. See also RC, ME, (Burns), 20.
16 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM. Guillain was instructed to treat the Loyalty Islands as a 'natural dependency' of New Caledonia. See Min. to Guillain, 9 April 1862, CG 1854-1864, carton 86, ANOM.
17 Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques sur Lifou', MS., n.d., AAN; Fabvre to ?, 20 February 1864, IV GNC, APH; Poupinel to Germain, 5 June 1865, ANO, 2(n.d.), 343-344.
had seized Williamson and the magistrate returned empty handed. Encouraged by their 'victory' over the magistrate, the police became more aggressive, and Ukeneso, probably at the suggestion of the Marists, decided to appeal to Guillain for help. Ukeneso sent his brother and another advisor to Port de France, and along with Jean Bertrand, a Marist missionary stationed there, they interviewed Guillain. The substance of their complaints is in a letter Fabvre had sent to Bertrand, and which Bertrand showed to the Governor. Fabvre claimed that MacFarlane had over 200 policemen throughout Lifu who were supposed to maintain 'the divine laws' but who made no distinction between temporal and spiritual matters. Ukeneso and Zeula were 'no longer masters of their own land' for MacFarlane had indicated that if anyone obeyed their commands instead of the new laws, they would be punished by the police.

Things at Lifu are at the point where the politics of the Chepenehe autocrat must oppress us or our supporters fight a war to the death, or the Governor comes to make the despot see reason.

At Hu, a small coastal vessel, the Van de Goë, was captured by the police, and the captain was held for two days before he finally paid the 'harbour dues' they demanded. He too went to see Guillain.

On 1 May 1864, Guillain gazetted that the Loyalty Islands were henceforth a 'military district' and lieutenant Eugène Bourgey was appointed 'commandant'. With twenty-five soldiers, he arrived off Enoch the same day, and set up a camp on the coast at

18 Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AAN; Guide to Fabvre, March 1864, IV ONC, APH; Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM. MacFarlane said nothing of the event in his Story of the Lifu Mission.
19 Bertrand to Poupinel, 20 October 1864, IV ONC, APH; Fabvre to Yardin, 3 December 1864, IV ONC, APH; Poupinel to Germain, 5 June 1865, AOM, 2(n.d.), 344.
20 Fabvre to Bertrand, 20 February 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques, carton 85, ANOM. See also Fabvre to Bertrand, 21 February 1864; and Bertrand to Guillain, 29 February 1864, also enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
21 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM. MacFarlane did mention this incident in his Story of the Lifu Mission, 114-115.
22 Arrêté, 1 May 1864, Moniteur, 22 May 1864.
Enu, halfway between Eacho and Chepenehe, where the French flag was raised on the islands for the first time. One of his first acts was to order the Chepenehe people to build huts for him and his men. According to MacFarlane:

One of the young men having asked him the usual question, "Nemene la thupen" (what will our wages be?) he became very angry, and told them that those who disobeyed his orders would be put in irons. Sleigh, who travelled from Hu, and MacFarlane met Bourgey. MacFarlane later wrote:

We were somewhat surprised when introduced to a young officer, of about twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, as The Commander of the Loyalty Islands! We soon perceived from his appearance and manner that he was deeply impressed with the dignity of his position; but as he proceeded to inform us that he had conceived the idea of burning down the village of Chepenehe to make an impression upon the natives, and teach them a lesson on prompt obedience, as they had not returned to build his houses, saying that the natives had learnt to obey on New Caledonia, and they must be taught that lesson here, we could not but regret that so responsible a position was not filled by an officer whose prudence was greater than his ambition, and whose love of justice exceeded his thirst for military glory. I did not conceal from him the light in which I viewed his policy...

While the Chepenehe Protestants begrudgingly laboured for Bourgey, 'Ukenizo and the Roman Catholics were rejoicing at the arrival of the soldiers, whom they regarded and represented as their enemies.

23 The following details of the French expedition are carefully recorded by three independent sources: the French government, the Marist and the LMS missionaries. Apart from one or two minor incidents, and matters of interpretation, the factual information given by all three is virtually identical - an indication that each group faithfully recorded the events. The government views are in Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, 10 August 1864, 3 January 1865, 1 February 1865, 30 June 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM. These letters are very long and detailed enclosing some 53 additional letters and reports (which sometimes have their own enclosures) of participants. Marist sources are letters to superiors, particularly Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 September 1865, VMA, and Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AAN. LMS sources are letters of MacFarlane and Sleigh to the LMS throughout 1864, SSL, LMS, and MacFarlane, chapters 11-13.

24 MacFarlane, 127-128.

25 MacFarlane, 128.
(friends), come at their request to punish the disobedient and
obstinate Protestants'. Bourgey prohibited MacFarlane from
distributing any books and told him that under a law of the 15th
October 1863, all instruction in schools must be in French. Until
Guillain's expected arrival, however, all schools were to be
closed. When the news spread, hundreds of Protestants flocked to
Chepenehe in a state of great excitement. 'This', wrote MacFarlane,
'can scarcely be wondered at. The cold freezing hand of despotism
and Popery had laid its iron grasp upon what the natives esteemed
highly and held dearly.' Fabvre wrote hurried notes to Bourgey,
warning him to act with much more tact until Guillain arrived
because the Protestant islanders were in a rage and were eager to
attack the post at Enu. MacFarlane, too, thought the French had
'reason to fear' an attack: 'The natives were certainly enraged
and using menacing language, and I had some difficulty in
prevailing upon them to abandon their intention of, as they said,
sweeping the soldiers into the sea'.

Bourgey reported to Guillain that the Lifuans had risen
en masse, and that the French were facing an 'insurrection' which
only 'severe measures and an energetic front' could put down. The
people of Chepenehe, he went on, 'are entirely imbued with English
ideas'; the word French was synonymous with Catholic: when asked
what religion they professed, they answered 'English' or
'Britannia'; and most could speak English. He thought MacFarlane
had set himself up as the real great chief with his own hierarchical
system of authority - under him came Bula, Wainya, his Polynesian
teachers, the police, and the catechists. He was, said Bourgey,

26 MacFarlane, 129.
27 Bourgey to MacFarlane, 24 May 1864, enclosed in Guillain
to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866,
carton 85, ANOM; MacFarlane, 131-132; Fabvre to Poupinel,
8 September 1865, VHA.
28 MacFarlane, 132.
29 Fabvre to Bourgey, 25 May 1864, and two other undated
letters from Fabvre to Bourgey, [May 1864], enclosed in
Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques
1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
30 MacFarlane, 133. See also Bourgey to MacFarlane, 26 May
1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports
Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
'their supreme missionary', 'the representative of God on earth; he had communication with the eternal'. Wainys, too, had an 'arrogance and a pride worthy of pity'. Bourgey concluded:

the island of Lifu is an immense machine whose wheels run smoothly under the direction of the English minister at Chepenehe and his catechists. It is a vast exploitation of the credulity of an entire people to the advantage of MacFarlane and his associates.

Guillain and 198 soldiers arrived off Enu on the Coetlogon and Fulton on the 21st of June, and on learning from the distraught Bourgey that the islanders were liable to attack, Guillain sent the Fulton with 125 men to Mu with orders to arrest those who had seized the Van de Cou, and march overland to Chepenehe, dispersing any Lifuans massing in the interior. Guillain and Bourgey marched into Chepenehe with eighty soldiers, all heavily armed and dragging two large 'field pieces', and Guillain mounted a hastily erected platform and prepared to address the villagers. But they had long since fled into the bush and Guillain delivered his speech over the heads of his soldiers to an empty village. To Guillain, the Lifuans' absence was an act against French authority and an indication of their unwillingness to submit to him. As soon as he departed, they poured back and spent the evening gathered around the Protestant church, screaming abuse at the French at Enu and firing their muskets into the air. MacFarlane later argued they were shouting for 'joy', but Fabvre, Gaide, and Guillain were probably more accurate when they all reported that the islanders' mood was one of defiant bravado.

---

31 Bourgey to Guillain, 1 June 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
32 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 September 1865, VMA; MacFarlane, 141ff.
33 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; MacFarlane, 150-151.
34 MacFarlane, 151.
35 Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 September 1865, VMA; Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
On the 24th June, Guillain ordered Bourgey and thirty men to march inland and approach Chepenehe from the rear; a lieutenant Anglis was instructed to approach with his men from the seaward side, hopefully to trap the islanders between the two forces. When later justifying his mission to his superiors, Guillain explained that he wanted to 'arrest' several Protestants, 'reason' with them, and send them back to inform their people that the French meant no harm. Guillain, however, seems to have been rather more concerned with a show of strength, and he must have realized that some opposition was likely.

Anglis and his men landed on the coral rock foreshore and made their way up the slope to the village. Everybody had apparently fled into the bush except some fifty who were attending a church service with MacFarlane. Seeing prayers in progress, and no sign of weapons, Anglis waited quietly for Bourgey to arrive from inland. Bourgey had failed to round up anybody, and as he neared the outskirts of the village, one of his men was shot dead by one of three Protestants hiding in the bush. Even MacFarlane admitted that the three had fired first. Bourgey's soldiers fired a volley into the bush but failed to hit any of their ambushingers. Everyone in the village heard the shooting. MacFarlane finished the service and marched quickly through the soldiers to his house nearby; Anglis prevented the congregation from leaving and ordered his men to rally around the church. Suddenly, some of the soldiers nearest the bush were clubbed by Lifuans concealed there. Bourgey arrived on the double, and in both panic and rage the soldiers charged with bayonets any Lifuans they could find, including those still huddled in the church. Three soldiers and four Lifuans died, and 'many' Lifuans were wounded.

Guillain rushed from the anchored vessel and declared that Lifu was in a state of siege; martial law was proclaimed, all LHS mission functions were prohibited, and MacFarlane was confined to his mission station. Guillain gave the following reasons for his action:

36 The following information comes from Guillain, 5 July 1861, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 September 1865, VMA; Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AWM; MacFarlane, chapter 13.
under the cover of the protestant religion strangers
de to denationalize the population of the
Loyalty Islands, and force several of the chiefs to
arrogate powers which alone belong to the Governor....

the natives of the village of Chepenehe tribe of Houet,
and those from several parts of Leussi, repudiating
their obligations towards the colonial authority,
fomented disorder and revolt among the other people
of the island of Lifou.

since our arrival at Niacho and in spite of the appeals
we have made to rebellious chiefs, they failed to
attend to our orders and so persisted in their
rebellion.

Fearing that the islanders might group inland and attack the village,
Guillain turned the Protestant church into a fort and burnt down
the surrounding huts and coconut trees so that no one could approach
unseen. The Polynesian teachers were rounded up and along with
twenty catechists and policemen, they were taken on board the
Contilogan and put in chains; other Lifuans were bound to trees.

The soldiers who had marched from Mu then arrived and
related how their journey had been incident free until they
approached Chepenehe where a number of Lifuans fleeing from the
village ran headlong into them.38 MacFarlane related how these
people 'set up a shout for vengeance, and, heedless of consequences,
fell upon them with their clubs and tomahawks'.39 Five Lifuans
were shot by the soldiers who had five of their number wounded.

Those Chepenehe villagers who managed to escape from the French
were given shelter by the Catholics at Nathalo - the beginning of
a rapprochement between former enemies that grew throughout the
1860s.

Until the 28th June, Guillain conducted 'mopping up'
operations. Troops were sent inland to Nathalo and we to follow
up rumours of attacks, and destroyed Protestant huts, but there
was no further violence. Guillain was satisfied with his
expedition: 'Lifou is conquered'.

37 Arrêté, 24 June 1864, Moniteur, 3 July 1864.
38 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-
1866, carton 85, ANOM.
39 MacFarlane, 156.
The rapidity and energy of our manœuvres, the vigorous manner in which the rebel attacks were repulsed, has terrified them, and made those who still hesitate [to obey the French] reflect carefully.

The great chiefs and most of the people quietly submitted to Guillain. He 'reinstated' Ukeneso, whom he considered a 'thoughtless and lazy man', as great chief of Wet. Wainya was 'deposed' and his brother Jacques, who had long supported the Marists, was 'elected' as chief of Chepenche. Guillain was especially concerned to control Bula and prohibited him from leaving Losi, made him abolish his police force, and forbade him to indulge in 'politics' with the LMS mission. His people were also forbidden to travel to Mare where they might be further influenced by the LMS mission there. Zaula, Ukeneso, and Bula were, he said, 'intermediaries between... [French] authority and their subjects' and were to hold the position of great chiefs only as long as they obeyed the Government's instructions. The Polynesian teachers were to be expelled at the earliest possible opportunity, and until further instructions, all Protestant and Catholic missionary activity was suspended. The islanders were told, however, that they had complete freedom of religion.41

Guillain sailed for New Caledonia on the 29th June, and left behind Testard, one of his officers, as commandant, with a garrison of 182 men.42 Testard, and the infantry captain, Treve, who replaced him in July, were instructed to embark upon a policy of 'pacification'.43 Treve, however, was impulsive, self-righteous, and had no regard whatsoever for the Lifuans: his policy was one

40 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
41 Guillain to Bula, 26 June 1864; and Guillain to Bourgey, 29 June 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
42 Décision, 28 June 1864, Moniteur, 3 July 1864. News of the events on Lifu was not officially made public until a short and inaccurate account was published in the Moniteur, 30 April 1865. Testard is not to be confused with Jules Testard, former commandant of New Caledonia.
43 Guillain to Bourgey, 29 June 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; Décision, 23 July 1864, Moniteur, 18 September 1864.
of heavy-handed arrogance. One of his main concerns was to collect all the firearms from the Lifuans, and he did this by sentencing an individual to death in order to produce 'a moment of general terror', during which he urged the people to surrender their firearms. When they had done so, he commuted the sentence to a year's hard labour. The death sentence, he wrote, 'produced an excellent effect' and fifty-nine muskets were handed over. 44 Guillain severely reprimanded Treve for using such a stratagem, but Treve took little notice and continued to send glee!ul reports of how he harshly treated the people. Subsequent letters between Guillain and Treve contained little more than mutual abuse. 45 Nevertheless, in November 1864, Guillain was pleased that the Lifuans were firmly under the yoke of colonial authority, and lifted the state of siege. 46

The effects and implications of the French expedition to Lifu in 1864 were shrouded in controversy as each European group - the French administrators and Protestant and Marist missionaries - sought to maintain and justify what influence they could. Some of the major developments will be outlined as an illustration of the various ways differing religious and national interests interacted, and how they affected the Lifuan people.

The Protestant mission was initially forced to a standstill and the missionaries replied with an outburst of enraged and righteous indignation. MacFarlane was just the man to lead them into battle against the French. He wrote to a friend who suggested that as the French had moved in, the island might become Catholic:

What! beat a retreat! And before French men too! Ah, Sir, I see you don't know me yet. My "energetic temperament" way and hope will lead to introduce the gospel to other lands still shrouded in heathen darkness.... You need not entertain any fears for the cause of Christ on Lifu. No restrictions which

44 Treve to Guillain, 28, 30 August 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
45 Guillain to Treve, 3, 10 September 1864; and Treve to Guillain, 15 September 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
46 Arrêté, 17 November 1864, Moniteur, 27 November 1864. See also Guillain to Min., 10 August 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
the French are able to place upon me can impede
very much the progress of truth and knowledge
on this island even if I were silenced tomorrow.
My presence, influence, and advice would I am sure
baffle all attempts which might be made to turn
the natives from the simple truths in which they
have been trained.

MacFarlane waged an able 'paper war' on several fronts. He had
detailed and voluminous correspondence with Treve and Guillain,
protesting about every move the French had made since they set
foot on the island; he wrote lengthy reports to the LNS in
Australia where extracts were published in the press, and where
his cause was taken up by Sir John Young, Governor of New South
Wales, who made representations to the British Government; and
he also wrote to the LNS in London which organized further
deputations to the British Government and the Foreign Office passed
on the complaints to Paris through the normal diplomatic channels.

It was a massive and impressive propaganda campaign. But even
before the French Government received such protests, the Minister
for Marine and Colonies and the Minister for Foreign Affairs were
upset by Guillain's own reports of his activities on Lifou which
they thought had all the characteristics of a 'war expedition'.
France was on good terms with England and had no wish to conflict
over Pacific interests at this time. Furthermore, they argued,
Marist missionaries were able to work in English colonies in the
Pacific and the same right should be granted to English Protestant
missionaries in French Pacific colonies. They accused Guillain of
acting with 'excessive vigour' against the Lifuan Protestants; they
felt that his turning the Protestant church into a fort was a very

47 MacFarlane to Jeffries, 3 May 1866, SSL, LMS.
48 See 'Correspondence between the Rev. S. MacFarlane of
Lifu and the French Authorities of New Caledonia and
its Dependencies', 1864-1865, SSL, LMS.
49 Young to Cardwell, 21 October 1864, Foreign Office (FO),
France, General Correspondence, PRO, FO 27/1592, microfilm,
AWL, Sydney Morning Herald, 21, 27 September 1864; J.M.
MacGillivray, 'A look in at Lifu', Empire, 11 October 1864.
50 This correspondence is found in FO 27/1537, 1554, 1555, 1567,
1592; Mémoires et Documents. Océanie, IV, Nouvelle-
Caledonie, Iles Loyalty 1862-1865, Archives du Ministère
des Affaires Etrangères, Paris; CG 1865-1866, carton 86,
ANOM, which includes English press cuttings and petitions
and protests from the LNS.
'delicate' action, and that he had no right to suppress the LNS mission. The government became increasingly upset when their consul in Sydney wrote that news of the events on Lifu had caused a 'great sensation' in Australia, and he had been approached by business men asking for assurances that their intended investments in New Caledonia would be secure. When the British Foreign Office made its representations, the French Government acted quickly. The British Foreign Office was informed that 'The Emperor and his Government have been exceedingly annoyed by the proceedings of the Governor of New Caledonia and that the latter has received a severe reprimand'; the LNS in London received a note from the French ambassador expressing 'his regret at the occurrences complained of, and the assurance that the most stringent order had been sent to prevent a renewal of them'. Finally, on the 24th January 1865, Napoleon III wrote to the LNS in London:

I have received the memorial which you addressed to me relative to the measures recently taken in the Loyalty Islands by the governor of New Caledonia. I am writing to Commandant Guillain to censure any measure which would impose a restraint upon the free exercise of your ministry in those distant lands. I feel assured that, far from raising any difficulties in the way of the representatives of French Authority, the Protestant mission, as well as the Catholic, will seek to diffuse among the natives of the archipelago the benefits of Christianity and civilisation.

51 Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, 22 October 1864; Ministre des Affaires Etrangères to Min., 26 October 1864; 'Note pour la Direction des Colonies', 4 November 1864; Ministre des Affaires Etrangères to Guillain, 26 October 1864; Min. to Guillain, 13 December 1864; all in CG 1854-1864, carton 86, ANOM.

52 Ministre des Affaires Etrangères to Min., 28 December 1864, CG 1854-1864, carton 86, ANOM.

53 Cowley to Russell, 16 December 1864, FO 27/1537.

54 Cowley to Russell, 23 January 1865, FO 27/1567.

55 Napoleon to LMS, 24 January 1865, (copy), CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM. Quoted in MacFarlane, 198. I have kept MacFarlane's translation.
Guillain received his reprimand the same month and was deeply shocked. He set about compiling a lengthy report again detailing and justifying his actions and explaining how the English Protestants were 'denationalizing' the Lifuans and inciting them to rebellion, but he could never hope to match the strength of the LMS propaganda or convince his ministers in Paris that the Protestant missionaries might have been doing other than diffusing 'the benefits of Christianity and civilisation'. He begrudgingly informed MacFarlane he could once again preach and hold schools for religious instruction provided he did not mix 'religion and politics', but he would not back down over the expulsion of the Polynesian teachers:

who really are these catechists? Individuals blindly devoted to the Mission which employs them and fanaticizes them; spreading, in the name of God, principles which they do not understand and which they falsely apply; using intimidation and even force which they have at their command to impose their beliefs; becoming apostles of the most absurd intolerance; having, in a word, no other final goal but to fashion the people along the arbitrary lines temporal as well as spiritual of their patrons, and to assure these of their supreme authority in the country.

MacFarlane pressed on with his demands and was granted the right to circulate books, and in June 1866 was allowed to recommence his seminary. He declared his 'paper war' was at an end and that he was 'reposing upon... [his] oars... with considerable delight'. The mission, he wrote, was 'never in a more prosperous condition'. In his 1866 report he noted:

56 Min. to Guillain, January 1865, CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM.
57 Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, (with 17 enclosures); followed up by Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, (with 14 enclosures), 30 June 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
58 Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
59 See MacFarlane to LMS, enclosing his letters to Guillain, throughout 1864-1866, SSL, LMS; and his letters to Guillain, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 30 June 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
60 MacFarlane to Jeffries, 3 May 1866, SSL, LMS; MacFarlane to LMS, 4 June 1866, SSL, LMS.
The arrival of the French disturbed our somewhat monotonous, yet peaceful and happy life but being now permitted to go on much as before, we keep to ourselves, pursuing our course, almost as if they were not on the island.

Although the LMS missionaries publicly complained that the expulsion of the Polynesian teachers was a serious blow to their mission, privately they admitted they were no loss. Between 1841 and 1864 at least thirty-nine of these teachers worked in the Loyalty Islands. Some stayed for periods of one to two years, many for about ten; and a few, notably Fao and Iona, stayed twenty years. Initially, the visiting LMS missionaries had nothing but praise for these men who 'Christianized' large areas of Lifu and Hare before permanent mission settlement. The teachers had considerable prestige and authority among the islanders and became trusted and respected members of the communities. In 1854, one missionary commented: they are 'very highly respected and esteemed and treated with great kindness. They have gained great influence.'

On all these islands there are many who consider it an honour & a privilege to be servants to the teachers, so that they are left at liberty to give themselves to their proper work.

They lived in large whitewashed houses, jammed with European goods, and with their technological skills, material wealth, and their knowledge of the new God, were elected enahmu of the great chiefs or clan chiefs, and acted as advisors and as intermediaries in most dealings between the islanders and visiting Europeans. Fao was perhaps the most successful. Landing at Hu in 1842, he later moved to We where he lived with an old sandalwood trader, and was the local church and community leader. In the early 1860s, one English trader thought he exercised 'even more than a chief's authority'.

---

61 MacFarlane to LMS, 12 February 1867, Lifu Report 1866, South Seas Reports (SSR), LMS.
62 Calculated from SSL, SSJ, 1841-1864, LMS.
63 Hardie, 'Samoa 1854 Voyage to New Hebrides, New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
64 Murray and Sunderland, 'Samoa 1852 April 29 - July 9 Deputation from Apia to New Hebrides', SSJ, LMS. See also Murray and Turner, 'Samoa 1845 April 1 - June 7 from Apia to New Hebrides, New Caledonia', SSJ, LMS.
65 J.H. [MacGillivray], 'A look in at Lifu', Empire, 11 April 1864.
But it was the very position to which the teachers rose that ultimately annoyed the LMS missionaries. Jones voiced the common opinion:

They are too exalted in their own estimation to labour in heathen lands - except at the first while they are in danger of their lives from savage men and before the natives begin to pay them deference as servants of the True God... [the teachers were useful] not because they can do that peculiar kind of work better, or so well as European missionaries or because they are in less danger of their lives; but because to the society [LMS] their lives are less valuable than the lives of the missionaries.

The missionaries complained that the teachers were 'miserable linguists', and would rather talk and preach than attempt to translate religious texts. Furthermore, they could not rise above their 'native habits' and fitted rather too easily into the way of life of the Lifouans. The teachers were 'pioneers' and only European missionaries could raise the islanders to the required social and educational level. By the 1860s, there were sufficient trained Loyalty Islanders to take over the teachers' basic duties at the village level, and numbers were continually graduating from MacFarlane's seminary. The missionaries, therefore, were privately glad to see the nine Samoan and thirteen Rarotongan teachers leave in 1865. As MacFarlane commented: they will 'be no loss to the Island. They have done a good work here, but it is done; they are of little use here now.'

The Protestant missionaries publicly declared that behind all Guillain's measures lay Christianity's 'dazzling caricature, Popery'; but either through ignorance or perhaps an unwillingness

66 Jones to LMS, 30 September 1865, SSL, LMS.
67 Creagh to LMS, 26 January 1859, SSL, LMS; Nihill to 'Papa', 1 August 1852, W. Nihill Papers, MS. 729, Hocken Library; Patteson to his sister, 25 August 1858, Patteson Papers, ANU.
68 Creagh to LMS, 21 July 1871; Jones to LMS, 30 September 1865; MacFarlane to LMS, 14 August 1865; all in SSL, LMS.
69 'List of Teachers expelled by the French from the Loyalty Group', W. Wyatt Gill, MS. Notebook, South Seas Personal (SSP), Box 1, LMS.
70 MacFarlane to LMS, 4 February 1865, SSL, LMS.
71 MacFarlane, 211.
to admit it, the Protestants never mentioned that with Guillain's arrival in New Caledonia in 1862, the relationship between the French administration in Port de France, or Noumea as it became known in 1866, and the Marist mission had soured. French society throughout the nineteenth century was periodically convulsed by the conflict between ultramontane Catholicism, largely stripped of political power it held before the revolutionary period, and the dominant forces of anti-clericalism. However, throughout the 1840s and 1850s, the French Government was generally prepared to support the French Catholic missions in the Pacific because they could consolidate and extend French influence. In 1861, the Commander of the French naval division in the Pacific wrote to one of his naval captains: 'The Catholic religion, in all these archipelagos represents the flag of France.' The New Caledonian administrators, du Bouzet, Testard, Saisset, and Durand, though not always in sympathy with the Marists' religion and their mission policies, and indeed were sometimes hostile to them, all saw the Marist mission as a necessary counter to any English influence, especially on the Loyalty Islands. Guillain, however, was an anti-cleric, and from the time of his arrival in 1862, he clashed openly with the Marists, accusing them of meddling in state affairs and coercing and creating divisions among the New Calédonians, and deploiring what he considered their intolerant, bigoted, and arrogant notions. For their part, the Marists saw him as a dangerous socialist and a fanatical anti-cleric who, they said, would put the colony back fifty years. Guillain was, in their

73 Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact', 139.
74 Commandant en chef de la Division navale des Côtes occidentales d'Amérique et de l'Océanie to commander of the Cornélie, 2 July 1861, BB4 789, ANM.
75 Du Bouzet to Min., 5 May 1855, CG 1842-1857, carton 40, ANOM; Testard to Min., 23 April 1856, CG 1856-1862, carton 42, ANOM; Saisset to Min., 10 October 1860, BB4 1036, ANOM; Durand to Min., 31 December 1861, BB4 797, ANM; Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact', 149-151.
76 Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact', 163-172.
77 'Le Guillainisme', Démêlés avec le Gouverneur Guillain, III ONC, APN.
eyes, the 'enemy of the Anti-Christ, the friend of pagans'.

be wished to 'destroy the Catholic religion; to establish a
philistine doctrine... on the ruins of Catholicism'. An
intensely bitter conflict raged between Guillaizin and the Marists
throughout the 1850s on New Caledonia, and although there was
similar strife over the Loyalty Islands, the presence of the English
Protestant missionaries initially mollified Guillaizin's and the
Marist's position, if not their feelings towards each other.

Guillaizin, for example, was 'fully prepared to allow the Marists
to set up a mission on New Caledonia in 1860, but he did so only
because his administration took no active part in these affairs until 1870,
and, like the administrators before him, he saw that the Marists
would be a useful counter to the influence of Jones and Creagh.

The Marists on Lifou were themselves in a compromising
situation. Though hating Guillaizin, they were dependent upon his
intervention to protect their position and that of Ulamese in the
face of Protestant violence; and they were prepared to inform
him indirectly of events on Lifou through Bertrand in Noumea. The
Protestant missionaries accused Fabre and Guillaizin of calling in the
French soldiers, especially when they discovered that Bertrand had
shown Guillaizin a letter written by Fabre. The charge was
perhaps oversimplified - the Marists on Lifou never had direct
contact with Guillaizin, though they made sure he found out what was
going on. Guillaizin also had information damaging to the Protestant
cause from Williamson, the master of the Van de Cruy, Ulamese's
brother, and from the magistrate he sent to investigate the
Williamson affair: so given the long held fears of English
influence on the Loyalty Islands, Guillaizin would probably have
intervened regardless of the Marists' situation. Guillaizin, in fact,
was very critical of the Marists for not sending him detailed

76 Pains to Poqueinol, 23 November 1863, VIII.
79 'Le Guillaizinisme', Résalés avec le Gouverneur Guillaizin,
77 DCE, April.
80 Douglas, 'The History of Culture Contact', 172-178.
81 'De la Mission Catholique en Calédonie et de ses rapports
82 avec le Gouvernement colonial', 6 April 1863, Résalés
83 avec le Gouverneur Guillaizin, 77D CCE, APC.
84 MacFarlane, 123; Guillaizin to Rougé, 17 August 1864,
1V CCE, A73.
accounts of developments on Lifou. Furthermore, he did not intervene in order to protect the Marists but to control influences hostile to French sovereignty. The Marists took a similar view: 'This war had no other cause than the political conduct of the Protestants: their laws, their police, etc.; it is thus a purely political war, and not a war of religion.' Though delighted that the Governor had arrived with soldiers, neither Gaide nor Fabvre, nor their supporters took any part in the events at Chepenehe; and again Guillain was critical of them for not having organized a force of Catholic islanders to help his soldiers.

The Catholic priests were not averse to taking advantage of the intervention (Fabvre asked the commandant if he could hold mass in the Protestant church 'to celebrate... victory over the heretics') but they were dismayed at the bloodshed at Chepenehe and argued that while the Governor had to oppose the Chepenehe people, he should have gone about it in a much more diplomatic manner. The Marists found themselves taking the brunt of the Protestant propaganda, especially in Sydney. Once the press published letters accusing the Marists of having been behind Guillain's measures, Poupinel wrote to his superiors that the Marists had 'neither justified or blamed the Governor's conduct'. He suggested:

It must be made known that he does not like the Protestant missions for various reasons; but it is certain that he is in other ways more hostile to Catholic missions, even those conducted by French priests.

83 Gaide to Rougeyron, 17 August 1864, IV ONC, APM.
84 Gaide to Rougeyron, 17 August 1864, IV ONC, APM.
85 Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 September 1865, VMA.
86 Guillain to Min., 10 August 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
87 Fabvre, notes, 23 May 1866, N.C. Administration Civile II, III ONC, APM; Poupinel to Germain, 5 June 1865, AMQ, 2(1865), 347-348.
88 Poupinel to Rougeyron, 4 July 1864, OP 418, APM. See also Poupinel to editor Sydney Morning Herald, (copy), 25 September 1864, protesting about Protestant accusations printed in Sydney Morning Herald, 21 September 1864, OP 418, APM.
So concerned were the Sydney Marists to draw a distinction between themselves and Guillain, that they finally argued: 'it is false that the first shots came from the natives, on the contrary it is certain the French attacked them' - a claim even the LMS missionaries never made. Ironically, therefore, the Marists in Australia were forced very close to the position of defending the LMS mission on Lifu.

But this attitude was not shared by their brethren on the Loyalty Islands. Until 1866, the Marist mission on Lifu suffered more than the Protestant. The priests were forbidden to preach, teach, have catechists, circulate literature, and their islanders, along with the Protestants, were forced to labour for the soldiers at Bns. Furthermore, where MacFarlane ignored the French and secretly held schools and distributed books, the Marists had neither the courage nor resources to do so. Fabvre and Gaide came to the conclusion that Guillain was actually working for the Protestants, especially when they saw the soldiers transforming their fort back into a Protestant church: 'The most lively sympathy seems to exist between the Commandant and the minister.' The two priests had nothing but contempt for Testard ('they say of him in Noumea that his intellectual view doesn't reach the end of his nose'), though they were rather more sympathetic towards Treve, mainly because he was a Catholic and hated Guillain. Treve always made a point of marching the soldiers to mass every Sunday, much to Guillain's annoyance, and Fabvre was told by Treve that the Governor was angry because he was not hostile enough to the Catholics. In 1865, Treve was replaced by Guillanton, an enemy of Treve from

---

89 Poupinel to Forestier, 12 November 1864, OP 418, APM.
90 Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 September 1865; and Gaide to Poupinel, 8 November 1865, VHA.
91 Fabvre to ?, 27 July 1866, IV ONC, APM. See also Rougeyron to Forestier, 29 May 1865, 411, IV ONC, APM.
92 Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AAN. See also Fabvre to Poupinel, 4 July 1865, VHA.
93 Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.
94 Treve to Guillain, 16 August 1864; and Guillain to Treve, 9 September 1864, enclosed in Guillain to M.n., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, AHOM.
95 Fabvre to Poupinel, 4 July 1865, VHA.
former days in Tahiti, and when Treve arrived in Noumea, he found an 'immense dossier' against him. Guillanton remained commandant until 1869, and between him and Fabvre, there was nothing but mutual hatred. Fabvre called him a 'little Guillain' and noted wryly how closely his name resembled the word guillotine. Both Fabvre and Gaide thought him an immoral heathen and delighted in detailing his amorous adventures with the Lifuan girls. Guillanton thought that the priests were intolerant and insolent, and nothing but a hindrance to the administration. MacFarlane was only too eager to take advantage of the continual squabbling among the Marists, the commandants, and Guillain. He wrote to the Colonial Secretary in Noumea:

I need not remind you that every liberal government has its enemies, and that you have yours. There are always little minds, who are utterly unable to comprehend the generous impulses and noble deeds of a truly liberal and impartial government. Surrounded, as you are, by narrow-minded priests - men of but one idea - and by many officers, who are probably unaccustomed to see the wheels of civil and religious liberty even more, these people are astonished and alarmed to see them accelerated so much by the Governor and yourself, and to behold the chariot of progress rolling along at such an unprecedented speed; the priests, you are aware, are exerting themselves to close its wheels, and I suspect that they have their accomplices amongst the officers.

Guillain finally determined to expel Fabvre, declaring that the Marists must be taught a lesson. But Benoit Forestier, who had been sent to Paris by Rougeyron and was making representations to the Government against Guillain, brought up Fabvre's case, and shrewdly suggested that his expulsion would be interpreted as a victory for the Protestants: 'The English would

96 Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.
97 Bertrand to Poupinel, 1 July 1865, VMA; Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 September 1865, VMA; Fabvre to Rougeyron, 13 December 1867, 1V OSC, APM. There is no evidence to confirm or refute the accusations of 'immorality'.
98 Guillanton to Guillain, 7 December 1865, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 6 June 1866, CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM.
99 MacFarlane to Colonial Secretary, 14 May 1865, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 June 1865, CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM.
100 Guillain to Min., 6 January, 19 April 1866, CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM.
be triumphant first among the natives and then in Australia. 101 Guillain was again sent a reprimand, and told that he must not take advantage of Fabvre's "isolated acts" to oppose the mission as a whole. 102 Fabvre was permitted to remain on Lifou.

At the same time as Guillain and his commandants Testard, Treve, and Guillanton were faced with antagonistic LMS and Marist missionaries on Lifou, they also had the task of gaining the obedience and loyalty of the Lifuan people. Obedience from the majority was never in question since June 1864, and it was maintained by a system of corvées. Great chiefs had to send up to 100 men at a time to build quarters for the commandants and the soldiers. The relatives and friends of those working at Chepenche had great difficulties in bringing them sufficient food, and if the labourers failed to show sufficient enthusiasm they were beaten or imprisoned. 103 Fabvre thought that the corvées demanded of both Protestants and Catholics were "the most arbitrary and the most revolting'. "The people are exasperated," 104 he complained, and both Protestant and Marist missionaries wrote of the general atmosphere of subjugation. The Lifuans usually fled into the bush whenever they heard that the commandant was approaching their village. 105 Guillanton attempted to win some popular support by reviving night dances and Sunday games which the missionaries had prohibited, but he never managed to achieve any genuine rapport with the islanders, and only brought upon himself a further outburst of LMS propaganda, including accusations that the dancing led to the 'vilest of immorality in which Sodomy... [was] conspicuous'. 106 But although

101 Forestier to 'Le Directeur', n.d.; and Forestier to Min., 25 April 1866, CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM.
102 Min. to Guillain, 19 April 1866, CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM.
103 Fabvre to Poupinel, 4 July 1865, VHA; Fabvre, notes, 23 May 1866, N.C. Administration Civile II, XIII ONC, APH; MacFarlane to LMS, 12 November 1864, 14 August 1865, SSL, LMS.
104 Fabvre to Forestier, 6 July 1866; and Fabvre to Rougeyron, 13 December 1867, IV ONC, APH.
105 Fabvre to Min., 27 July 1866, IV ONC, APH; MacFarlane to LMS, 12 November 1869, SSL, LMS.
106 MacFarlane to LMS, 30 August 1869, SSL, LMS.
the Lifuans generally showed an 'extreme docility' towards the commandants, some perfected a hypocritical servility. MacFarlane noted: 'To bamboozle the Commandant is already beginning to be regarded as a merit by some of the fast young men.'

The commandants tried to run a school at Chepenehe where they intended to teach French and inculcate a respect for, and knowledge of French laws and customs. In all, some forty or fifty Lifuans, including the sons of the great chiefs, were forced to attend. The parents had to supply all their food and many of the children went hungry. The school had no equipment and was taught by a sergeant who was more used to a parade ground than a classroom - consequently the school was of little use to the French and only helped to alienate further the Lifuans.

The French were particularly concerned to control the Lifuan Protestant catechists and the great chiefs. Even before the Polynesian teachers had been expelled, and more especially afterwards, the Lifuans appointed their own teachers, men who had been trained in MacFarlane's seminary at Chepenehe. Guillain ordered that no one could be appointed unless the great chief and the Commandant approved. Once appointed, a teacher was unable to travel to other islands, and forbidden to preach outside his own district. As a further safeguard, no great chief was permitted to become a teacher - a regulation specifically aimed at Bula who was in the seminary.

The French policy towards the great chiefs was one of conciliation and punishment. Bula, Ukeneso, and Zeula were taken frequently to Noumea where they stayed with Guillain and were given places of honour at such celebrations as the Emperor's birthday. But neither Bula nor Ukeneso responded as Guillain wished. Bula 'resigned' from the great chieftainship of Losi, leaving it to his brother, so as to evade Guillain's regulation and 'legally' attend

107 Fabvre, notes, 23 May 1866, N.C. Administration Civile II, III ONC, APN.
108 MacFarlane to LMS, 27 May 1870, SSL, LMS.
109 Fabvre, notes, 23 May 1866, N.C. Administration Civile II, III ONC, APN.
110 Décision, 16 May 1867, AAN. See also MacFarlane to Guillanton, 24 May 1867, SSL, LMS.
111 MacFarlane to LMS, 12 November 1864, SSL, LMS.
the seminary. Guillain had him imprisoned at Chepenhe. From then on, Bula's 'insolence', his 'surly behaviour', and his unwillingness to order his men to work for the French earned him several periods in jail and finally a year in Noumea where he was made to attend a government school. It was Ukeneso, the great chief who had been so pleased to see the soldiers arrive in 1864, who caused the French the most trouble. Although they made the population of Het once again regard him as the great chief, he found the commandants' regulations as abhorrent as those of the Protestant police. Like Bula, he was slow to supply men for the corvées, and 'insolent', and he too spent a year in Noumea under French supervision. Zeula was similarly kept in Noumea after he went there without permission.

The seemingly interminable squabbling among the French administrators, Protestant and Marist missionaries, and the Lifuans, came to a sudden halt at the beginning of the 1870s. Guillanton was recalled to Noumea in 1869 after a period of illness, and amidst rumours that he had misused the soldiers' supplies at Chepenhe;
Pallières, a quiet, unassuming man took his place. Guillain returned to Paris on grounds of ill health, and was replaced by Eugène Gaillard de la Richerie, who adopted a far more moderate attitude towards both missions. The military post on Lifu was abandoned, and Lifu became an 'arrondissement' under a Resident, instead of a 'military district' under a Commandant. All the corvées were stopped and with them the issue that had most frequently brought the administration and the great chiefs into conflict. Resident Caillet, who took over in 1870, lived alone at Chepenhe and had

112 Fabvre to Poupinel, 15 February 1868, VMA; MacFarlane to Jeffries, 27 June 1867, SSL, LMS; MacFarlane to LMS, 28 September 1869, 27 May 1870, SSL, LMS; Sleigh to LMS, 6 December 1867, 1 November 1869, SSL, LMS.

113 Fabvre, 'Notice Historiques', AAN; Guillanton to Guillain, 7 December 1865, enclosed in Guillain to Min., CC 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM; Treve to Guillain, 20 December 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.

114 Caillet, notebook, 14, in the possession of Raymond Creagh to LHS, 16 June 1871, SSL, LMS; Caillet to Poupinel, 9 February 1872, IV CNC, AUN.

115 Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact', 188.
'nothing to do except guard the flag, he never concerned himself with the natives and their affairs' on Lifou. The French had no economic interest in the islands. As long as the islanders did not fight amongst themselves, and as long as they and the Catholic and Protestant missionaries acknowledged French sovereignty, and obeyed French laws, they were left to their own devices. Caillet was instructed to impress upon the Lifuan that the government 'wished to have neither a military establishment, nor an administrative establishment in the archipelago'. His policy was to gain the 'affection' of the people by his 'moral influence'. The French, wrote Caillet, wished to leave untouched the 'traditional hierarchical structure' of the three great chieftainships, and as long as the Lifuans governed themselves peacefully, no attempt would be made to interfere and impose any European administrative structure.

The LMS mission lost much of its revolutionary impetus with the departure of MacFarlane in 1871. In 1865, he and his wife had entered the deserted Catholic church at Nathalo and rummaged about through the sacraments. The two were caught red-handed and the ensuing Marist outrage gave Guillain his chance to turn the tables on MacFarlane. Not wishing to expel him and expose himself to further protest in Paris by the LMS, he encouraged his minister to put pressure on the LMS through the British Foreign Office. After some years of intensive diplomacy, (and in spite of MacFarlane ungraciously blaming his wife for the incident), the LMS agreed to recall him. James Sleigh remained at Ma and other English missionaries remained at Chepenehe until 1920, but all were more peaceable than MacFarlane. On the Marist side, Fabvre remained until his death in 1883, though old age and illness moderated his

117 Fabvre to Poupinel, 24 November 1874, IV GNC, APM.
118 Caillet, notebook, 10-11.
119 There is a mass of correspondence on the affair: see CG 1865-1866, 1867-1871, carton 86, ANOM, passim; Foreign Office, Pacific Islands, General correspondence, PRO, FO 58/117, microfilm, ANL; MacFarlane's letters to the LMS 1865-1871, which include his correspondence with Guillain, SSL, LMS; printed papers on the affair, including Case of the Rev. S. MacFarlane of Lifu Memoriandum by the Directors, 8 March 1869, in Sleigh Papers, SSO, Box 1, LMS.
views. Each mission had amicable relations with the government, and increasingly friendly relations with each other. Each of the European groups had partly achieved their aims, and had been partly compromised by the other interests. English Protestantism remained the dominant mission influence with the allegiance of some 5,800–6,000 Lifuans, but it had not managed to remain independent of French control and could never again openly interfere in the islanders' politics; nor had it succeeded in overthrowing the Marist mission and their Lifuan supporters. The Marists were firmly established at Eacho, Nathsio, and Dueulu, with the support of the Great Chiefs Zeula and Ukoneso and some 750–1,000 followers, but they had been unable to expand elsewhere through Lifu, nor, like the Protestant missionaries, could they go against the wishes of the French administration. By 1870, the French Government no longer felt its sovereignty over Lifu threatened, although it had failed to expel either mission or effectively combat English influences, it had gained the obedience, if not the affection, of the mission, the paramount chiefs, and the people of Lifu. Perhaps the most significant contribution of the French intervention was the creation of a stability within and among the great chiefdoms. The political arrangement of Lifu was now in many ways reminiscent of the situation during the earliest years of European contact before the LMS missionaries and teachers, in conjunction with Bula and Wainya and their supporters, virtually overthrew the traditional authorities in both Wet and Gaitcha.

The Protestant and Catholic Lifuans had themselves drawn closer together since June 1864, partly in opposition to the first major external threat since European contact - the French soldiers - and partly because they realized that the French would not tolerate

120 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS; Dupinil to Courbet, 28 September 1880, CG 1877-1884, certon 86, ANOM; Guide to Poupinel, 22 January 1873, IV ONC, APN.

121 Gaillet, Rapport politique, 15 September 1874, notebook, 53; Fabvre to Germain, 11 August 1874, IV ONC, APN; Statistics for Lifu for 1884 (Sleigh and Creagh), SSR, LMS.

122 Gaillet, Rapport politique, 15 September 1874, notebook, 53; Fabvre to Germain, 11 August 1874, IV ONC, APN; 'Etat des Ames', 1891-1892, N.C. Statistiques, II ONC, APN.
any more fighting among themselves. The Lifuans had, said Creagh, 'a wholesome dread of the powers that be'. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, Europeans commented on the harmonious relations between former enemies. In 1873, Gaide reported that the Protestant Lifuans lived 'in perfect harmony with the Catholics.... the Catholics live among the Protestants'; one traveller wrote: 'the hatreds between village and village, tribe and tribe have disappeared'; Cailet spoke of them 'living on good terms'; and French administrators who visited Lifu in the 1880s, all commented on the 'good spirit' that existed among the population — 'The situation is excellent', wrote one governor. Most Europeans went to considerable lengths to record such harmony for it contrasted sharply with developments on both Uvea and Nare.

123 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LHS.
124 Gaide to Poupinel, 22 January 1873, IV ONC, APH.
125 B. Balansa, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, Paris, 1873, 529.
126 Cailet, Rapport politique, 15 September 1874, notebook, 53.
127 'Rapport sur l'état de la religion catholique en Nouvelle-Calédonie', 26 July 1874, III ONC, APH; Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LHS; Dupénil to Courbet, 28 September 1880; and Courbet to Min., 3 August 1881, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
128 Courbet to Min., 29 April 1881, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
GUILLAIN had relatively little difficulty in bringing the Lifuans' internal conflicts to an end, but the Uveans were far more difficult to control. Until a relative peace and political stability was established by about 1875, two related issues dominated Uvesan affairs - the question of the future existence of the Protestant minority in areas of Fayawe, and the efforts of Bazit, Whenegey and his regent Ombalu, and Dumai to strengthen and consolidate their influence within and beyond their own chiefdoms.

The initial reaction among the Fayawe Protestants, led by the regent Ombalu, to the news of Guillain's Lifu expedition was one of fear. Ombalu immediately hoisted a French flag and changed his allegiance from the Protestant teachers to the Marist priests - Bertrand and Barriol. He and forty others accepted the Catholic medal, ordered the Maran and Polynesian teachers to leave the village, and declared that the Protestant church was now a Catholic one.\(^1\) When the permanent LMS missionary, Samuel Ella, was permitted by the French to land on Uvea in December 1864, many who had seriously considered turning to the priests decided to remain with the Protestant cause, for it appeared that the soldiers were not going to arrive, and Ella, who moved into Burns' old house and 'made a display... of property to attract people' gave them considerable confidence.\(^2\) Ombalu chose to remain with the Marists, not wishing to join the Protestant minority and antagonize the French administration, and set about imposing 'fines' on the Fayawe Protestants.\(^3\)

Ella's presence encouraged the Protestants to adopt a more aggressive outlook and stronger pockets of support were noticeable.

\(^1\) Ella, 8 December 1864, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML; Poupinel to Colin, 5 June 1865, AMO, 2 (n.d.), 327.
\(^2\) Ella, 7, 8 December 1864, 14, 24 January 1865, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML; Ella to his wife, 9 December 1864, Ella Correspondence 3, A204, ML.
\(^3\) Ella, January, February 1865, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
among several clans in the villages of Madrilla, Hecat, Lekin, and Banut. On Molis, there was a split between Pumali and Dumai. Pumali abandoned his allegiance to the priests and turned to support Ella in the hope of dominating Dumai. Dumai responded by burning down Pumali's village and for some years afterwards, the island was riven by the mutual hostilities of these two men. The three great chiefs, Bazit, Ombalu and Dumai who were no longer fighting amongst each other, and who had found common cause in supporting the Marists, concentrated on the task of obtaining the loyalty of their clan chiefs, often by violence. At Fayawe, Ella found himself surrounded by constant fighting, and sadly commented: 'Religion and politics mixed up in all our meetings'. The presence of both Ella and Barriol at Fayawe centred conflict on the church originally built by the Protestants. Ombalu and Barriol claimed it for the Catholics, and whichever side could raise the most powerful congregation, usually took control. Ella described one incident in which one of the Marists 'marched at the head of an armed party of his adherents and first assailed our congregation'. Once inside, the priest, said Ella, performed 'mummeries' to hallow the church for his faith. Brawls within the church were commonplace. Ella sent numerous reports of the events to the Lifu commandant, Guillaume, and the LMS in London, and Guillaume, not wishing to let events once again get out of hand as at Lifu before his expedition, landed at Fayawe in June 1865. After a brief inquiry, he declared Ella was entirely responsible for tensions building up to an 'imminent' war between the Catholics and Protestants.

4 Ella, 12 December 1864, 11, 24 March, 11 June 1865, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
5 Ella, 9, 10 January 1865, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
6 Ella, 23 April 1865, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML. See also Ella to his wife, 24 February 1865, Ella Correspondence 3, A204, ML; Ella to Guillaume, 17 April 1865, letterbook 1864-1876, A200, ML.
7 Ella to LMS, 24 October 1865, SSL, LHS.
8 Ella, April, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML; Ella to Guillaume, 11 May 1865, letterbook 1864-1876, A200, ML; Gaide to Poupinel, 8 November 1865, WMA.
9 See letters for 1864-1865, Ella Correspondence 8, A209, ML.
His presence has more than a little contributed to revive the pretensions of the catechists and native protestants. But the severe lesson of Lifou has at least cleared the political question and I did not find at Ouvéa the resistance and spirit of rebellion which was shown on my arrival on... [Lifu].

Guillain divided Uvea into three administrative districts - 'Ouvéa, Faiaoué and Mouli'. 'Ouvéa', or Ohwen, comprised the northern regions of Uvea to as far south as the rocks at Anava, and was to be under the great chief Bazit; Faiaoué commenced at these rocks and reached to a line just north of Lekin: Muegaty was the great chief and during his minority Oubalu was to continue as regent; and Mouli, with Dumai as great chief, included Lekin and the island of Mulî. Guillain's regulation included the following points:

Art. 5 Each of the great chiefs is responsible for his own district, and answers to the Lifu commandant. He can arrest any individual causing disorder or who refuses to obey him; but he must be good and just with everybody and is to be considered their father.

Art. 7 When a crime is committed, the chief of the district will send the guilty person to the Lifu commandant who will act in accordance with the Governor's instructions.

Art. 8 Any chief who does not execute the Governor's instructions will be dismissed from his chieftainship and taken to Port-de-France, for he will not be worthy of command.

Guillain's regulations provide an excellent example of the misconceptions many Europeans held of the islanders' socio-political organizations. Guillain thought he was 'legalizing' the existing patterns of indigenous authority, which, if maintained, would have provided a convenient administrative framework for the French. But while the three districts with the three great chiefs roughly corresponded to the three major areas of political control, Guillain's view of them was far too simple. He did not realize, or perhaps would not accept, that within each of the three areas, other chiefs had varying degrees of autonomy, as opposed to

10 Guillain to Min., 30 June 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
11 Décision, 17 June 1865, Moniteur, 9 July 1865.
independence, from Bazit, Whenegay, and Dumai. Furthermore, he
did not take account of the many ties of allegiance, especially
at the clan level which transcended the boundaries he laid down.
Unaware of the real nature of chiefly authority, with its
responsibilities and obligations within the fraternity, and the
checks and balances to chiefly despotism, Guillain saw the great
chiefs as commanders with an unlimited personal control; but he
hoped that they would at least be paternalistic in their despotism.
Such opinions coincided with the views of the Marist priests on
Uvea and the LMS missionaries on Lifu and Mare, all of whom saw
that their influence depended upon the support of those they
considered to hold positions of greatest authority within the
indigenous society. In common with the great chiefs and some clan
chiefs on Lifu and Mare, the Uvean great chiefs were only too
ready to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them by
the Europeans to assume an authority they might not otherwise have
had.

Before leaving, Guillain made further specific regulations.
The people of Onyat could either remain at Wadrilla, as long as
they agreed to accept Whenegay's authority, or they could return to
Onyat and Bazit was forbidden to harm them; and with regard to the
church at Fayawe, both missions had to build another one each, and
then the old one was to be pulled down. Guillain also took Ombalu
with him to Noumea for a time where he hoped to win his respect
and affection and instruct him in the ways of the French. Ombalu's
brother, Bula, took over the regency during his absence.

Ella was furious with Guillain's measures. Uvea, he said:
was to be in the hands of the three popish chiefs who
had worked all the mischief here.... Thus the rule of
this island is given into the hands of the Romish
priests for these chiefs are easily their tools, ready
to obey their directions in any evil work.

12 Guirart, Structure de la Chefferie, chapter IX, passim;
and see above, 84-85.
13 See above, 16-22.
14 'Dispositions arrêtées a Ouvéa, 26 June 1865, ANH;
Guillain to Min., 30 June 1865, Rapports Politiques
1864-1866, carton 85, ANON.
15 Ella to LMS, 24 October 1865, SSL, LMS.
As soon as Guillain sailed from the lagoon, the fighting was renewed. Bazi drove back those people who tried to reach Onyat, and on Mulai, Dumai and Fumal continued their hostilities until Pumali died in 1867, and his son opted once again for the Catholics. At Fayave, the Protestants and Catholics broke up each other's services and antagonized each other's missionaries. Ella described how the Catholics, led by Ombalu, held 'nightly revels' and beat a wooden church bell 'for hours in our ears, accompanied by the savage shrieks, shouts and yellings of the dancers'. Ella lived in a constant state of blustering indignation:

As a summary I may say, that in some places, protestant villages have been burned down; in others families have been driven from their homes; and the houses and lands taken from them by the persecuting chiefs and given to papists.

What a malignant inconquerably malicious spirit Popery is!

MacFarlane wrote to him:

Why do the natives submit to it? The cowards! Why don't they stand up for their rights? They have submitted long enough; the French won't interfere until there is a "row". So they needn't stand it any longer. Let them do what is right and just, if they are required to do more, then I say resistance is lawful and right. Afterwards comes the investigation, when all that the protestants have borne can be brought to light.

The letters of Barriol and Bernard are silent about most of the fighting, probably because the Catholics were often the main instigators, though the Protestants doubtless provoked and antagonized them, and probably because the priests had a vested interest in Bazi and Ombalu bringing to heel those who refused to submit to them and accept the Catholic religion.

16 Ella, 2 August 1867, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
17 Ella to LMS, 24 October 1865, SSL, LMS. See also Ella, June, July 1865, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
18 Ella to LMS, 24 October 1865, SSL, LMS.
19 Ella to LMS, 20 December 1866, SSL, LMS.
20 MacFarlane to Ella, 22 January 1866, Ella Correspondence 6, A207, ML.
Ella's constant barrage of protests against the Catholic ‘outrages’ disturbed the French administration in Noumea, but Guillain was reluctant to intervene. He did not want to send soldiers and risk another reprimand from Paris, nor had he the resources to establish a permanent official there. The Lifou commandant had enough to attend to at Chepenche and was able to do nothing more than send letters to Ombalu, asking him to remain peaceful. Throughout 1867 and 1868, Ella's protests were handed on to the British Foreign Office by the LNS, and finally reached the Paris government. Guillain's minister was disturbed by the 'gravity' of the Uvean events and asked Guillain for a full investigation.

A three-man commission of inquiry arrived at Fayawe in September 1869 and drew up a thorough report, interviewing Ella, Barriol, Bernard, the great chiefs, and many of the other participants. Ella was convinced that the commission was merely a 'sham', that it twisted his evidence, and that the president was

21 Ella, 'Narrative of Papish Persecutions on the Island of Uvea Loyalty Group', November 1865, SSL, LMS; Ella to LNS, 18 December 1866, SSL, LMS; and see also letters in Ella, letterbook 1864-1867, A220, ML.

22 Guillanton told Ella this when Ella visited Lifu. See Ella, March, April 1866, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML; and Ella to LNS, 21 May, 28 September 1868, SSL, LNS.

23 Guillanton to Ombalu, 21 October, 18 September 1865, 19 June 1866, N.C. Administration Civile II, III ORC, ARM; Guillanton to Ombalu, 14 September 1867, AAN.

24 Ella to LNS, 20 January 1868, FO 58/117; Ella to LNS, 1 June, 18 July 1867, SSL, LMS; Young to Ella, 24 April 1867, SSL, LNS. See also correspondence in FO 27/1693, 1694. The Marists made half-hearted protests against Ella's accusations. See Barriol to Guillanton, 8 August 1867, 411, I ORC, ARM.

25 Min. to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, 24 August, 30 September 1867, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANQ; Min. to Guillain, 13 September 1867, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANQ.

26 Décision, 12 September 1869, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANQ. The commission consisted of Charbonnet, 'Juge Président du Tribunal supérieur de Noumea'; Martin des Pallières, the Lifou commandant; and Le Boucher, 'sous-chef de bureau du Secrétariat colonial'.

27 Procès verbal d'enquête', (122 pages), and Rapport de la Commission d'enquête instituée par la décision du 12 Sept. 1869', CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANQ.
a 'bigoted Romanist'. But the commission's findings upheld most of Ella's accusations against Ombalu and the priests, whose conduct was thought 'imprudent', and the Marists were ordered to replace Barriol, their man at Payave. The French replied to the British government that it could not be held responsible for the actions of the Marists or the islanders who had applied religious differences to their own rivalries. The French described the difficulties of administering the island as their only permanent representative in the whole Loyalty group was on Lifu, and they admitted any influence they had on Uvea was still only 'nominal'. To the Marists, the commission's report was yet a further example of Guillain's opposition to them. Nevertheless, without protest they replaced Barriol with Jean-Nestor Pionnier, and shortly afterwards, Bernard was replaced by Jacques Roussel.

The removal of the priests had no effect upon Bazit's son (also called Bazit, who took over the chieftainship when his father died in 1869) and Ombalu. When the Onyat villagers again tried to return to their land, Bazit had some of them captured, and under threat of death they were made to prostrate themselves before a statue of the Virgin, and receive the Catholic medal as a sign that they acknowledged Bazit as their great chief. Ombalu took advantage of Ella's visit to Sydney and London from 1870 to 1871, and in a desperate attempt to cower finally those who refused to accept him or his religion, fought and killed twelve of them, burnt all their huts and cut down their coconut trees. Sleigh arrived from Lifu on a visit shortly afterwards and was horrified.

28 Ella to LMS, 12 October, 21 December 1869, SSL, LMS.
29 'Rapport de la Commission', CC 1867-1871, carton 86, ANOM. Pallières shortly afterwards ordered the people of Ohwen to allow the Onyat villagers to return. See Ordre, 5 October 1869, AAN.
30 Lyons to Clarendon, 29 April 1870, FO 27/1801.
31 Pionnier to Rougeyron, 15 August 1870; and Roussel to Poupinel, 18 April 1870, IV ONC, APM. See also Ella, 10 June 1870, Diary 1868-1878, B250, NL.
32 Ella to LMS, 1 May 1871, SSL, LMS.
33 Pionnier to Poupinel, 5 April, 19 May 1872, IV ONC, APM. Further details are in LMS, Statement Respecting the Persecution of the Protestant Converts in the Island of Uvea Loyalty Islands, sent to British FO, 2 December 1874, FO 27/2098.
by all the 'butchering & murdering'. 34 'Old animosities', he explained, 'and disputes about land etc, and, more immediately alleged threats to kill Whenegay [Ombalu], appear in part to have induced him to commit these atrocities'. 35 Ombalu prohibited those who still dared to support the Protestant religion from holding any more services, and when Sleigh assembled a congregation before him, Ombalu had it forcibly dispersed. 36

The LMS once again approached the Foreign Office, 37 and the local LMS and Marist missionaries conducted a lively debate in the pages of the Noumean Moniteur and the Sydney Morning Herald. 38

But it was clear that the Uvean Protestants had little time left. With every act of violence, more and more of them decided to submit to Ombalu; Sleigh counted fewer than 250 supporters. 39 Ombalu, complained the LMS missionaries, 'governs with absolute power'.

From Mare, Jones wrote:

'It seems Maipiline's plan was the best, take things into his own hands & risk the consequences. "Nothing ventured nothing gained". Well there seems little escape for Uvea, but annihilation of the protestant party, unless they can manage to get someone as leader & pitch into the rascals & have a regular battle & see who is the strongest. 40

The French held another inquiry early in 1873, and had Ombalu imprisoned in Noumea. The young Whenegay, who had been staying with the Lifu resident in order to learn French and French ways, was returned and declared great chief of Fayawe. 41 He naively hoped he

34 Sleigh to Creagh, 5 May 1872, SSL, LMS.
35 Sleigh to Richerie, 8 May 1872, SSL, LMS. Ombalu was sometimes called Whenegay. Most regents, however, usually used their own names.
36 Sleigh to Richerie, 8 May 1872, SSL, LMS. See also Sleigh, 'A Brief Statement in order of time of persecutions by the Catholics on Uvea', 11 January 1873, SSL, LMS.
37 LMS to Derby, 2 December 1874, FO 27/2098.
38 Letter by Roussel in Sydney Morning Herald, 1 July 1872; Sleigh to editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, (copy), 1 September 1872, SSL, LMS; letters by Creagh, Sleigh, Roussel in Moniteur, 12 June 1872.
39 Sleigh to Ella, 9 April 1873, Ella Correspondence 4, A205, ML.
40 Jones to Ella, 6 June 1872, Ella Correspondence 7, A208, ML.
41 Sleigh to LMS, 10 February 1873, SSL, LMS.
could stand above the factionalism within Fayawe, and refused to support either the Catholics or the Protestants. Waesolot, one of Ombalu’s close associates, took over leadership of the Catholic faction, and pronounced that Ombalu and not Whenegay was the rightful great chief. Faced with such a challenge to his authority, Whenegay rounded up a few Protestants and burnt Waesolot’s hut. Within a few hours, Waesolot had organized a large force of his own men, and those from Naul and Ouen, and destroyed the Protestant huts at Banut and Wadrilla. The Protestants fled to Fayawe where they barricaded themselves in Whenegay’s palisade, and where they stayed besieged for the next two months. Both sides kept up a constant stream of abuse and hurled spears, which were usually caught and thrown back again, for the duration of the siege. The Catholic continually probed about outside by night, waiting to set upon anyone who crept out in search of food and water. 42

On hearing news of the war, Creagh hastened across from Lifu and arrived to find the Protestants half-starved behind the palisade. The French, too, despatched Caillet from Lifu, but before he could arrive, the Protestants finally submitted to Waesolot. 43 The priests were jubilant - Pionnier wrote to a friend: ‘Finally... I can shout - Victory!’ and, Roussel noted: ‘St Michel has once again crushed the Devil’. 44 When Caillet arrived, he sent Waesolot and some twenty-nine supporters to Noumea where they were imprisoned, and he had some harsh words for the Marists. 45

---

42 Creagh to Ella, 30 June 1873, Ella Correspondence 4, A205, ML; Creagh to LNS, 23 May, 9 August 1873, SSL, IHS; Ella, ‘Statement of Affairs at Uvea’, August 1873, Ella Correspondence 5, A209, ML; Caillet, 8 July 1873, notebook, 35-39; Caillet to Richerie, (copy), 18 September 1873, notebook, 40-47; Pionnier to Gay, 15 June 1874, IV ONG, APH; Roussel to Poupinel, January 1874, IV ONG, APH. Details of the fighting together with an historical background are in Statement Respecting the Persecution of the Protestant Converts sent to British FO, 2 December 1874, FO 27/2098.

43 Creagh to Ella, 4 July 1873, Ella Correspondence 4, A205, ML.

44 Pionnier to Gay, 28 July 1873; and Roussel to Poupinel, January 1874, IV ONG, APH.

45 Caillet to Richerie, (copy), 18 September 1873, notebook, 40-47; Creagh to LNS, 9 August 1873, SSL, IHS; Creagh to Ella, 15 September 1873, Ella Correspondence 4, A205, ML; Rougeyron to Richerie, 30 October 1873, N.C. La Loyalty, III ONC, APH; Vitte to ?, 15 March 1874, 5Ca 411, I ONC, APH.
The submission of the Protestants effectively brought to an end the worst of the violence on Uvea, and resulted in a relatively stable political arrangement in Fayawe. When Ella returned in 1874 he described the Protestants' miserable condition: 'Instead of our flourishing villages, all was ruin and destruction; not a house standing only charred posts and debris.' He discovered to his horror that Whenegay had gone to Noumea to plead for the release of Ombalu, for without his support and influence, he could not hope to have any authority over Fayawe. Governor Richerio agreed to his request and Ombalu returned to the acclaim of the majority of the population. Having made his peace with the Catholic supporters and Ombalu, who held the effective power, Whenegay had to remain content as the nominal great chief. The Protestants were in no mood to continue their fight and settled down quietly to the task of reconstruction. And since they acknowledged their submission to both Whenegay and Ombalu, they were allowed to practise their religion provided it was divorced from any political aspirations.

After the Fayawe siege, the French took a more active interest in Uvea, and although they did not provide a resident during the remainder of the century, their warships visited the lagoon some four or five times a year as a warning that soldiers could be landed there as easily as they had been at Cheponeho.

The tensions among the islanders were further eased by the departure of the abrasive missionaries. Caillet's detailed denunciations of Roussel and Pionnier caused the Marist mission in Noumea some embarrassment—Bishop Vitte admitted: 'Unfortunately ... our Fathers were too much involved in the affair [the siege at Fayawe], and excited their neophytes instead of seeking peace.' Roussel left Uvea in 1874, and Pionnier the year after.

---

46 Ella to LMS, 10 April 1874, SSL, LMS.
47 Creagh to Ella, 9 January 1874, Ella Correspondence 4, A205, NL.
48 Ella to LMS, 10 April 1874, SSL, LMS.
49 Ella to LMS, 14 November 1874, 26 April 1875, SSL, LMS.
50 Ella to LMS, 14 November 1874, 26 April 1875, SSL, LMS; Hadfield to LMS, 26 April 1882, SSL, LNS.
51 Vitte to ?, 15 March 1874, SCa 411, IV ONG, APM.
52 Caillet, Uvea 1874, notebook, 57; Emprin to Poupinel, 1 June 1874, IV ONG, APM.
also returned to London in 1875. 53 Once the fighting had ended, and with their majority support, the Marists who took over from Roussel and Pionnier 54 were able to extend their mission activity and turn Uvea into the Catholic showplace of the Loyalty Islands, with large churches at St Joseph or Hea, Fayawe, and Nuli. The Protestants were in a weak position compared with those on Mare or Lifu. Hadfield took over Ella's station at Fayawe from 1879 until 1886, and from then on made only brief visits until 1920; after 1886, there was no permanent Protestant missionary on Uvea until the 1930s. 55 Under Hadfield's guidance, the Protestant population stabilized at about 700, and was limited to the villages of Fayawe, Danut, Madrilla, and Wakat.

In Nuli, Ohven, and Fayawe, the supremacy of the Dumai, Bazit, and Xenegey/Ombalu chieftainships, with the aid of the Marists and their laws, and with the theoretical justification provided by Guillin's 1865 regulations, had an intensive control over and beyond their particular chiefdoms. Bazit was the most successful, having brought the chiefdoms of Baka, Imene, and Nukelo closely under his supervision, and having expelled Owa. 57 Ombalu, too, had finally imposed his will upon the reluctant clans who had clung to Protestantism as their means of independence. But when placed in perspective with Uvea's recent pre-history, such developments were by no means unprecedented, and although they were influenced by European presence, they were essentially a continuation of the pre-contact processes of the regrouping and rearranging of areas of political control.

---

53 Ella to LMS, 15 December 1875, SSL, LMS.
54 Armand Emprise stayed on Uvea 1874–1883; Alexandre Daniel stayed on Uvea 1875–1891.
56 Hadfield, Uvea statistics 1884, SSR, LMS.
57 The Onyat villagers did not return to their lands until the end of the century. See Creagh to LMS, 21 January 1899, SSL, LMS; Hadfield, Lifu Report, 31 December 1897, SSR, LMS.
Chapter Seven

Mare 1866-1895

The struggle between Naasiline, as the great chief of the Si Gwahma, Si Waeko, and Si Achakaze, supported by the LMS missionaries, and the southern and eastern padoku associated with the Marist missionaries remained a dominant theme of Mare's contact history. The turbulent nature of indigenous politics delayed until 1895 the peace and political stability achieved on Lifu by 1871 and Uvea by 1875, and events on Mare provide perhaps the clearest illustration of the interaction between the Loyalty Islanders' political aspirations and the policies of the two missions and the French administration.

The French government took little part in Mare affairs until 1870. Guillain called at Ro for a few hours on his way to Lifu in June 1864 and informed Jones that the islands were French, and because Guillain was subsequently concerned with events on Lifu and then Uvea, he took no further interest in Mare, except to allow the Marists to set up a mission there in 1866 in the hope that they could contain English Protestant influences so dominant in the north. Once Beaulieu and his fellow missionary, Jerome Guitta, had established themselves among the Si Gureschaba at La Roche, they realized that the continued expansion of their mission depended upon resettling Waikosone and his Si Hedu followers on their own lands at Hedu. Sinewami, great chief of the Si Gureschaba, had built a Catholic chapel and declared himself a Catholic but had still refused to wear a Catholic medallion. The priests attributed his reluctance to the continued presence of Waikosone whom Sinewami was still protecting - Sinewami felt it beneath his dignity to identify himself fully with the 'lesser man', but so as not to discourage the priests and possibly drive them away, he had allowed twenty of his followers to wear the medals, telling the rest: 'Wait for me'. The priests calculated that once Waikosone had moved away, Sinewami would have no hesitation in becoming a true Catholic.

1 Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
2 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 22 May 1867; and Guitta to Poupinel, 23 March, 20 July 1868, VHA.
Furthermore, once the Si Medu moved to their lands, one of the priests could travel with them and set up another post there. The danger of such a move was that the Si Medu faction of the young Cegowene, son of the recently killed Waitheane, and led by Lali, might once again attack Waikosone. In 1867, the priests finally persuaded Waikosone to make the move and he and his people settled at Awī in the Bay of Miri, and were accompanied by Guitta who lived in an old torn tent. There was no immediate opposition from Lali who had made his base at Eni, a short distance along the coast to the south, but the move greatly antagonized Naisiline. Only a few months before, Naisiline had managed to persuade the Si Medu to build a Protestant chapel at Wabawo, an uninhabited place strategically located on Si Medu land and close to the boundaries of the Node ri Kurubu and Si Medu. Seeing Waikosone’s chapel at Awī, Naisiline encouraged Lali to build a Protestant chapel at Eni, so completely outflanking, and surrounding Waikosone. Waikosone was enraged by Naisiline’s first step onto Si Medu territory and burnt his chapels at Eni and Wabawo. Naisiline prepared for an all-out attack upon Waikosone but in view of developments on Uvea and Lifu, Jones and Creagh, and Guitta who paid a hasty visit to Ro, persuaded him to remain at peace so as not to attract the French soldiers - a prospect neither mission welcomed. Tension also developed over fishing rights at Wo, near the boundary of the Si Achakaze and the Si Gureschaba, for since Naisiline had conquered the Si Achakaze, he claimed their rights to fish there, much to the annoyance and fear of Sinewami. Naisiline also exploited the divisions existing among the Si Gurewoc. The re-tei-Hmae led by Waimo were sympathetic to the Protestants in order to gain support

---

3 See above, 53.
4 Lali was Cegowene’s uncle. See Beaulieu, ‘Histoire Commune de Penelo’, PCD; Beaulieu to Poupinel, 1 January 1868, VMA; Beaulieu, ‘Etat de l’Ile de Maré en 1866’, PCD.
5 Beaulieu to Vitte, 2 December 1874, PCD; Rougeyron, Rapport, 22 October 1869, N.C. Rapports I, III ONC, APH.
6 Beaulieu, ‘Etat de l’Ile de Maré en 1866’, PCD.
7 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 1 August 1867, PCD; Creagh to LMS, 28 February 1870, SSL, LMS.
8 Beaulieu to Depoix, 1 August 1878, PCD.
9 Creagh to LMS, 10 December 1869, SSL, LMS.
in their quarrel with the Catholic supporting re-teî-Jomae led by Jalo. To the Protestant missionaries, the squabbles at Niri, Wo, and Penelo were caused by those who denied Naisiline his natural right to conquer the island, while to the Marists they were a clear indication that Naisiline’s authority was rapidly spreading and had to be halted at any cost.

For the next two years, both sides accused each other of aggression, and the incidents at Wo and Niri became increasingly more violent. After a series of mutual ambushes at Wo in November 1869, Naisiline, with the support of his allies Wansakami and Lali, determined to set the Catholic supporting poudu, as Creagh said, in their ‘proper position’. Marching under the French tricolour, and proclaiming that he was the ‘Napoleon of Mare’, Naisiline attacked and burnt the Catholic posts at Àwi, Penelo, and La Roche. Some 600 Catholic supporters including Beaulieu and Guitta took refuge on titi where they were besieged for several weeks. Naisiline’s warriors meanwhile destroyed all the plantations belonging to these people and even Creagh expressed some regret that

10 The manoeuvering of the two factions needs some clarification. Jomae of re-teî-Jomae agreed to accept a Protestant teacher after Naisiline defeated the Si Achakaze in 1860. When Jomae died, Tabe, his son, supported the Marists when they arrived in 1866 for he was afraid of Naisiline’s increasing power in the region. Tabe died at the end of the 1860s and Waîmo of re-teî-Jomae assumed the leadership of the Si Gurewoc, and, belonging to the faction opposed to re-teî-Jomae, espoused the Protestant cause. In the early 1870s, Waîmo died and Jalo, Tabe’s younger brother who led the re-teî-Jomae, claimed the chiefship of the Si Gurewoc and supported the Marists. Wachoima of re-teî-Jomae continued Waîmo’s policy and supported the Protestants, and so quarrelled with Jalo. See Beaulieu, ‘Histoire Sommaire de Penelo’, PCD; Beaulieu, ‘Chefferie de Penelo’ (a genealogy and notes), AAN.

11 The historical background and details of the fighting were the subject of numerous long letters and reports by both missions. The details of the events given by the two missions are remarkably complementary. For LMS details, see Creagh to Guillain, 12 March 1870, SSL, LMS. See also Creagh to LMS, 13 October, 10 December 1869, 27 January, 28 February 1870, SSL, LMS; Creagh to Ella, 4 December 1869, Ella Correspondence 3, A206, ML. The best Marist account is Beaulieu to Depoin, 1 August 1878, enclosing ‘Guerre de 1869’ (36 pages), original in AAN, copy in PCD. See also Beaulieu to Foupinel, 25 September 1870, A209, 3(1875), 238-239. The war is examined further in Beaulieu’s notes in several exercise books in PCD.
Naisiline should 'have thought it necessary to burn and destroy in every direction the districts of the enemy'.\(^{12}\) But Creagh thought Naisiline's initial attacks were justified to bring order to the island. Those on tiri were finally forced to surrender as their food supplies dwindled, and Naisiline had many of them taken to Nelche where they were bound and imprisoned. He also imposed a series of fines and took much of their moveable property as the spoils of war and tokens of submission. The LMS missionaries were jubilant, thinking one of their long awaited aims had been realized.

From Lifu, MacFarlane commented:

> All the tribes had now acknowledged Naisilin as conqueror. He was, in fact, King of Mare, and this state of things had been brought about by the suicidal policy of the priests.\(^{13}\)

And Jones had a similar view:

> After the... war the whole island willingly submitted to Naisiline's authority, and he was then considered by all the other chiefs as their superior.\(^{14}\)

The Protestants' next task was to convince the Lifu commandant that their actions had been justified. Naisiline hastily paddled to Chepcronhe, but was beaten by Beaulieu who gave Pallières his version first. Naisiline was jailed as soon as he set foot on Lifu.\(^{15}\) Pallières then travelled to Ro where he freed Naisiline's prisoners and made the Si Guhama people give back all the property they had taken. After a brief inquiry, Pallières accused Naisiline and Wanakamb of starting the war\(^{16}\) and, said Beaulieu, 'gave complete justice to our Cokolics'.\(^{17}\) He ordered the closure of all the LMS schools and the disbanding of the police. He also divided Mare into two districts - the first of a long series of attempts by the French to limit Naisiline's influence to the northern and western half of the island. The 'Western District' was to comprise the

---

12 Creagh to LNS, 10 December 1869, SSL, LMS.
13 MacFarlane, 306.
14 Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JHP 1845-1876, A399, NL. Jones left Mare in 1867 for London and returned in December 1870.
15 Creagh to Guillain, 11 February, 24 March 1870, SSL, LMS; Guide to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV ONG, APN.
16 Pallières, Arrêtée, 11 January 1870, Pallières' notebook, PCD.
17 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 25 September 1870, AMO, 3(1875), 329.
Si Gwahma (including the Si Waeko), Si Achakaze, Si Hmed, Node ri Kurubu, and the Si Nerodge, with Naisiline as great chief. The 'Eastern District' was to consist of the Si Gureschaba, Si Ruemoc, Si Gurevoc, and Si Nedu, under Sinewarni as the great chief. Within these two districts, all the 'tribes', ruled Pallières, 'ceased to exist' and everyone was to be either Si Gwahma or Si Gureschaba. The limit between the areas was to be a straight line crossing the island from Wo to Wabawo. The aim of Pallières' regulations was to divide the island into as few administrative areas as possible, each under a great chief, as on Lifu and Uvea. But where there was some precedent for such measures on Lifu and Uvea, and possibly even in the northern and western half of Mare, there was certainly none in the southern half with its numbers of independent padouku, and consequently the ruling was completely ignored when Pallières returned to Chopehehe.

Creagh was horrified with Pallières attempts to weaken the LMS mission and blame Naisiline for the fighting, and bitterly opposed the suggestion that Sinewam was the most powerful great chief in the south; he even denied he was the true great chief of the Si Gureschaba for, he claimed, he was virtually made by the priest for you know well he is of no consequence at all & that Manskand should have been the person appointed.... But these French are acting in their great masters Napoleon I's plan - setting up whom they choose and putting down whom they will, & cutting up kingdoms at their pleasure.

Guillain was angry with Pallières for having vindicated the Marists and he sent a commission of inquiry to Mare. Whether or not Guillain told the commission to find the Marists guilty cannot be documented, but the commission completely reversed Pallières' pronouncements and blamed Sinewam and Naikosone for causing the war. It was particularly critical of the role the priests played, accusing them of having carried out an 'ambitious

18 Pallières, Décision, 24, 26 January 1870, Pallières' notebook, PCD. There are another 12 ordres, décisions, and arrêtées by Pallières relating to Mare in this notebook.
19 Creagh to Jones, 27 January 1870, SSL, LMS. See also Creagh to LMS, 28 February 1870, SSL, LMS.
and turbulent propaganda. The LMS missionaries were naturally 'perfectly satisfied' with the commission's findings, while the priests were convinced Guillain had once again tried to destroy their mission. The commission did agree, however, that it was necessary to limit Naisiline's influence and kept Pallières' line, although they shifted it slightly at both ends to put beaches at No and Tabeau on Naisiline's side.

The French left a garrison of about twenty soldiers at Tadine to keep the peace, but when Naisiline returned to Mare after having been imprisoned at Chepenehe for forty-eight days, he incited trouble once again at Tabeau, No, and Penelo. Beaulieu was deeply concerned for the future of his mission:

> The quarrel had assumed a different nature: the religious question does not seem to be an issue any longer: they dispute the limits of territories .... The aim of our enemies is to relegate all our people and me with them into the bush and onto the cliffs in the east, and to drive us off as soon as they can.

In desperation, he asked the Noumean authorities for permission to take his 300 Catholics to the Isle of Pines where they could settle among the predominantly Catholic population. The French readily agreed to what seemed a simple and quick way to end further strife on Mare, and in November 1870 the warship Surcouf was ordered to the Bay of Miri. After the 300 had gone on board, the remaining 600 Catholic sympathizers who had gathered to watch the exodus pleaded to be taken away also, saying that they were terrified to remain behind and face Naisiline, and that they would wear the Catholic medal. The Surcouf sailed from Mare crammed with 900 Mareans and two jubilant priests, for although they were reluctant

---

20 'Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur les troubles survenues à Mare... 1869', 28 June 1870, PCD. The commission consisted of Le Boucher, Dubain, Charbonnet.

21 Creagh to LMS, 13 May 1870, SSL, LMS.

22 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 18 August 1872, IV OMC, AMH; Gaide to Maisant, 9 March 1877, IV OMC, AMH.

23 'Rapport de la Commission', 28 June 1870, PCD; Beaulieu to Fraysse, 20 September 1876, PCD.

24 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 25 September 1870, AMO, 3(1875), 241.

25 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 27 February 1871, 18 August 1872, IV OMC, AMH; Jones to LMS, 22 November 1870, SSL, LMS. The garrison of soldiers was apparently withdrawn at the same time.
to abandon their mission field, they had increased their flock threefold in 'that supreme moment' on the shores of Medu. Jones and Creagh were equally delighted for their enemies had departed en masse and Mare, they believed, was truly 'won for Christ'.

The 900 Mareans had an unhappy time on the Isle of Pines. The various clans among the St. Gureschaba, St. Gurewoc and St. Medu still retained old animosities among each other, and relations with the Isle of Pines people were not good, especially since their population was only about 800 and the instant doubling of the total population placed a severe strain upon food resources. The French authorities were dismayed to learn of the arrival of so many Mareans, for they were preparing the island as a prison for the deportees from the Paris Commune. Governor Richerie suggested resettling the Mareans elsewhere in New Caledonia, but the St. Gureschaba, who appeared to be the most discontented with the Isle of Pines, asked to be taken to Lifu where they would settle with Ukeneso at Natahu. Richerie agreed and in September 1872 the French vessel Bruat transported 400 to Sandalwood Bay. The remaining 500 began to agitate for a return to Mare, and Beaulieu tried to gain assurances from the government that they would all be protected from Naisilene if they did so.

If the exodus to the Isle of Pines had not been a success for the Marists, Jones and Creagh had their troubles on Mare too. Once their common enemies had left, Wanakami and Lali wanted little to do with Naisilene and his teachers and policemen, and lingering antagonisms between the remaining St. Medu and St. Rucmec came to the fore once again. Only the return of the Mareans prevented an

---

26 Gaide to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV ONC, APtM.
27 Creagh to LMS, 21 July 1871; and Jones to LMS, 15 October 1871, STL, LMS.
28 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 28 December 1872; and Gaide to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV ONC, APtM. See also Fisler, 204-206.
29 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 28 December 1872, 22 March 1873, IV ONC, APtM. For an account of the Mareans at Nathalo, see Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 January 1873, IV ONC, APtM.
30 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 14 November, 22 March 1873; and Guitta to Poupinel, 26 November 1873, IV ONC, APtM.
In August 1875, the Si Gureschaba were repatriated from Nathalo, and the following month all but about 150 Mareans returned from the Pines. The LMS missionaries were outraged that those padolu should be allowed to return to their former lands and still be considered independent from Naisiline for, they argued, they were his subjects according to the 'etiquette' of Marean warfare. These missionaries never considered their contradictory attitudes towards warfare: when it suited them to abide by 'native law', as in Naisiline's case, they vehemently did so, but when such 'laws' were to their disadvantage, as in the case of the defeated Fayne Protestants, they always reverted to 'higher' or more 'moral' European laws of 'justice'.

For a short time after the arrival of his enemies, Naisiline adopted new tactics, doubtless under the inspiration of Jones (Creagh left Mare in 1871). When he was in Noumea to attend a celebration at Governor Léopold de Pritzbuer's invitation, Naisiline addressed him in English:

I beg your Lordship to grant these questions I am as King [sic]. Who is the head chief of Mare your Lordship thinks to be above all the others? Can I make law suit for the natives of Mare to guide them? ... I ask your lordship to grant me commission of your name that I am be look it upon as the head chief [sic].

Pritzbuer replied: 'I am the head chief of Mare', and warned him that he would be held responsible for any further trouble on Mare. Not in the least disturbed by the rebuff, Naisiline returned to Netche and organized a remarkable 'constitutional convention' in November 1875, and invited all the Mare chiefs to attend. He proclaimed a parliament consisting of an upper and lower house with himself as leader, and presented himself with a petition declaring he was chief over all Mare. Few of his enemies attended the meeting

31 Beaulieu, 'Histoire Sommaire de Penelope', PCD. See also Beaulieu to Vitte, 2 December 1874, enclosing 'Etude pour la retour à Maré', PCD.
32 Gaide to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV ONC, APM.
33 Creagh to LMS, 12 August 1875, SSL, LMS.
34 'Rapport sur les affaires de Maré', 14 note A, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 7 October 1876, CC 1877-1884, carton 80, ANON. This 26 page report is a useful summary of Mare politics from the 1850s onwards. It was probably written by Pompon, September-October 1876.
so he forged their signatures, including those of Sinewami and Vanakam, on the petition. The documents were written in both Nengone and English and sent to Pritzauer for approval. The Governor quickly repudiated them. Having failed with his peaceful diplomacy, Naissiline once again turned to more forceful methods to gain control of Mare.

He again supported the causes of Lali among the Si Medu and Metchim (who took over from Waimo) of the Si Gwahma, and instigated violence at Rawa among the Si Neredge clan. The Si Neredge owed allegiance to the Si Achakaze, but since Naissiline had conquered the Si Achakaze, he claimed control of the Si Neredge and appointed Yongomene as their chief—according to all subsequent investigations, Yongomene was not even a member of the Si Neredge. As France was then in the throes of the Franco-Prussian war, the priests no longer called Naissiline Napoleon, but the Marean Dismarck. The Naissiline, however, were not always on the defensive, and were eager to cause any disruption in Si Gwahma lands. They took up the cause of Paul Yake, Naissiline's nephew who had been baptized by Khill. Yake, the son of Naissiline Alakutam, who died in 1858, argued that he, and not Naissiline Ilidio, should have been the great chief on the death of Yiewene Kicin Bula's infant son in 1861. The claim never aroused any popular support among the Si Gwahma, and Yake looked to Beaulieu and Guitta. With their encouragement, he grouped a few Catholic supporters about him at Tedine—a place where the priests were eager to have influence, not only because it was close to Si Gwahma lands, but

35 A copy of the Nengone text, 24 November 1875, is in PCD, along with a translation by Dubois. See also 'Rapport sur les affaires de Maré', 15, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 7 October 1876, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANQ; Beaulieu to Germain, 1 March 1878; and Guitta to Hulsant, 9 March 1877, IV ONC, APH. The LMS missionaries never mentioned the incident in any of their extant letters.

36 Jones to President, 13 June 1876, JHF 1845-1876, A399, ML; 'Rapport sur les affaires de Maré', 17, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 7 October 1876, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANQ.

37 Guitta to Hulsant, 9 March 1877; and Guitta to Poupinel, 26 November 1873, IV ONC, APH.

38 Beaulieu, 'notes sur la chefferie de Gouama et la genealogie de Naissiline', MS., 1892, ANA.
because of the anchorage. Naisiline and his warriors immediately descended upon Yake, burnt his huts and imprisoned him at Nocihe. 39

The Lifu resident heard word of the continuing troubles and reported to Pritzbuer, who landed on Mare in June 1876. He was immediately assailed by Jones and the priests, each claiming that they supported the true chiefs. Jones claimed that Naisiline's victory in 1869 had secured him the chiefship of Mare:

It would have been a blessing to the island had such a ruling been fostered rather than discouraged, the whole island would then have acknowledged one great chief and the Governor of N.C. would have held one chief responsible for the welfare of the whole island.

The priests argued that Naisiline was not even the rightful chief of the Si Gwahrna. Jones declared that Wanakami ranked above Sincwami and if the southern and eastern half of the island were to have one great chief, it should be Wanakami; the priests disputed this view, and Jones replied by suggesting Sincwami was not the real chief of the Si Gureschaba. Jones supported Yongomene's claims to Rawa, and was opposed by the priests. He also claimed the true great chiefs of the Si Hedu and Si Guiwoco were Lali and Wachoirna; the priests supported Andre, who was Waikosone's brother and had taken over the chiefship when Waikosone chose to remain on the Isle of Pines, and Jalo. Each mission did its utmost to outdo the other and impress the Governor with vast amounts of historical detail and genealogies echoing either real or distorted accounts given them by their informants. 41

Pritzbuer maintained the division of Mare along the line from No to Wabawo. The northern and western half was to be under Naisiline, but he modified Pallières' earlier ruling and more accurately declared the southern and eastern half under 'independent chiefs' without, however, sorting out who these were. He did visit Rawa, and found that neither Yongomene nor Naisiline had any rights there. 42 Continued trouble after Pritzbuer's departure led to the

39 Beaulieu to Germain, 1 March 1876; and Fabvre to Goujon, 14 January 1876, IV CIGN, APN.
40 Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JMP 1854-1876, A399, ML.
41 Gaide to Fraysse, [1876], PCD; Jones to Resident, 13 June 1876, JMP 1854-1876, A399, ML.
42 Pritzbuer, 'Règlement de Maré. Décision du Contre-Amiral Gouverneur Grand-chef des Loyalty', 4 June 1876, AA.
arrival of another commission under Paul Cave in August 1876. The French still believed the disputes could readily be solved by enforcing the line across Mare, and one of Cave's tasks was to define it accurately. He painstakingly marked out the boundary with small pyramids of coral rocks and maintained the 1870 delimitation, except at Ho and Nabea where he gave Naisilime slightly more land. Cave was sympathetic to Beaulieu and Gaide, who replaced Guitta, and wrote them confidential notes explaining that he made some sacrifices of land to Naisilime in the hope of bringing the Catholics greater security. He warned them to energetically defend the delimitation and to protest vigorously against any changes Naisilime might attempt to make: 'I am convinced that if you do not respond very actively, we will lose all the fruits of the efforts we have all made.' Cave also investigated the rival claims to the chieftainships. He expelled Yongomene to Tahiti for five years for having desecrated a Catholic chapel at Rawa; Lali and Weinene, the great chief of the Si Hmed, were sent to Tahiti for five and three years respectively for having opposed the commission's findings; and Wacholms was taken to Bourail for eighteen months on the same charge. All these men were Protestant supporters, and all, with the exception of Weinane, disputed the chieftainship of their padolu with their Catholic-supporting opponents - Jalo, Andre, and the Si Nerette clan. Naisilime, too, was escorted to Noumea where he was to be detained for one year because he refused to sign the delimitation agreement and angrily opposed the expulsion of his allies.

The delimitation was a source of puzzlement to the Mare people. They popularly regarded it as an attempt by the French to give all the land rights on one side to Naisilime, and on the other side to the nearest great chief, and such a step was completely.

---

43 Cave, 'delimitation', 3 August 1876, (includes a map of the Niri region), AAM.
44 Cave to Gaide, 1 September 1876, PCD.
45 Director of the Interior to Pitzbuer, 29 September 1876, CC 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM; Gaide to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV OIN, APH.
46 Cave to Jones, 14 September 1876, JNP 1845-1876, A399, ML; Gaide to Mulsant, 9 March 1877, IV OIN, APH; Jones to LMS, 25 September 1876, SSL, LMS.
SI GWAHMA control in the 1870s.

Cave delimitation 1876

SII GWAHMA

(coooperating SI WARKO, SI ACHADAZE, SI KURUBU, SI NERIDGE, SI HMIED)

N

MARE

SI GURESCHABA

SI RUEMEC

SI GUREWOC

SI MEDU

0 5 miles
alien to their concept of land tenure. The French had no intention that the line should have anything to do with land rights - it was there only as a boundary beyond which Naisiline must not extend his influence. To dispose of the misunderstandings another commission, led by Benet, landed in December 1876, and dealt specifically with the question of landownership at the three major trouble spots - Niri, Rava, and Wo.47 After the principles of indigenous land tenure had been explained to him by both Jones and the priests, he interviewed all the clan chiefs and on the basis of what he considered popular consensus, drew up a list of those clans and their leading members who owned the disputed land. Most of the claimants he thought false were supporters of Naisiline, and Jones argued that Benet had been influenced by the lies of the priests.48 Nevertheless, Benet's investigations appear to have been conducted fairly, and all subsequent investigations generally supported his rulings. Benet also drew up a confidential report on Jones who had never ceased to write letters to the Noumean authorities claiming that Naisiline was the true great chief of the whole of Mare and that any Catholic great chiefs were merely usurpers.49 Benet was convinced Jones was responsible for urging Naisiline to support anyone prepared to contest the chieftainships in the south and east, and gave Jones the first of a long series of warnings that any further interference in island politics would result in his expulsion.50

The exile of the Protestant chiefs led to the usual round of protests and complaints to Paris by the British government, and the New Caledonian administration was asked to reconsider the

47 Benet to Director of the Interior, 11 December 1876, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
48 Jones, 'Remarks made to the Governor', n.d., JMP 1845-1876, A99, HL.
49 Jones to Pritzbuer, 18 September 1876, enclosed in Pritzbuer to Min., 7 October 1876, CG 1877-1884, carton 85, ANOM.
50 Benet, 'Note confidentielle sur le Reverend M. Jones', 12 December 1876, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
punishments. 51 Naisiline was returned after spending six months in Noumea, and the remaining exiles returned in 1878. 52 But although the new Governor, Jean Olry, was prepared to release them this time, he warned that in the event of further trouble, they would find themselves in Cochinchina where conditions were far less pleasant than Tahiti or New Caledonia. 53

As soon as these chiefs landed on Mare, armed clashes broke out again. 54 Dollon, the resident on Lifu, spent three months on Mare in 1879 in an attempt to sort out conclusively the rivalries for land and the chieftainships. He recorded with great diligence and perseverance the complex and often contradictory details of the padoku histories, and came out in support of Andre, and not Lali as great chief of the Si Medu; Jalo and not Nahoima as great chief of the Si Gurewoe; and found that Naisiline and Yongomene had no rights in Rawa. 55 Dollon’s inquiries led him back to the stories of the aletok and he correctly suggested that much of the current unrest and political instability resulted from the turbulent nature of Mare’s recent history since their massacre. Where claims to chieftainships could be settled on the basis of power over, and popular support within each padoku, the claims to land tenure were far more difficult to sort out. Dollon found that if he traced clan ownership of land back for more than two to three generations, to the time of the aletok massacre, the situation was chaotic, for, he said, ‘there is not a village in the whole island which is today possessed by the original owners’ and chiefs, long before the Europeans arrived, had always made war to increase their powers and their domains’. 56

51 Jones, ‘persecution of Native Protestant Chiefs’, enclosed in LMS to Derby, 26 October 1877, FO 27/2265; diplomatic correspondence in FO 27/2233, 27/2244, 27/2265; Ministre des Affaires Etrangères to Min., 8 November 1877, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

52 Jones to LMS, 19 July 1877, SSL, LMS; Fritzburger to Min., 21 February 1878, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

53 Olry to Min., 2 October 1880, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

54 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 12 May 1879; Gaide to ?, 8 May 1879; Gaide to Poupinel, 10 October 1879; all in IV ONC, APH.

55 There are two large notebooks full of Dollon’s interviews with missionaries and Mareans, and his rulings, in PCD. Jones continued to protest to the French authorities, see Jones to Olry, December 1879, SSL, LMS.

56 Dollon, inquiries about chieftainships, 14 August 1879, notebook, PCD.
Fighting continued after Dollon departed, and in both the 
Hirist and LMS missionaries' letters there was a growing mood of 
impatience with the islanders and their politics as neither side 
appeared to be making any headway, and the islanders seemed to be 
making more use of the missions, than they were of them. 
The war [wrote Jones] is not a religious one, it is 
an old feud, but being at enmity on land and chiefs' 
matters, each party has chosen to be opposite in 
religion also. 
It is difficult to get the chiefs to distinguish 
between the political and ecclesiastical. They 
would like to rule in both departments. 

Gaide thought the Mareans were: 

naturally and essentially battlers, they know only 
to hit, they reflect after they have done something 
terrible. They are always quarrelling... over the 
boundaries of their land. In their hearts, full of 
such ideas, ... christian virtues take root with 
difficulty, and any roots are still shallow. Our 
plague on Mare is the jealousy between chiefs and 
tribes. We have 3 chiefs of tribes, or great chiefs, 
[Sineweni, Andre, Jalo] and it is impossible for us 
to establish a union among them; when two are 
together, the other is enraged with jealousy, and 
continually tries to destroy the excellent harmony 
between the other two - you already know that the 

majority of the population of Mare is protestant; 
even today we have obtained few conversions. The 
quarrels... are partly the cause: Catholics and 
protestants live apart, have few relations with 
each other; it is less the religion than questions 
of chieftainship and territories that divide them. 

All the Mare affairs always were, and still are 
caused by everyone's claims to land; and this 
contesting of property is not between individuals, 
but between tribes. 

In June 1880, Naisiline died at the age of sixty-five. He 
was much eulogized by Jones as the grand old man of the Protestant 
cause on Mare, while Beaulieu and Gaide railed about his long life 

57 Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL, LMS. 
58 Jones, 'Report of the Mare Institution', 1879, SSL, LMS. 
59 Gaide to ?, 10 October 1879, IV ONG, APM. 
60 Gaide to Resident, 7 January 1879, PCD. 
61 Jones to LMS, 10 September 1880, SSL, LMS; Jones, article 
in the Australian Witness, 12 May 1877, Jones newscuttings, 
ML.
of wickedness: "You see, he was a Bismarck." The chieftainship was taken over by his eldest son, Yiyeene Dokucas Naisiline, then about thirty years old, who had been brought up and educated by the Jones family. His desire to emulate his father's deeds and to quickly establish his reputation as a powerful leader may have had some bearing on the outbreak of war the month after he became the great chief. Gaide suggested it occurred because fighting was usual after the death of a great chief which was commonly attributed to the 'sorcery of an enemy tribe'. Whatever the reason, Naisiline seized the opportunity to re-open hostilities when a small group of his people were ambushed by Catholics. He attacked and burnt the Catholic villages at Aw, Penelo, and La Roche and for the second time in ten years, the priests and 900 of their followers took refuge on titi. When they refused to submit to Naisiline, he scoured the countryside for stray enemy parties, and rounded up numbers of women and children who had been unable to reach titi and were hiding in the bush. Thirteen of the children were battered to death with coral rocks on Naisiline's orders. Jones commented that some 'of the Protestants committed cruel deeds & forgot the principles of religion they had been taught, by killing some of the male children', but, he added, Naisiline at least refrained from killing their mothers:

indeed they behaved most kindly to them and their children were not killed promiscuously. It was an attempt to wipe out an old score where both infants, women and chiefs were all treacherously & most barbarously massacred in the night by this same party. Who can wonder that a man, in hot blood should wish to take vengeance on the child of the man, who had disembowled his mother great with child, as well as murdered other near relations.  

62 Gaide to Poupinel, 10 July 1880, IV ONC, APH.
63 Gaide to Poupinel, 10 July 1880, IV ONC, APH; Jones to LMS, 10 September 1880, SSL, LMS.
64 Gaide to Poupinel, 10 July 1880, IV ONC, APH.
65 Both missions gave voluminous details of the historical background to the fighting. See Beaulieu to Poupinel, 29 February, 13 April 1880, IV ONC, APH; Gaide to Resident, 7 June 1879, PCD; other Marist letters throughout 1879 in PCD; Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL, LMS. For details of the battle see Beaulieu to Poupinel, 4 September 1880; and Gaide to Poupinel, 3 September 1880, IV ONC, APH; Beaulieu, notes on the war, PCD; Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL, LMS. Jones' letter includes evidence he gave to French officials inquiring into the causes and course of the war.
66 Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL, LMS.
As for the damage to the villages and plantations, Jones dismissed it lightly: 'The destruction of native property was of course legitimate in a time of war.'

Dollon hastened to Mare and the French sent the Retrée with supplies of biscuits and rice for the starving hoards crammed on the rock. Dollon held a brief inquiry and took fifteen Protestants to Noumea, and from there they were exiled to Cochin-China - among their number were Hanakami, Wachoima, Lali, Yongomene, and Weinane.

Dupénil, the Director of the Interior, who was on board the Retrée, drew up a series of recommendations for the administration. He condemned the exiled Protestants and declared that they must 'never' be allowed to return, but, surprisingly, he argued that the young Naisiline was devoted to France and that he could be relied upon implicitly. 'I have', he said, 'every confidence in his loyalty'. Unless the French could send a force of some 3-400 men, he continued, the only way to achieve a lasting peace was with Naisiline's aid - an opinion which closely resembled Jones' view ever since 1869. Dupénil had orders to arrest more of Naisiline's people, but when Naisiline refused to surrender them, Dupénil feared to insist in case he 'compromised' Naisiline's authority. Such tactics were ultimately effective for the French Government gained the allegiance of the most powerful chief whose father had for so many years been their most difficult opponent.

The war of 1880 marked a significant turning point in the long and involved history of French attempts to pacify Mare. First, there was an end to the fighting, if not hostility, between Catholics and Protestants over the issue of chieftainship and land, and second, there was a hardening of French opposition to Jones and a subsequent schism among the Si Gwahma Protestants and their allies.

The exile of the fifteen men brought a political stability to the southern and eastern padoku by removing the Protestant-supported contenders for the chieftainship of the Si Medu and Si Medu.

---

67 Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL, LMS.
68 Beaulieu to Poupinel, 4 September 1880, 29 March 1881, IV, ONC, APM; Jones to LMS, 5 April 1881, SSL, LMS.
69 Dupénil, 'Compte-rendu de ma mission à Maré', 28 September 1880, GC 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
Curcuve, and the Protestant-supported claimants for land at Wé, Rawa, and Nisi. And as eleven of the fifteen died by June 1882 through illness and utter despondency in the harsh climate and conditions of Cochin-China, few other Mareans dared antagonize the French at this stage. The Governor of Poulo-Condare asked that the four remaining prisoners be allowed to return to New Caledonia before they too died, and Yongomene, Hanaene, Weinaene, and Jemi were returned to Mare much chastened by their experiences.

When Yongomene later created a disturbance at Rawa once again, he was sent to the Isle of Pines for life. The return to peaceful conditions in the south and east was celebrated by a 'Peace Feast' held at La Roche by the Marists in 1882, and was attended by Catholic and Protestant Mareans from all over the island. But in the north and west the troubles continued.

Throughout the 1870s, the French government blamed Jones for much of the island's unsettled state, but the governors always hesitated to have him removed for fear of diplomatic consequences in London and Paris. But they could scarcely tolerate his attitude during the 1880 war. The French actually accused him of causing the war — a charge that was exaggerated, although Jones made it publicly known that he fully supported Naisilina's actions, and his sermons exhorting the people to Christianize the island probably helped to incite popular enthusiasm for the campaign. Jones denied involvement in the islanders' politics, though the government could hardly believe him since he wrote numerous letters to French officials declaring that the 'Catholic rebels' should have submitted to Naisilina, and that if he had been elected great chief of Mare, 'no future war or boundary dispute could have arisen'; that Lali, Wachoima, and Yongomene were the real chiefs, and Andre and Jelo

70 Min. to Courbet, 23 August 1882, (draft), CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM. There is a collection of letters written by the surviving exiles to their friends on Mare in PCD.

71 Min. to Courbet, 23 August 1882; and Courbet to Min., 15 July 1883, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM; Jones to LHS, 4 April, 6 September 1882, SSL, LHS.

72 Salinis, Rapport, 24 January 1884, AAM.

73 Courbet to Min., 13 April 1882, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

74 Courbet to Jones, 4 December 1880, SSL, LHS.
had been responsible for the war because of their 'continual rebellion'; and that the war was God's way of punishing the Catholics. Jones modified his maps carefully drawn years ago, and as if in self-righteous desperation, marked every inch of land as belonging to the Protestants, with every padouku having a Protestant great chief, except for Sinemami whose political influence, however, reached no further than a mile or two radius from him, and had written beside his name, 'subject to Manakami as regards territory'. Governor Amédée Courbet thought Jones was a 'detestable influence' and asked his minister for permission to expel him. The minister informed Courbet that he could remove him but thought it best to ask the LMS to recall him so as not to risk any difficult 'international consequences'. The LMS gave evasive replies to the French demands and Courbet reluctantly decided to give Jones one more chance.

In 1883, Gouharou, the Director of the Interior, drew up a report on Mare and concluded it was 'French only in name': 'the real influence is English exercised by the protestant missionaries'. He likened Mare to an English colony where everyone spoke English, dressed in English clothes, and adopted English manners and customs.

75 Jones to Courbet, 16 December 1880, 24 September 1881, SSL, LMS; Jones to Louis, July 1885, enclosed in Courbet to Min., 1 December 1885, CG 1885, carton 85, ANOM; Jones, 'Reasons for adhering to the first French Boundary of 1869-1870', n.d., JHP 1886-1908, ANG1, ML. Jones protested vigorously against the French accusations of his involvement in the islanders' politics and the exile of the Protestant chiefs. See Jones to LMS, 29 April 1881, enclosing 'A brief account of the Mare difficulties in connection with the French Government', SSL, LMS. The LMS sent this account to the French government in Paris, see Ministre des Affaires Etrangères to Min., 20 February 1882, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

76 Enclosed in Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL, LMS.

77 Courbet to Min., 24 December 1880, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

78 Courbet to Min., 18 March 1881, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

79 Min. to Courbet, 7 July 1881; Ministre des Affaires Etrangères to Min., 10 February 1881; Min. to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, 11 February 1881; all in CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.

80 Gouharou to Pallu de la Barrière, 4 December 1883, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
and he was disgusted to see pictures and paintings of the English royal family in some of the islanders' huts: 'It is a situation contrary to the national dignity, harmful to our interests and one which we must try to modify.' He gave the following reasons why the French had little influence: a complete absence of permanent French officials (except for Dallon who had been living on Hare since 1880); infrequent visits by French warships to 'show the flag'; the indifference of the Noumea government to the people of Hare, sending men only to hold inquiries and exile the troublemakers - the French, he said, should provide medical care, sink wells, and cut roads; the complete absence of French schools; the prevalence of the English language; and the material wealth of the Protestant mission with its magnificent stations and churches. Gouharou did not exaggerate Jones' prominent position or the anti-French feelings among the people of Netche and Ro. 'Mr Jones', wrote an English traveller, 'has a large house and all such surroundings and conveniences as one sees on an Australian station.'

Another commented:

Mr Jones's establishment is . . . a busy and prosperous looking station. Dwellings, and school-houses, and stores, and sheds, are scattered about in great profusion; while natives, pigs, fowls, cattle, horses, and even donkeys, give life to the scene.

One of these travellers spoke of the 'continual ill-feeling insubordination, and even rebellion' among the islanders towards the French:

The French are here most cordially hated by the natives; they are not even admitted to be white men. Such conversations as this I have held with the more educated, who speak a little English: -

"What feller that boat belong? He belong white man?"

"No, he no belong white man."

"What feller he belong, then?"

"Oh, he belong oui-oui man."

"Well, then he belong white man."

"Oh, no; oui-oui man no belong white man; oui-oui man belong all same devil."

82 A.J. Campbell, A year in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia, Melbourne, 1873, 136-137.
83 Coote, 155. This attitude was probably most prevalent among the Protestants at Ro and Netche, but in most areas of the Loyalty Islands, the peoples' hostility towards the French was on the wane by this time. Many were prepared to sail on French vessels and work on the mines in New Caledonia, see below, 198-199.
The new Governor, Léopold Fallu de la Barrière, took some notice of Gouharou’s report and sent a small military detachment to Tadine and appointed a Mare ‘sous-Resident’, so allowing Dollon to return to his post at Chepenehe. He also tried to run small schools at Medu, Tadine, and Tawained, but these were only grass huts with few facilities, soldiers for teachers, and pupils had to be forced to attend. The two policies that had most effect upon the Protestant Mareans were the administration’s continued support for Naisiline and his brother-in-law, Louis, who had been educated by Jones, had spent some time in Sydney and England, and who could speak fluent English and French, and acted as a translator for the French, and the decision to send a French Protestant missionary in the hope that he would weaken the English aspect of Protestantism without upsetting the islanders’ religious scruples. Ever since 1881, the French had been in contact with the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris, the French equivalent of the LMS, asking them to send a missionary, but they had not the resources to do so. Fallu de la Barrière advertised for any Protestant missionary and Jean-Pierre Cru applied and was accepted. In December 1883, he and his family landed at Netche and were installed in a hut. Jones at first thought Cru was a member of the Paris society, and decided to work in with him, but then he found Cru was, as he described him, ‘a paid state agent’, and when he was informed that Cru was to be the head of the Mare Protestant church, Jones could not contain his rage and loathing. Believing he could neither instruct his teachers and church members to obey an insidious ‘civil authority

84 Dollon to Director of the Interior, 22 December 1885, enclosed in a dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 11 March 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, ANOM. Le Boucher’s letter, however, is in CG 1886, carton 85, ANOM.
85 Salinis, Rapport, 24 January 1884, AAN.
86 Gaide to Poupinel, 3 September 1880, IV ONC, APH; Le Boucher to Min., 22 September 1885, CG 1885, carton 85, AHN.
87 Charbonniard to Jones, 21 November 1881, JMP 1877-1885, A400, NL.
88 Dollon to Director of the Interior, 22 December 1885, enclosed in a dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 11 March 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, AHN.
89 Jones to LMS, 21 January 1884, SSL, LMS.
in religious matters', or openly encourage them to disobey Cru, Jones gave the Mare church its 'independence', and declared he was no longer responsible for the actions of the members. As Jones had calculated, virtually no one transferred their allegiance to Cru, and Cru's character and his style of living were hardly conducive of any respect. The Marists, the French officials, and Jones all considered him to be a pathetic man, with a family always dressed in regs, living in a miserable hut which they made no effort to clean or organize during the seven years they stayed on Mare. 'His ridiculous clothes' wrote one official, 'have scandalized everybody.' The Si Gumban were shocked he wore only shorts and sandals when he visited the chiefs, and his wife even had the audacity to go bare-footed - a striking contrast to Jones and his wife who dressed in the height of Victorian fashion on such occasions.

Jones' fifteen Mare teachers, whom he regarded as 'ordained ministers' once the church had its independence, reacted strongly against Cru and anybody else who appeared to side with the French, for these teachers, and the majority of the population in the north and west had been indoctrinated by Jones that the already unpopular French wished to control their church organization with a view to destroying their religion. In an effort to protect their church and maintain their socio-economic positions among the population, the teachers made a bid for the political leadership of various clans throughout the north and west of Mare; and even campaigned against Faamiline. Jones, wrote Dallon, wanted a 'theocratic government'; another visiting official described how the teachers had 'counterbalanced' chiefly authority: 'the teachers are actually

90 Jones to LMS, 7, 13, 19, 30 May, 3 July 1884, SSL, LMS.
91 Charbonniard to Société des Missions Evangélique de Paris (SHEP), 30 May 1884, Maré 1890, Archives de la SHEP, Paris; Governor to the Under-secretary of state for the colonies, 20 January 1891, Océanie, VIII, Illes Loyauté 1885-1891, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.
92 Numerous accounts written by Jones, Dallon, and other participants are enclosed in Le Boucher to Min., 10, 18, 22 September, 29 October, 10 December 1885, CG 1885, carton 85, ANOM.
93 Dallon to Director of the Interior, 22 December 1885, enclosed in dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 11 March 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, ANOM.
the true chiefs of the tribes'. Every Saturday the people had to bring the teachers yams, fish and poultry, and the food was prepared by clan chiefs' daughters; on Sunday, the clan chiefs were made to assemble their people by the teachers' 'police', and the whole village was marched off to church. 94 The French managed to exile many of the teachers, and Jones raged that such action was against God. 95 Naisiline was in a difficult situation. He had readily accepted the French overtures to him after the 1880 war, hoping to escape exile and to have the support of both the government and the Protestant mission, but events had shown that the two interests were inimical. By the end of 1885, he had little popular support left, and complained to the French: 'the religious question has become a political question and two parties who are enemies have formed in my land'—those following him and France, and those following Jones and England.

This party refuses to obey me and ignores my authority. I know that this resistance is intended as a revolt against my chieftainship and aspires to independence, and I come to ask you for advice and protection. 96

On the 3, 4, 5 January 1886, the Protestants held a large reunion in the church at Ro, and the meeting degenerated into a demonstration against Naisiline, Cru, and the French generally. Naisiline and a group of armed followers burst in upon the meeting and captured some twenty people who were beaten and taken back to Netche. 97 Tournois interrogated Naisiline's prisoners and has left a full record of their testimony. Their dominant argument was that Jones was 'with Jesus', and that they could obey only the 'true church'—all admitted Jones had told them: 'do not accept the religion of [state] authority, for it is not the right authority to

94   Gallet to Director of the Interior, 29 November 1885, CG 1885, carton 85, ANOM.
95   Le Boucher to Min., 10, 18 September, 1 December 1885, CG 1885, carton 85, ANOM; Jones to I.M.S., 21 December 1885, SSL, LMS.
96   Naisiline to Tournois, 2 January 1886, Océanie, VII, Îles Loyalty 1885-1891, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.
97   Full details are in letters written by Jones, Louis, Tournois, Le Boucher, enclosed in Le Boucher to Min., 13 January 1886, CG 1886, carton 85, ANOM.
Tournois thought Naisiline had acted wisely: 'Naisiline is devoted to France and this resistance to his authority is identified in his mind with a rebellion against the government with which this chief has loyally sided'. Jones was mortified for the Naisilines had been the LMS missionaries' greatest advocates on Mare since the 1840s, and this particular Naisiline had been brought up in the Jones' household at Ro - now he was 'cruelly persecuting' those of the LMS church and was 'hand in glove with the French'.

Though most of the teachers were expelled to the Isle of Pines or elsewhere in New Caledonia, the majority of the people still opposed Naisiline, and his former enemies were quick to seize their opportunity. Yake became a Catholic because, he said, 'I was always quarrelling with Naisiline' and began to agitate once again for the rights to the Si Gwalla chieftainship, though with little success. Gocene, the former great chief of the Si Achaka who was defeated by Naisiline's father in 1860 and had ever since submitted quietly to the Naisiline chieftainship, had, said Tournois, 'long searched for an occasion to recover his independence'. Shortly after Naisiline's attack on the church at Ro, Gocene travelled throughout the north declaring he would lead the people from the tyranny of Naisiline and the French, and with 2,500 islanders from amongst the Si Gwalla, Si Mako, and Si Achaka, he

---

98 Transcripts of the interrogations are in Tournois to Director of the Interior, 22 January 1886, enclosed in dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 18 February 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, ANOM. Le Boucher's letter, however, is in CG 1886, carton 85, ANOM.

99 Tournois to Director of the Interior, 8 January 1886, enclosed in dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 18 February 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, ANOM.

100 Jones to LMS, 18 January, 18 February 1886, SRI, LMS; Jones to Tournois, 16 January 1886, JNP 1886-1908, A601, ML.

101 Interrogation of Yake, 11 March 1886, enclosed in dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 7 April 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, ANOM; Gallet to Le Boucher, 25 March 1886, enclosed in dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 18 February 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, ANOM. Both letters from Le Boucher to Min. are in CG 1886, carton 85, ANOM.

102 Tournois to Director of the Interior, 29 January 1886, enclosed in dossier to Le Boucher to Min., 11 March 1886, Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, ANOM.
marched inland and settled between Menaku and La Roche at Puyec and Nauned.\textsuperscript{103} Maisiline was left with only 400 followers at Metche, and for the next ten years, the two groups known as the 'bush party', led by Gocenc and proclaiming its allegiance to Jones and England, and the 'sea party', which supported Maisiline and the French, lived far apart. The government was in no mood to tolerate Jones' presence any longer, and regardless of the diplomatic consequences, expelled him in 1887.\textsuperscript{104}

FROM 1886 until 1895 the government was faced with the task of bringing the two groups together.

We are [wrote the Governor] no longer in the time of Protestants and Catholics fighting each other - events at La Roche remain a historical memory; today the union must be made, without distinction of religion, between those who have remained faithful to French authority against those who have had the audacity to support or follow the excitations to revolt, such as those who stayed in the temple at Ro on the 3, 4, 5, of January, under the direction of pastor Jones.\textsuperscript{105}

The French twice sent soldiers to prevent an outbreak of violence between the two parties, and Gocenc was exiled to the Isle of Pines.\textsuperscript{106} But the French were reluctant to force the bush party back to Metche

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} Le Boucher to Mfn., 5 February 1886, CG 1886, carton 85, ANOM.
\item \textsuperscript{104} There are large collections of documents about the expulsion and the subsequent controversy in England and Australia. See 'Correspondence Respecting the Expulsion of the Rev. J. Jones from Maré', Great Britain; Parliamentary Papers (GPP), 109, (1886), 75-139; FO 27/2992; CG 1888-1891, carton 85, ANOM; Océanie, VIII, Iles Loyalty 1885-1891, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères; LMS, Statement of the Case of the Rev. John Jones of Maré, London, 1889; Jones newscuttings, NL, contains cuttings from over 40 different Australian and British newspapers protesting against his expulsion, and cuttings from New Caledonian newspapers applauding the French action. See also Jones' letters in JHP 1886-1908, AAO1, NL.
\item \textsuperscript{105} Le Boucher to Director of the Interior, 5 February 1886, enclosed in Le Boucher to Mfn., 5 February 1886, CG 1886, carton 85, ANOM.
\item \textsuperscript{106} Governor to Min., 20 January 1891, Océanie, VIII, Iles Loyalty 1885-1891, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères; Gallet to Governor, 12 September 1890, 10 October 1891, CG 1888-1891, carton 85, ANOM.
\end{itemize}
and so because they so strongly identified themselves with Jones, and in view of the public outcry in England against his expulsion, they had no wish to aggravate the situation. Instead, they removed the hapless Cru and replaced him with Jules-Ernest Longereau, a member of the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris, in the hope that he would be more amenable to the 'bush party'. But Longereau, who stayed on Mare from 1891 until 1893 only increased the gulf between the two parties with his high-handed attempts to appoint teachers who were unsuitable to both sides. Not until 1898 could the same missionary society send another man, but by then the groups had reunited. Once Jones and his teachers and Gocce had gone, and the Islanders realized that no more English missionaries would arrive, and that the French really had no intention of attacking them or destroying their church, there was little point in continuing to live inland. In 1895, a reconciliation took place and the 'bush' people of the Si Gwahma, Si Wanko, and Si Achakor once again submitted to Naisilinc, and agreed to obey the French. 

---

107 Longereau's correspondence is in Maré 1890-1893, Archives de la SMEP.
108 Philadelphie Delord.
109 Rousseau to SMEP, 6 January 1896, Maré 1896, Archives de la SMEP.
IN the foregoing outline of the history of religious, national, and indigenous political conflicts in the Loyalty Islands, the activities of the various European interests showed certain marked characteristics. French policy was ultimately conditioned by the fact that the islands were of little economic significance. The French felt that they had to intervene in the early 1860s to combat what they considered dangerous English influences so close to the mainland of New Caledonia. Once they had intervened, they were reluctantly obliged to take an increasingly active role in island affairs, partly because of the aggressive nature of the LMS missionaries and their supporters, especially on Mare, and partly because the LMS propaganda network encompassing Australia, London, and Paris, ensured that the politico-religious troubles were given wide publicity. The French could not ignore accusations that they were denying religious freedom, that they were discriminating against English citizens, and persecuting the Protestant mission, as well as failing to maintain law and order on their own islands. But if the LMS missionaries were in large part responsible for the French participation in island developments, they also severely limited the range of French action. Because of the extremely strong diplomatic pressure the LMS could, and did, bring to bear upon the Noumean authorities, there was no governor who dared repeat Guilain's military expedition. The French, therefore, never took severe reprisals against the troublesome islanders as they did in New Caledonia, and nor could they expel all the LMS missionaries. It took five years of intense diplomatic activity before they persuaded the LMS to recall MacFarlane, and some ten years of hesitant moves before they finally removed Jones, and the LMS continued their mission on Lifu until 1920.

Nor did the French have much success in trying to weaken the Marist mission on the Loyalty Islands during Guilain's governorship from 1862 until 1870. Although Guilain caused it great inconvenience on Lifu, he was finally forced to back down over Faurye's expulsion largely on the grounds that such a step would have been interpreted as an English Protestant victory. And English Protestant influence made him compromise his anti-Marist views when he gave them permission to establish a mission on Mare in 1866. After Guilain's departure, relations between the Marists on the
Loyalty Islands and the government were generally cordial, in contrast to relations with the LMS missionaries on Hare.

Any forceful and confident government policy was further hindered by the administration's lack of resources and finance, and apart from the commandants and the troops at Chepenoke in the 1860s, the lone resident who lived there from 1870 onwards, and the 'souj.-Resident' on Hare in the 1880s, the only other French officials who visited the islands usually stayed only a matter of days, and more often hours. Communications between the few permanent officials and Noumea, and even among the Loyalty Islands were another serious limit to an effective local policy. Furthermore, the Noumea administration saw a constant and rapid change of personnel - from Guillain's departure in 1870 until 1891, there were eight governors, and five different senior officials who ran the government during the change-over periods. And not only did the Noumea government have its difficulties with the Paris government over Loyalty Island issues, but there was frequently serious disagreement with the local officials on the islands themselves - such as with Tave on Lifu, and Pallières over the war on Mare in 1870, and there was a serious conflict with its own Director of the Interior, Lacassade, over the expulsion of Jones. For all these reasons, French policy lacked direction and decisiveness. It took many years to finally exile most of the islanders whom they considered responsible for the disturbances, and to remove the most abrasive of the missionaries - MacFarlane, Jones, and Harriot. And although they did finally secure the obedience of the islanders and the missions, they never managed, not even to the present day, to erase the strong undercurrents of the islanders' anglophilia. By the 1870s on Lifu and Uvea, and the 1890s on Mare, the government's presence and strength were more potential than actual, and as long as there was peace among the islanders and the missionaries, and no challenge to French authority or sovereignty, the government was content not to interfere in island life.

110 See Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact', appendix II.
111 Annuaire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et dépendances, Noumea, 1890, 26-27.
112 See CG 1886, carton 85; and Affaires de Maré 1886, carton 38, AOM.
The most noticeable characteristic of both the LMS and
Methodist missionaries was their necessary preoccupation with
utilizing, encouraging, and taking an active part in the islanders' own hostilities in their attempts to win the islands to their cause. Almost without exception, the missionaries diligently studied island politics and showed considerable skill in supporting and justifying the actions of their various island patrons, and in seeking ways to undercut the authority of those who opposed them. Both groups of missionaries, regardless of their socio-economic conditions, and their personal attitudes to life on the islands, displayed a remarkable ability to adapt themselves and their policies to the turbulent indigenous political environment in which they found themselves. Any study of these men and their role on the Loyalty Islands must necessarily be evaluated against this background. Those aspects of mission history in the Pacific that form the bulk of historical studies - theology, individual biographies, mission organization, the day to day activities around the mission stations, the relationship among the personnel, and the intellectual development of the missionaries - are, in the case of the Loyalty Islands, subordinate, and possibly irrelevant, in the story of the establishment and consolidation of the missions there. Mission policy in this respect was based on the way the two missions variously interpreted the realities of indigenous politics and took an active part in them.

Several major themes are apparent in the islanders' political developments, in conjunction with the European interests, during the contact period. Each island was divided into areas of Protestant and Catholic support, and no significant group of islanders remained aloof from an alliance with either mission. The division has two notable features: once there was a permanent representative of each mission on an island, the islanders classified themselves very quickly, with the general lines often quite apparent some years beforehand. It had taken place on Uvea by 1864, Lifu by 1858, and most of Mare by 1866, and the whole of Mare by 1869. And once the division had taken place, so strong were the islanders' associations with one or other mission, that in spite of all the subsequent hostilities, the areas of respective mission influence remained essentially unchanged, and are virtually identical today.
The Protestants were dominant on Mare and Lifu, with the Catholics limited mainly to Eaclo, Nathalo, and Dueulu on Lifu, and La Roche, Pwelo, and Medu on Mare. By the 1880s, the Catholics numbered some 950 out of a total population of about 6,500 on Lifu, and 800 out of the Mare population of about 3,600. The figures were reversed on Uvea where, by the same time, the Protestants numbered about 700 out of a population of 2,000. The ratio of Catholics to Protestants on all three islands was virtually the same as at the time of the initial division.

Some of the great chiefdoms on Uvea and Lifu by the 1870s and on Mare by 1895, had developed, to a greater or lesser extent, different arrangements since the 1840s. The patterns of change were relatively straightforward. Some great chiefdoms, such as those under Bazit, Oubalu, Bula, and Maaiilino Hidoihi, expanded to encompass some chiefdoms not previously under their control, for example, the Sî Achakaze, Notre fî Kurubu, Sî Hnaed, and the chiefdoms of Beka, and invene; and there was one case where the people of a chiefdom were expelled from an area - Owa and his people of Goyat. Other chiefdoms fragmented, or showed signs of fragmenting into their component parts, usually along clan lines; the most notable examples being in Wet, and among the Sî Hned and Sî Gurevoe. While such developments were aided and abetted by European influences, they were by no means unprecedented, and can be seen as a continuation of the islands' political trends in recent pre-historic times. It is no coincidence that Lifu, the most politically stable of the islands in the 1840s, was the first to regain a peaceful and stable situation, whereas Mare, apparently in a post-revolutionary state when the Europeans arrived, was the last to do so - all of which suggests that the processes and progress of 'pacification' had as much to do with the nature of political developments existing at the time of first contact as with the manner of European intervention.

113 Beaulieu to Germain, 1 March 1878; and Beaulieu to Poupinel, 4 September 1880, IV ONC, APN; Creagh, 10 year report, 12 December 1880; and Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS; 'Etat des âmes... 1891-1892', II ONC, APN; Le Boucher to Min., 29 October 1885, CG 1885, carton 85, ANOM.
Apart from such changes, there was some alteration to the
nature of some great chiefs' authority. There is little doubt
that men such as Rainilai Neonjao, Bazit, Ombal, Eula and Wainya
had an increased personal authority as a direct result of mission
influence. The missionaries, especially those of the LMS,
conferred upon these people a very considerable socio-economic
status and strengthened their power with teachers, laws, and police,
and gave them a control over the activities of individuals within,
and often beyond, their chiefdoms which they probably did not have
before contact. The concepts of a great chief's obligations
within the fraternity, and the built-in limits to his personal
authority may well have been weakened in these cases. Government
influence upon the power of a great chief was only minor in this
respect. The regulations defining the position of a great chief
certainly sanctioned an increased authority, but rulings probably
meant more on paper than they did in practice. The only time the
administration worked directly through great chiefs was on Lifu
from 1864 until 1870 when it compelled them to supply men for the
corvées. Because there was only minimal government presence on
the Loyalty Islands from 1864 onwards, the officials were unable,
and had no need, to have the chiefs carry out any administrative
functions. This was in contrast to the situation on New Caledonia,
where the government wanted land, was intent upon a policy of
enslavage, and was concerned with defining chiefly authority
which it could conceivably exploit.114 The French, therefore,
made no attempts to create and impose any administrative structure
upon the Loyalty Islanders' own socio-political organizations, and
indeed, the residents on Lifu were strictly forbidden to do so.
And it was probably because the French did not actively interfere

114 See Douglas, 'A History of Culture Contact', chapters
VII, VIII.
in the islanders' everyday life, that there were no revolts against the French administration as on New Caledonia.115

In considering the significance of changes to chiefly authority in the contact period, it is important to emphasize the distinction between the personal authority of someone like Maisiline Nidoish as opposed to any new structural authority, given to him by either the government or the missionaries, that he might have presided over. Consequently, authority was largely dependent upon the character of an individual great chief, as well as the nature of his support from Europeans, and was not automatically inherited by his successor, as Maisiline Nidoish's son found to his distress. The most fundamental difference between the political situation in 1840 and that in 1900 was that by the latter date there was peace, and permanence given to the boundaries of political control. Those in positions of authority were no longer subject to challenges to their position by ambitious men from within or without the chieftoms, or from the government, provided it was not antagonized.

One common theme of the islanders' responses to Europeans dominates the contact history as outlined so far - namely, the islanders' ability to capitalize on the opportunities provided by the European presence, particularly by manipulating and turning to their own individual or collective advantage both the divergent religious and national interests of the French government, and the Hurist and EMS missionaries. Furthermore, in their reactions to other aspects of European presence, the islanders displayed similar initiative, enthusiasm, and aggression.

ADVENTURE AND ADVANTAGE: SOME MAJOR
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS
Chapter Eight

Trading contacts and overseas travel

While much of the history of European contact with Loyalty Islanders in the nineteenth century necessarily centres on the religious, national, and indigenous political conflicts, there are other major contemporaneous themes which deserve detailed investigation for the further light they shed on the nature of the islanders' responses to the European world, and the consequences for the island societies. Three of the most striking developments which began in the 1840s and continued into the twentieth century were the islanders' enthusiasm for travelling and working overseas, their eagerness and expertise in trading with Europeans, and their devotion to the Christian religions and their responsiveness to European example and instruction.

Most of the Europeans already discussed were those who tried to establish a direct and permanent influence over all or parts of the Loyalty Islands. During the same period, a great many other Europeans came to the islands mainly for trading and associated purposes. Most of them made only brief, coastal, and hence non-political contact with the people yet just as the islanders took advantage of mission and government presence, so too they readily seized upon the opportunities offered by the trading contacts. Apart from the purely commercial developments, which will be considered in the following chapter, the visits by numerous European vessels brought large numbers of Europeans and Loyalty Islanders into close association with each other and enabled the islanders to travel and work throughout the Pacific.

The first Europeans to reach the Loyalty Islands in any number were Sydney-based sandalwood traders. Forty-six of their visits have been recorded from 1842, when sandalwood was discovered on Hare, until the early 1850s when supplies on all the islands were depleted. The length of contact varied from days to several months and it was common practice for a trader to be put ashore to live with the islanders and collect wood for his ship to pick up on a return

1 Shineberg, Sandalwood, 220-244.
voyage. James Reece spent four years (1844-1847) with Bula on Lifu gathering wood, and William Foxall made his base at Tadine and worked the west coast of Mare in 1849-1850. Cheyne purchased the islet of Fayawa, between Mulif and the Uvea mainland, and built a weather-boarded house there, and Nekelo granted Strachan one of Uvea's northern lagoon islands where he constructed a store-house and grew vegetables.

Although the sandalwood was depleted by the early 1850s, the Loyalty Islands continued as a focal point for sandalwood trading activities. Of all the islanders in the south-west Pacific, the Loyalty Islanders were considered unanimously by Europeans throughout the nineteenth century as a 'superior race', with an unsurpassed reputation as excellent sailors. The following comments were representative of the popular opinions:

[they] enlist... as sailors; they excel in this... profession, which they consider a noble one.

Through all the South Seas... no men are more noted for bravery than those of this group; so that if there is any reckless expedition or voyage of discovery on hand, the promoter always endeavours to obtain a Loyalty Island crew.

The men, especially those of Mare, make good sailors and boatswain, and are in great request among traders and whalers. As sailors and divers they stand in the foremost rank, even among South Sea Islanders.

Brave, intelligent, trustworthy, there are no natives of the South Seas whom I so much respect.

It was a reputation of which the islanders themselves were justly proud. On meeting a ship's master, Marcans were often heard to say:

2 Erskine, 373-374.
3 Erskine, 381-382.
4 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 126.
5 Erskine, 34.
6 [Jouon], 'The Loyalty Islands', Nautical Magazine, 30 (1861), 402; Shinchang, Sandalwood, 129.
7 RC, MA, (Burns), 22.
8 Garnier, 288.
9 Coote, 154.
11 Thomas, 165.
Sandalwood traders were among the first to appreciate the islanders' maritime skills, and called in to select crews before sailing on to New Caledonia and the New Hebrides where the sandalwood rush was still on, and almost all sandalwood vessels working in the south-west Pacific had Loyalty Islanders among their crews. As early as 1846, one French traveller reported that every English ship he saw in New Caledonian waters had Loyalty Island crew members, and that the masters habitually put into Mare to take on 'a great number' of men as sailors and labourers, as well as women for 'wives' - an indication perhaps that the European fear of the Maore 'cannibals' was not as great as the publicity given to the massacres might suggest. In the 1850s, a typical sandalwood ship's crew was that of Streeter's Neuf Ormeau with three Englishmen, one American, four Tahitians, two Mooris, and thirty-two Lifusans. Henry recruited Loyalty Islanders to sail his vessels and work on his station on Eromanga. Burin's station on Uvea from 1856 to 1861 was a major entrepôt for the sandalwood trade; he selected local crown, sailed to other islands to gather the wood, returned to Uvea where it was prepared, and then sailed with it to China. Three-quarters of the crews on his ships Chestab, Vulture, Coquette, and Adolphus Vares were made up of Loyalty Islanders. Ross Lawin, who was for a time employed by Burns, often enlisted up to 100 islanders at a time to cut and process sandalwood. Burns commented that when they were returned and paid off they were enthusiastic to set sail again. This policy of recruitment continued until the sandalwood

12 Le Chartier, 106. For further comments about Loyalty Islanders being good sailors, see de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Caledonie, 212; Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 2.
13 Garnier, 288; Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 2; de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 18; RC, NE, (Hovell), 68.
14 Charles Pigard, Voyage dans l'Océanie Centrale, Paris, 1846, 90.
15 Saisset to Min., 1 February 1860, MS. 9448, BN.
16 RC, NE, (Henry), 45.
17 Barriol to J., August 1858, IV OHC, APH; RC, NE, (Burns), 20, 22. Burns left Uvea in 1861 after trouble with the French. Captain Dawson took over the station until 1866, see RC, NE, (Dawson), 64, and (Burns), 70.
18 RC, NE, (Burns), 20.
19 RC, NE, (Burns), 21.
trade in the south-west Pacific petered out in the 1860s, but long before it did so, other trading interests centred their attention on the Loyalty Islands and the islanders found themselves in more demand than ever as sailors and labourers.

The sea between New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands forms a migratory channel for whales and sometime during July, August or September, whales were, and still are, plentiful in the bay at Tadine and more especially in Sandalwood Bay. While little is known of the extent of the whaling trade in New Caledonian waters, it was undoubtedly considerable during the season. When Montrouzier arrived at Escho in 1858, he saw an American whaler which had just captured eight or nine whales;20 in 1860, three whalers in the same bay were reported to have captured eight whales in a very short time;21 and in the early 1870s, a French naval captain reported that whalers from Sydney frequented Chopenehe and carried on a 'very lucrative' trade. He saw six whales in Sandalwood Bay, and two were caught by an American vessel which had been there for a month.22 Throughout the 1860s and till 1874, there are numerous references to English, French, and particularly American whalers operating from and around the Loyalty Islands and employing local labour.23

During the whaling season, boiling-down stations were set up along the west coast of Hare in the few sandy coves and at Ro, and on Lifu at Wé, Mu, with the biggest station at Escho - a name meaning 'the fire that smokes'. Present day inhabitants at Escho tell stories passed on by their ancestors about whaling ships in the bay and the activities of the 'many' Europeans at the station. They describe how the ships had two sets of crews so that when one returned, the second crew could leap on board and keep the ship in

20 Montrouzier to his parents, 22 September 1858, Montrouzier Personal File, APM.
23 MacFarlane to Ella, 6 August 1869, Ella Correspondence 5, A206, ML; Moniteur, 2 August, 11 October 1863, 24 October 1869; Flomnier to Jolin, 23 September 1874, IV ONC, APM; RC, ML, (Herriman), 22, 23.
such an operation was essential for the whales in the bay, though plentiful, might stay only for a few days. Laziness traditionally associated with whaling settlements was noticeably absent; life on the stations was pleasant, safe, and European captains sometimes brought their wives to spend the season with them. But by far the greatest number of ships visiting the Loyalty Islands were the commercial traders operating first out of Sydney and then, by the 1860s, out of Noumea on the local New Caledonian, Isle of Pines, and Loyalty Islands run, and on a larger circuit taking in the New Hebrides. Jones kept an invaluable record of all the vessels, their names, type, captain, purpose of the visit, where they came from and their destination, that called at Ro, Netcha, and Tadine from January 1857 until July 1862. During this period, he recorded 139 visits; sometimes there would be three or four ships at one time riding at anchor in the bay at Ro. Lifu and Uvea had a similar number of visits for many of the ships on Jones' list had either come from or were going to these islands. After 1862, the progress of the local shipping can be followed in the Moniteur which, until it ceased publication in 1886, listed the following number of visits by ships out of Noumea to the Loyalty Islands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1863</th>
<th>1864</th>
<th>1865</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1867</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ships</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although these vessels were licensed by the French administration, the great majority were owned by Englishmen. Throughout the nineteenth century, New Caledonian commerce was, in
fact, dominated by English entrepreneurs and of all the ships entering Noumea, less than a quarter were French. 28

The licensed traders had two reasons for calling into the Loyalty Islands: to buy yams, pigs, fowls, and other island produce for the flourishing trade in tropical exports from New Caledonia, 29 and to discharge and sign on new crews for, as one trader explained, the vessels employed were 'principally manned by natives of the [Loyalty] islands, who take service on the understanding that they are to be returned to their own country at some future time'. 30 It was also not 'an uncommon practice for captains (white men) of small craft plying up and down the coast of Nouvelle Calédonie, to take unto themselves Maré or Lifu women for wives'; by all accounts, they too were excellent sailors;

These women are, as a rule, massive, well built, and, notwithstanding a few tattooed lines on their faces, pleasant looking. They know how to splice a rope, and to take the tiller when required; they are most useful to their mates, and behave in a more creditable manner than many of the dusky females from other Pacific Islands do.... South Sea Island women, even if they are ornamental, must be useful; and white men who live with them reckon their value according as they display plenty of "savvy" as well as personal attractiveness. 31

The above list of visits to the Loyalty Islands is far from comprehensive for there were many other vessels, not licensed by the French, which sought island crews and labourers for other areas of the Pacific. These vessels are much harder to track down as their captains, again mostly English, were anxious not to have any contact with the French who were becoming increasingly alarmed at the number of English ships, which they felt were monopolizing trade and, in bypassing Noumea, were hindering the development of the colony. Perhaps more importantly, the French administration thought such traders were influencing the islanders with their 'Englishness',

28 Shipping reports, Moniteur, 1862-1886. See also Coote, 165.
29 See below, 212-213.
30 J.M. [MacGillivray], 'A Look in at Lifu', Empire, 11 April 1864. See also Bernard to ?, 29 June 1858, IV ORG, AP1; Jones, 'Shipping Intelligence', JSH 1845-1876, A399, ML; de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 23.
and were 'illegally' using French subjects. As early as 1855, the French declared that it was forbidden for European traders to land on French territory where there was no resident official, and that all vessels wishing to land had first to sail to Nouméa to get permission and to declare any firearms. 32 Captain Deloey of the Spec told Ella in 1864 how dangerous it was for English ships to visit the Loyalty Islands without permission. 33 Nevertheless, there were numerous clandestine visits throughout the 1860s. Captains such as Fletcher of the James Birnie and William Merriman recruited Loyalty Islanders for bêche-de-mer fishing in the Admiralty Islands and Torres Strait. Merriman had three ships, Telegraph, Notaris, and Blue Bell working full-time on the Sydney, Loyalty Islands, Torres Strait circuit. 34 Burns and other captains took Loyalty Islanders on pearl diving expeditions to the Bûlep Islands. 35 In 1869, when Captain Palmer of the English naval vessel Rosorio inspected the English ship Active, he found on board a crew of 27 men from Mare and Tana engaged to collect coconut oil, sandalwood, and bêche-de-mer. 36 As on the local trading circuit, strong bonds of friendship were often built up between English captains and their Loyalty Island crews. Merriman had a Lifuan as his personal servant and Captain Banner married a Lifu woman and sent their children to school in Sydney. 37 When labour trading for the Queensland plantations began in the New Hebrides in the 1860s, and the Solomon Islands in the 1870s, the Loyalty Islanders were sought after as crews and boat bosses for the recruiting vessels because of their proven sailing abilities, and their long experience in working with, and devotion to, European captains. And they excelled as oarsmen: [they] seem to have a natural gift for pulling; they have a long sweeping stroke, and pull with a dash and vigour that would warm the heart of a Thames waterman, reaching well forward and picking

32 Shineberg, Sandalwood, 123, 265 fn. 10.
33 Ella, 21 September 1864, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
34 Ella, 2-4 June 1874, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML; RC, ME, (Merriman), 23.
35 Ella, 23-27 October 1870, 5 May 1871, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML; RC, ME, (Burns), 20, 21.
36 Palmer to Lambert, 22 March 1869, copy in RC, ME, 3.
37 RC, ME, (Burns), 21, (Merriman), 23.
up their stroke from the start. They have, however, rather the Chinese style of rowing, a side wrench as they feather, which looks awkward at first, but I think the four natives I had in my boat would have seemed creditably in any Thomas rogatta, and in the fearful heat of a South Sea calm would have rather astonished a few very good English amateurs.

Ross Lewis, who always used a 'black crew' when he went ashore to sign on labourers, made a point of calling into the Loyalty Islands on the way, picking up a crew, and then discharging it on the return voyage to Australia. Other captains did the same and the French were most disturbed that 'nearly all' the English recruiting ships they met in New Caledonian and New Hebridean waters had some Loyalty Islanders among their crews.

The policy of recruiting Loyalty Islanders to serve on English trading vessels was well established by the 1860s for there were few English ships working regularly in the south-west Pacific from the 1840s onwards without some Loyalty Islanders on board. It is extremely difficult to give any accurate indication of the number of islanders who sailed with Englishmen. For tasks involving a high labour content, such as cutting and cleaning sandalwood and pearl and bêche-de-mer diving, it was not uncommon for forty or fifty, or even up to 100 islanders at a time to be recruited. Smaller numbers were needed as sailors on the local coastal vessels or for labour recruiting, but given the extent of such contacts over long periods of time, the overall total would have been very considerable. Without doubt, those Loyalty Islanders who sailed around the Pacific would have formed a significant proportion of the population of about 12,500 in the mid-1860s. The missionaries frequently remarked on the islanders' overseas experience. In 1857, the Protestant missionaries reported: 'Many of the young men...

40 Dupond to Courbet, 28 September 1880, CS 1877-1884, carton 86, ANMM.
41 RG, ME, (Burns), 20, 21.
42 Ella mentions crews of 6-10 were often signed on, see Ella, 23-27 October 1870, 2-4 June 1874, Diary 1868-1878, B250, NL.
43 For population figures, see below, chapter 13.
have been away in ships to California, Sydney, and other places;\(^{44}\) and the Marists noted in 1861: 'The passion for travel, to see other countries, to become like Whitemen, to be admired, often takes possession of the young men; and many, leaving their island, are happy to cross the seas.'\(^{45}\)

As well as working on ships, the Loyalty Islanders were recruited to labour in Australia. As early as 1847, Captains Kirropp and Lancaster were ordered to the Loyalty Islands in the Portcictie and Velocity by Benjamin Boyd where they reportedly recruited over seventy young men from Lifu and Uvea.\(^{46}\) Most of them jumped ship at Rotuma and were later returned to their islands by the Arche d'Alliance at the time of the Catholic mission's ill-fated attempt to establish a station on Uvea,\(^{47}\) and by Captain Strachan on the Lumber.\(^{48}\) After Boyd's labour experiment in the 1840s, there was no large-scale organised recruitment of Pacific islanders to labour in Australia until the 1860s, but during this time many Loyalty Islanders made their way independently to Australia as crew on ships and it was common for them to work on the Sydney waterfront. Robert Towns had employed them on his wharves since the early 1840s and Burns was in the habit of bringing them to Sydney.\(^{49}\) Erskine took a young Lifu man to Sydney with him in 1849. George Havannah, as he became known, was, Erskine said:

\[\text{of a gentle and tractable disposition, but had no steady application, although he picked up English without difficulty. On our arrival at Sydney, his great delight was driving about in the butcher's cart, which brought down our fresh provisions each morning, a gratification one could not feel it in one's heart to deny him. On one of his excursions he met a fellow-countryman, a domestic servant at}\]

\(^{44}\) Samoan Reporter, October 1857.

\(^{45}\) Bataillon to Directors of the Société de la Propagation de la Foi, 1 November 1861, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (AFP), 34(1862), 411-412. See also Bourgo to Guillain, 1 June 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, AFO.

\(^{46}\) FitzRoy to Grey, 24 December 1847, CO 201/386.

\(^{47}\) See above, 86-89.

\(^{48}\) Erskine, 342.

\(^{49}\) RC, ME, (Towns), 26, (Burns), 20.
Balmain, a suburb of Sydney, who induced him to leave the ship and take a similar engagement. Having ascertained that the boy was in good hands and perfectly contented, I took no steps to induce him to return, and a year afterwards I was accosted by him in the street, in the dress and with the appearance of a smart footman.

The first Queensland recruiting ships reached the Loyalty Islands in 1865, and until 1874, 39 visits can be documented. The real number is undoubtedly greater than this because of the clandestine nature of recruiting, necessary to escape hostile French attention. Recruiters had to be wary of English warships too and vessels out of Brisbane commonly flew French or American flags to evade possible interception. Recruiting activities in the Loyalty Islands tailed off in the 1870s, not only as a result of French protests to the Australian and British governments, but also because most of those Loyalty Islanders willing and able to go had already left and the Solomon Islands by then provided a far greater source of labour for the recruiters. Those Loyalty Islanders who wanted to leave still had ample opportunity to do so as crews on the recruiting ships and the local commercial vessels, and as labourers for the newly developing mines in New Caledonia.

There is limited information on the number of Loyalty Islanders who worked in Queensland. When the Polynesian Labourers

50 Erskine, 367.
51 Guillain to Min., 30 September 1868, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANOM.
52 This figure is calculated from Guillain to Min., 23 October, 30 September 1868, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANOM; LMS and Metiet missionary letters 1865-1874 in LMS and APH; Palmer to Lambert, 22 March 1869, RC, MB, 1-2; Moniteur, 27 December 1871. The vessels most frequently on the Loyalty Islands run were: Telegraph, Dart, Black Dog, Julia Percy, Edith, Metier, Prima Donna, King Oscar, Isabella, Martha Ellen, Fanny Nicholson, Syren, Spunkie, Active, Lyttone, Sir Isaac Newton, Austral Jacket, Petrel, Napoleon, Caroline.
53 Ella to LMS, 20 June 1874, SSL, LMS; Ella, 23-27 June 1874, Diary 1868-1878, B250, Md.
54 Correspondence in RC, H&ME, 9-11.
56 See below, 198-199.
Act was passed in March 1868, there were reported to be 438 Loyalty Islanders already there.\(^{57}\) From March 1868 until the end of recruiting in the Loyalty Islands in the mid 1870s, another 560 officially came to Queensland.\(^{58}\) The correct figure is probably higher than this as the 1869 Royal Commission on kidnapping was told that 567 Loyalty Islanders were recruited in 1868-1869.\(^{59}\) But even to accept the official total of 998 would mean that some eight or nine percent of all Loyalty Islanders at some time during a ten year period worked in Queensland. Taking into account the possibilities of a larger figure, as well as the number who worked on sandalwood, whaling, and other trading vessels, not forgetting those taken to New Zealand by the Melanesian Mission, some idea can be gained as to the very considerable number of Loyalty Islanders who travelled and worked with Englishmen around the Pacific. 'The young men from the ships', said Jones, 'on board vessels going to Australia and the other parts of the world, pick up English, and they come back; and almost all have gone at one time or another'.\(^{60}\)

ACCUSATIONS of 'slave trading' and 'kidnapping' were common long before recruiting for Queensland began. The New South Wales authorities inquired into the activities of the Velocity and Portcullis at the Loyalty Islands in the 1840s. Lancaster and Kirsopp hotly denied charges of kidnapping and described how the islanders flocked about the ships and how some even swam ten miles out to sea to board them. Kirsopp stressed that the islanders were 'in the habit of trading with Europeans', which was certainly true, and Lancaster explained how he instructed the islanders in the principles of contract labour and their duties in Australia:

\(^{57}\) 'Report from the Immigration Agent on the Working of the Polynesian Act', Queensland: Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly (QVP), 1868-1869, 553.

\(^{58}\) 'South Sea Islanders in Queensland', QVP, IX, 1876, 49. Further information can be found in 'South Sea Islanders', QVP, II, 1878, 39; 'Queensland (South Sea Islanders)', GRPP, 43 (1868-1869) 1010, 1012, 1017; 'South Sea Islanders (Queensland)', GRPP, 48 (1871), 514; 'Queensland (Polynesian Labourers)', GRPP, 50 (1873), 48; 'South Sea Islands', GRPP, 50 (1873), 74-80.

\(^{59}\) RC, Report, 7.

\(^{60}\) Jones in The Christian World, 11 May 1888, Jones news-cuttings, ML.
they would have to work herding Cattle and Sheep for 60 moons. They have no Cattle and Sheep of their own - but three of the Natives were up at Sydney and went back and from them learnt what cattle and sheep were - I could not explain anything about money to them but I told them they would have muskets and powder, Shirts and Trousers and plenty to eat.

Captain Oliver in the Fly made further investigations into rumours of 'kidnapping' in New Caledonian waters in the early 1850s. Though he did not visit Mare or Lifu, he did talk to the chiefs on Uvea and in his report he made no reference to kidnapping there. By the 1860s, the French administration became increasingly hostile to English ships 'illegally' taking away Loyalty Islanders and their anger was increased by their frustration at being powerless to do anything about it. The Commandant on Lifu spent many weary days marching soldiers to those places where he had heard an English ship was taking on young men. Invariably his men arrived exhausted and far too late to do anything beyond firing in the direction of disappearing sails. By 1866, Guillain was writing frequently to his ministers, begging them to take some action against the English ships which, he said, were 'tending to depopulate' the Loyalty Islands. At the same time as these protests were being relayed to Sydney via Paris and London, the LMS missionaries in Sydney and the Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides were becoming vocal about what they felt was 'kidnapping' for the Queensland plantations and the treatment of the islanders as 'unwilling and helpless slaves'. In March 1869, Commander Palmer was dispatched in the Rosario to Noumea with

61 Fitzroy to Grey, 24 December 1874, CO 201/386.
62 Erskine to Oliver, 4 March 1850, Admiralty, PRO, Secretaries' In-Letters 1840-1900, Admiralty 1, 5606, Cap. E60, microfilm, ANL.
63 Oliver, 10 June 1850, Fly letterbook, microfilm, Department of Pacific History, ANU.
64 Guillain to Min., 30 September 1868, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANOM.
65 Guillain to Min., 23 October 1868, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANOM.
66 See 'Enlevement D'Indigènes', CG 1867-1871, carton 86, ANOM.
67 LMS to Granville, 6 April 1869, a printed document on behalf of Protestant missionary societies in the south-west Pacific, in Sleigh Papers, SSO, Box 1, LMS.
instructions to 'make inquiries into the kidnapping of natives at New Caledonia and its Dependencies'. He interviewed Guillain who gave him a list of ships alleged to have taken away Loyalty Islanders and made two complaints: that these islanders had been kidnapped, and that he believed the 'missionaries themselves connive at the traffic'.

All the traders and recruiters who gave evidence to the Royal Commission set up to 'inquire into certain alleged cases of kidnapping of natives of the Loyalty Islands' in 1869, were adamant that force and deception were unnecessary to take away the islanders. Burns testified that they were only too willing to work on his ships and that if he wished he could 'take the whole of the people away'. 'There is no kidnapping about the matter; I never heard the word before in reference to the taking away of these people from their islands'. He added: 'You cannot trade with these people and fight them too'. Andrew Henry and William Herriman both expressed similar opinions. 'I do not think there is any necessity for kidnapping or using any kind of force to obtain these people. They always appeared to be willing to come on board when I was at the islands, and were ready enough to engage with anyone who would treat them well, and return them home at the proper time', said Merrima. Captain Lancelot Dawson declared he could go to the Loyalty Islands 'and get a shipload of them without kidnapping one, because they know me and have confidence in me'; 'It seemed to be a voluntary emigration of these people. They were anxious to go'. The difficulty of deceiving the Loyalty Islanders was explained by James Row who argued that these people had a 'superior knowledge' to other islanders and could understand agreements because of missionary instruction and would argue over and have changes made in unsatisfactory clauses of the contract before signing on. The necessity to be fair and develop friendly personal relationships with the islanders was emphasized by all the traders.

68 Palmer to Lambert, 22 March 1869, RC, ME, 1.
69 RC, Commission, 3.
70 RC, ME, (Burns), 21.
71 RC, ME, (Herriman), 32. See also (Henry), 45.
72 RC, ME, (Dawson), 64, 66.
73 RC, ME, (Row), 72.
and recruiters who gave evidence. Those captains who had bad reputations among the islanders always had difficulties in getting them to sign on. One or two ships sailed from the islands without having recruited a single person, while the next day, the islanders would flock on board another. 74

It could be argued that the recruiters may have made biased statements to the Commission to protect their vested interests, but such a charge could scarcely be levelled at the Loyalty Islands missionaries on this issue. They too were unanimous that the islanders voluntarily sailed away. Creagh wrote: 'There is a great rage, almost a mania, for emigration to Queensland. We have scarcely any yg. men and lads left in the district.' 75 In a later letter he commented that all those who had gone to Australia from Mare and Lifou had 'left of their own free choice'. 76 On seeing his converts rush the recruiting ships, Jones noted with resignation that the 'Captains of vessels are glad to engage them and they are glad to go'. 77 Similar statements were made by the Catholic missionaries: 'There is always a frenzy to leave for Sidney', said Gaide, and added that by the time boys had reached the age of twelve to fifteen they felt they simply had to leave if the opportunity arose. 78 Pionnier explained how the young men appeared happy and contented with their life on Uvea, but as soon as an English recruiting vessel arrived, the urge to travel was so strong, they left without hesitation. 79 Claudius Joly, who acted as the agent for the Catholic missionaries on the Loyalty Islands, told the Commission that 'the natives left willingly - that no compulsion, violence, nor unlawful means were used'. 80 And those Loyalty

---

74 Ella, 2 June 1868, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML.
75 Creagh to LMS, 14 January 1868, SSL, LMS.
76 Creagh to Macdonald, 19 February 1869, in RG, MS, (Macdonald), 36.
77 Jones to LMS, 6 September 1882, SSL, LNS. See also Jones, 'Report of the Mare Institution 1882', SSL, LMS.
78 Gaide to Poupinel, 22 January 1873, IV ONC, APM.
79 Pionnier to Poupinel, 23 November 1873, IV ONC, APM.
80 RG, MS, (Joly), 49.
Islanders interviewed by the Commission all said that their countrymen were 'glad to go in an English ship, and to go to Queensland'. 81

There were suggestions that although the islanders may have left for Queensland of their own free will, they did not understand that they were required to work for three years. They were told in plain language that their services were required for three years; but in their anxiety to go to other lands and see a little of the world, they forgot the length of the term', said Creagh. 82 Yet some time later, he wrote that they left with 'their eyes open' and were well aware of the terms of service, 83 and the general opinion among traders and missionaries was that the islanders knew they would be away for a long time. Missionaries often explained the contracts to the islanders, and stressed the time they were required to work. 84 Also, when the first people to go for three years returned, enthusiasm among their families and friends to go to Queensland themselves was greater than ever.

Another accusation was that chiefs were bribed with goods by unscrupulous recruiters to send off their young men. 85 There is no documentary evidence to support the claim, and present day informants unanimously agree that chiefs never sent young men to Australia against their will. On the contrary, it was hardly in a chief's interest to have his fittest young men away for so long, and there are instances of chiefs complaining that men had disobeyed their instructions and run off to Australia. 86 Chiefs were prepared to allow their men to go on short working cruises around the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, for they knew the men would not be away for long, and were well paid. Whineyey had some of his young men working on the local vessels to earn enough money

---

81 RC, MS, (Fangi), 52. See also (Enowat), 53.
82 Creagh to Macdonald, 19 February 1869, in RC, MS, (Macdonald), 36. See also (Henry), 49.
83 Creagh to LMS, 13 October 1869, SSL, LMS.
84 RC, MS, (Dawson), 64, (Row), 72, Report, 7; Creagh to LMS, 13 October 1869, SSL, LMS.
85 RC, Appendix, (Guillain).
86 Dupinol to Courbet, 28 September 1880, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, AHOM.
for him to buy a whale boat, and according to informants, such a practice was common enough. The chiefs sometimes sailed themselves. Maisiline went on a labour recruiting cruise to the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands on the Rosewind, sometime in the 1870s.

The Royal Commission concluded that the Loyalty Islanders had a 'migratory disposition' and that, although there may have been isolated cases of unfair recruiting, Guillain's accusation that force and deception were used to recruit the islanders could not be upheld.

... the strongest desire is manifested by the natives, both of the Loyalty and New Hebrides Groups, to leave their homes, either to serve on board English ships, or to labour on the plantations of Queensland; and that any attempt to kidnap them would be not only unnecessary, but most impolitic, and even dangerous.

With regard to the Loyalty Islanders, there is no reason to doubt this conclusion, and even the French, some years later, made similar statements. It is worth emphasizing that for over twenty years before the Queensland labour trade began, Loyalty Islanders had been in the habit of signing contracts, travelling and working on European ships, and working in Australia. They were by no means the poor, ignorant savages intimidated or duped into slavery by

87 Ella, 2-4 June 1874, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML.
88 Dupénil to Courbet, 28 September 1880, CG 1877-1894, carton 86, ANOM.
89 RC, Report, 6, 7, 8.
90 RC, Report, 5.
91 Dupénil to Courbet, 28 September 1880, CG 1877-1894, carton 86, ANOM. Conflict between the English and French authorities over the labour trade on the Loyalty Islands was not brought to an end by the Commission's report. In 1870 it was the turn of the English to protest when the Lifu commandant, Pallières, tried to charge Captain Winship of the Lytton £86 tax for the Lifusans he was repatriating. Winship landed the men and left hurriedly, pursued by French soldiers in a boat. In reply to English complaints, Guillain declared that the commandant had no right to impose such a tax and that he had been recalled. But Guillain stressed that under a law of the 16 June 1839, captains were not permitted to land on French territories where there was no permanent French authority, unless they had permission from Noumea. Correspondence on the issue is in letters addressed to the Governor of Queensland, Gov/A3, 527-731, passim, Queensland State Archives, Brisbane.
unscrupulous whitemen, as portrayed in much of the missionary anti-
labour trade propaganda.

GUILLAIN'S second complaint, that both Catholic and Protestant
missionaries tolerated and even assisted the labour recruiters, 92
needs some explanation. The Catholic missionaries were very much
opposed to the young men leaving the islands and did what they could
to persuade them to stay, not so much to protect the islanders' interests, but because the church was suffering numerically and
economically by the departure of so many of the young men. In 1872,
Gaide suggested that he may as well leave Lifu because so many
Catholics had emigrated to Australia, 93 and Pionnier, in 1874,
angrily complained that at services in his church at St Joseph there
were only women and old men where previously the church had always
been full to overflowing with people of all ages. 94 The Catholic
missionaries' opposition to emigration was heightened because their
converts were going to an English country where Protestantism prevailed. Yet they made no protests to the French administration,
first because they were well aware that the islanders left voluntarily, and second, because they had no wish, and indeed were
forbidden, to communicate with an administration they believed was
so hostile to them. Rougeyron warned the missionaries in 1867:
'do not ask the Lifu commandant for help, and certainly not the
Governor - for we are in badly with him. He receives all the letters
sent to his local administrators and uses them cleverly to turn the
[Paris Government] Ministry against us'; it was a warning he was to
repeat several times. 95

Palmer, who interviewed Guilla1n, was particularly puzzled
by his accusation that the LMS missionaries were party to the
'traffic', for Palmer was aware of the complaints about 'kidnapping'
by the Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides and it seemed
to him 'inconceivable that their brethren in the Loyalty Group

92 Palmer to Lambert, 22 March 1869, RC, NII, 1.
93 Gaide, Rapport 1871-1872, 20 November 1872, N.C. Rapports
I, III ONC, APM.
94 Pionnier to Poupinval, 5 February 1874, IV ONC, APM.
95 Rougeyron to 'administration', 14 April 1867, PCD.
should entertain opposite opinions'. The protests against the labour trade in the New Hebrides by the Protestant missionaries do contrast with the attitudes of the Protestant missionaries in the Loyalty Islands for, like the Catholic missionaries, not once did they make official complaints to anyone. Nevertheless, they were opposed to the emigration and noted with dismay their diminishing resources of manpower. In 1868, Creagh felt that unless something was done to stop the 'manoe' for emigration the population of Vae would 'be destroyed'. Women whose husbands had sailed away often took other men and the 'disputes and quarrels' when the men returned sorely troubled the Protestant missionaries. They did what they could to persuade their converts not to leave and in some cases they advised a chief to appoint 'policemen' in an attempt to hold the young men back, but to little avail. The missionaries had to accept the hard fact that the people wanted to go and there was nothing they could do about it. Instead, they tried to make the best of the situation by explaining written contracts and attempting to make sure that the terms were fair. Also the LMS missionaries consoled themselves with the knowledge that their converts were sailing to an English Christian country where they would not lose touch with the church and where it was possible, the missionaries thought, for them to profit morally and socially from contact with 'civilization'. Isolated themselves from 'civilization', these missionaries tended to idealize Australia and were either ignorant of, or overlooked, the realities of colonial life. Jones praised the 'liberty enjoyed under English rule' his converts would find in Australia.

Underlying such rationalizations was the LMS missionaries' attitude to Guillain and his French administration. No matter what reservations the missionaries might have had about the labour trade in the Loyalty Islands, it would have been inconceivable for them to have complained about the activities of fellow Englishmen,

96 Palmer to Lambert, 22 March 1869, RC, ME, 2.
97 Creagh to LMS, 14 January 1868, SSL, LMS.
98 RC, ME, (Steel), 64, (Sunderland), 63.
99 RC, ME, (Henry), 47.
100 RC, ME, (Row), 72.
101 Jones to LMS, 6 September 1882, SSL, LMS.
given Guillain's intense dislike of English influences close to New Caledonia. The missionaries had no intention of giving him the slightest justification for taking any further action to inhibit the expansion of English religious or commercial interests. The French attitude, therefore, had a unifying effect upon most Englishmen of disparate occupations on or around New Caledonia, and consolidated the already friendly economic ties between the LMS missionaries on the Loyalty Islands and English traders of all kinds. Not only were the missionaries dependent upon these men for their own supplies and mail, but the prosperity of the mission depended upon the extent of trade with the islanders. Ella frequently dined with masters of recruiting vessels, for, contrary to opinions frequently expressed by missionaries elsewhere in the Pacific, they were not all drunken, godless fellows. In the Loyalty Islands their company as Englishmen was much appreciated by a missionary and his wife. One of the rare complaints of ill-feeling by a missionary towards a trader was when Andrew Henry was shipwrecked on Lifou and stayed with the MacFarlanes; but this ill-feeling was not a result of Henry's recruiting activities in the Loyalty Islands but because Geddie in the New Hebrides had written to MacFarlane alleging that Henry had been 'kidnapping' there. The friendship between missionaries and traders worked two ways. Good relations with the missionary eased the traders' task in dealing with the islanders; also traders took young men, usually the sons of chiefs, to Sydney where they would be shown theatres, railways, factories, and other wonders so that on their return they were 'regarded as great men'. Such a policy was said to promote 'a friendly feeling towards the traders'. And it was a policy that benefited the missionaries too. One of Jones' converts, Josia, who was later to teach in New Guinea, wanted to go to Sydney; 'A generous owner of one of the sandal-wood vessels - Mr Henry, of

102 See below, 218-219.
104 RG, NE, (Henry), 48.
105 RG, NE, (King), 12-13.
Eronenga - ... very kindly gave him a free passage up [to Sydney], explained Jones, 'Thus we managed to give Josaia a peep at civilization without much expense.'

The Protestant missionaries, therefore, did not make complaints about 'kidnapping' because they did not consider labour recruiting as practised in the Loyalty Islands to be so, and because any complaints to the French or the English authorities would have been directed against Englishmen upon whom the missionaries depended and who were, as Englishmen, considered superior to Frenchmen. Any protests would have been contradictory to their interests and very possibly self-defeating given their political situation vis-à-vis the French administration. The success of Protestant missionary propaganda against the labour trade has not only been responsible for the commonly accepted sweeping, and emotional generalizations as to the nature of the trade, but has encouraged the notion that all Protestant missionaries were vehemently and unanimously opposed to recruiting which they labelled 'kidnapping' and 'slave trading'. But in the Loyalty Islands, Protestant missionaries' opinions about the labour trade derived not from preconceived or popular ideas, but from the circumstances of their island existence and the nature of the trade as they saw it.

One of the most common reasons for Loyalty Islanders working on English ships or in Australia was their love of travel and new experiences. When Erskine visited the Loyalty Islands in 1849, he was struck by the islanders' 'love of wandering, for which they seem to be distinguished', and surrounded by people imploring him to take them to Sydney 'which word generally implies with all these islanders the country of the English strangers'. The 'great disposition on the part of these men to travel' impressed Captain Dawson, and Burns spoke of the 'great spirit of enterprise and adventure among them'. The islanders, he said, 'are full of adventure, and like to be able to go about where they please - they

107 Erskine, 342, 366.
108 RC, NE, (Dawson), 66.
do not like to be kept at home'. Travellers, missionaries, and French administrators all emphasized the islanders’ enthusiasm for travel - 'to nourish an inborn taste for sailing and the spirit of curiosity to see, to understand new things that they find in other people’s countries'.

Associated with the excitement of voyages, were the opportunities for material gain - to 'better their condition'. Robert Steel explained: 'The more enlightened the men are, the more willing they are to leave their houses for the purposes of working and obtaining the reward of their labour'.

According to Captain Rees, the islanders wanted to go to Queensland, or anywhere, - that they did not wish to stop any longer at the Loyalty Islands, but to go and get clothes and money. A French settler on Maré explained that the people living in the inland villages were among the keenest to go overseas because they had gained least material advantage from the coastal shipping. And overseas trips were profitable, for the islanders proudly returned with large quantities of the goods they most wanted - tools, cloth, and tobacco. An English captain who returned two Lifu women (each carrying a half-caste child) after two years working for Europeans, was amazed at all their goods which half filled his boat and which 'in variety as well as quantity would have enabled these coloured ladies to set up a small store if so inclined'.

Friends of those returning with such European riches were inspired to travel themselves, for there was excitement, experience, profit and prestige to be gained.

109 KG, HE, (Burns), 20.
110 Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN; See also KG, HE, (Joly), 49, (Row), 72; Coote, 154; Jones to LNS, 6 September 1882, SIR, LNS; Darriol to J, August 1858, IV GNC, APH; Dupé to Coucher, 29 September 1889, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, AROH.
111 KG, HE, (Joly), 49.
112 KG, HE, (Steel), 44.
113 KG, HE, (Rees), 50. See also (Hovell), 69, (Palmer), 10.
114 Constant to Guillauton, 15 January 1868, enclosed in Guillaut to Min., 30 September 1868, CG 1867-1871, carton 86, AROH.
115 See below, Chapter Nine, 209-216, passim.
116 J.M. [MacGillivray], 'A Look in at Lifu', Empire, 11 April 1864.
from working for Englishmen. Parents had to prevent their youngest boys from trying to go on board vessels recruiting labour.\textsuperscript{117} It was common practice for many people to sail again and again on the local ships, and some spent most of their lives doing so, and there were a few individuals who went to Queensland more than once.\textsuperscript{118} Although many labourers in Queensland were only too eager to return to their homes,\textsuperscript{119} it was common for others to make their way to Sydney where they worked on the wharves or were hired as crews for the recruiting vessels travelling to the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands.\textsuperscript{120} Large numbers of Loyalty Islanders remained permanently in Australia to take advantage of the material and other opportunities. Of the 998 labourers who officially worked in Queensland, 541 had been returned by 1878,\textsuperscript{121} and while there are no figures for the period after this, it was commonly acknowledged in the Loyalty Islands that many of the remaining 457 did not wish to return because of the attractions in Australia.\textsuperscript{122} Another motive for travel was noticeable during the period of French corvées on Lifou from 1864 to 1870. So much did some islanders dislike labouring for the French without pay and food that they made a rush for any English vessels which were looking for men. Some islanders begged captains to sign them on: 'The poor creatures', said MacFarlane, 'were only too glad to get away.'\textsuperscript{123}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{117} Guide to Poupineau, 27 January 1873, IV OHC, APN.
\footnote{118} RC, NR, (Rees), 51.
\footnote{119} RC, NE, (Sunderland), 59-60.
\footnote{120} RC, MB, (Henry), 47, 48, (Hebbleswhite and his son), 24-25, (King), 12-13, (Watongami), 52, (Pangii), 52.
\footnote{121} 'South Sea Islanders in Queensland', QVP, III, 1876, 49; 'South Sea Islanders (Statistics to 31 March 1878)', QVP, II, 1878, 39.
\footnote{122} Creagh to LMS, 14 January 1868; and Jones to LMS, 6 September 1882, SSL, LMS; Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AAN. One Lifuan, Sigges, married an English woman in a Roman Catholic church, and later had four children. He rented land to grow sugar cane. Although he had a ticket for his return to Lifou, he wished to stay on in Australia and asked the government for a 100 acre farm, see 'Sugar Industry Royal Commission', QVP, II, 1906, 23. I am grateful to Peter Corris for this reference.
\footnote{123} MacFarlane to Ella, 11 June 1867, Ella Correspondence 5, A206, NL.
\end{footnotes}
Albert Hovell, a trader who had 'been often' to the Loyalty Islands, told the Royal Commission:

The natives go away of their own accord, to Queensland... I think, partly to avoid being employed by the French. They do not like the French - they prefer the English, or the white, as they call us. I have heard the traders say that the French have sentries around the island, and that the natives make fires at night as signals to the vessels when they send their boats on shore and bring off the natives. 124

This statement was supported by other traders who gave evidence and also by missionaries on the Loyalty Islands. 125 Although the corvées applied only to Lifou, Mare and Uvea had their domestic upheavals which caused people to leave. When a ship landed an Uvean crew at Wadrella in 1872, many of them immediately signed on again as soon as they heard about the fighting. 126 Later, after the defeat of the Protestants at Payave in 1874, Ella was told that Whenehay and 'all his young men were going off in an American vessel'. Though only ten of the men did leave, Ella reported that the others were itching for another chance to sail away. 127 But it should also be mentioned that the fighting could prevent men from leaving.

Charles Bridget told Lancaster in 1877 that due to the outbreak of war in Losi, he would get no more islanders because the chiefs needed every available man to fight; 128 and after their return to Mare in 1875, the Catholic chiefs did all they could to prevent their young men from leaving so that they might help defend their padohu against Naishline.

Animosities between former enemies were seldom apparent in ships or in Australia. Present day informants describe how Protestants and Catholics shook hands and were the best of friends once they had signed on to work for Englishmen, although as soon as

124 RC, ME, (Hovell), 68.
125 RC, MR, (Palmer), 9, (Row), 72; Fabvre, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.
126 Sleigh to Ella, 20 May 1872, Ella Correspondence 7, A208, NL.
127 Ella to LMS, 20 June 1874, SSL, LMS. 'All' the men apparently did not leave.
128 FitzRoy to Grey, 24 December 1876, CO 201/386.
129 Beaulieu to ?, 12 January 1876, IV ONC, APM.
they were returned and heard the latest news of the fighting, there were sometimes brawls amongst workmates even before they left the beach. 130

At various times during the contact period, Europeans believed that starvation forced the islanders to leave. When he was collecting workers in 1847, Kirsopp explained: 'The scarcity of provisions at Lee Foo is such that half the People of the Island would come if I would take them'; 131 Wheregay was always 'bothering' Burns to remove him and his people to another country 'because their island was a poor one' and, according to Burns, they offered him 100 tons of coconut oil if he would do so. 'The people', he said, 'are at times greatly distressed for food'. Together with James Paddon, he was toying with the idea of removing the entire Uvean population to Queensland. 132 On the other hand, both Palmer and Hovell stated categorically that in their opinion the islanders did not leave for Australia because of any scarcity of food. 133

The available evidence seems to suggest that hunger may have been a reason why some men went overseas, but it is most unlikely it was ever a general motive. Food shortages were infrequent and usually of short duration, and there is no indication of periods of actual starvation. Furthermore, islanders flocked on board ships at all times, even the most prosperous, and one must be wary of European judgements as to the wretchedness of the islanders' diet; yams and coconuts were usually considered by visiting Europeans to be more suitable for pigs than humans.

Island conditions, while driving away some men at certain times, were not a major reason for the majority of islanders leaving their homes. They began travelling in the 1840s and did so well into the twentieth century, and domestic troubles were not of sufficient and continuous intensity to force people away for such

130 There is no documentary evidence for such fighting and the stories about it are possibly apocryphal. It does seem likely, however, that both Catholics and Protestants signed on together.
131 FitzRoy to Grey, 24 December 1847, CO 201/386.
132 RC, ME, (Burns), 21, 22.
133 RC, ME, (Palmer), 10, (Hovell), 69.
length of time. Most islanders viewed the prospect of overseas travel as a possible enrichment of their lives, not as a refuge from any island tensions. 134

The French opposition to the English labour recruiting was understandable enough; they felt that French subjects were being taken away illegally and with impunity. It was an insult to French pride and authority, and a similar reaction on the part of English governments if French vessels had recruited labour from the coasts of Australia, New Zealand or Fiji can easily be imagined. Nor, as Palmer explained, was the French opposition attributable to 'motives of humanity'. 135 They were eager to recruit labour for themselves and had an active policy of supplying island workers to New Caledonian capitalists. 136 Henry worked for the French administration bringing labourers from the New Hebrides to New Caledonia in return for free sandalwood. Henry did not recruit Loyalty Islanders, 137 although Albert Hovell tried to recruit them for the French, without much success, in the late 1850s. 138 They were loth to work on any French vessels and to labour in New Caledonia: 'They prefer going in English ships to any other employment' said Henry. 139 Joly explained: 'The reason they give for the preference is, there is nothing now to attract them in New Caledonia - that the island is like their own; and that they will have to work very hard, and receive very little pay and very little food.' 140 Whenever a French vessel called to collect labourers or sailors it usually left empty,

---

134 The Loyalty Islanders' motives for travelling discussed here are similar to the reasons why the Solomon Islanders signed on for work in Queensland. However, one motive attributed to the Solomon Islanders - 'pressures within their own society' - appears to have had far less relevance to the Loyalty Islanders. See Corris, 131-133, and chapter III passim.

135 RC, ME, (Palmer), 9.
136 Palmer to Lambert, 22 March 1869, RC, ME, 2-3; RC, ME, (Henry), 45.
137 RC, ME, (Henry), 45.
138 RC, ME, (Hovell), 68.
139 RC, ME, (Henry), 45.
140 RC, ME, (Joly), 49.
much to the fury of the French who knew that the same people were eager to sail with Englishmen. 141

By the end of the 1870s, the Loyalty Islanders became more willing to work for the French, even at times enthusiastic. Their change in attitude can be explained by the tailing off of labour recruiting for Queensland and by the development of gold, chrome, and nickel mining in New Caledonia in the late 1870s and 1880s. 142

The European population increased from 420 in 1862 to 8,000 in 1886, and 10,000 by 1896. 143 Along with the attraction of labouring for wages in the mines, Noumea was transformed from a deadend outpost to a thriving colonial town with the usual entertainments, or as the Protestant missionaries would have it: a 'cesspool of vice and debauchery'. 144 Money, goods, and other European novelties were now readily available close to the Loyalty Islands. In 1862 when Dellon made a trip to the islands to recruit labourers for the mines, he was delighted with the results; 145 Creagh spoke of the young men rushing off to the mines in the mid-1880s, and by 1893 some 300 Lifuans were working in New Caledonia. 146 In the 1890s, the missionaries used phrases that echoed their comments about emigration to Australia years beforehand; once again they spoke of a 'craze for migration'. 'A very large proportion of young men' were in New Caledonia and whenever a missionary went to Noumea he could not go out of doors without meeting some of his converts. 147

In 1906 there were 386 Loyalty Islanders in New Caledonia and 405 in 1911. 148 It was estimated that in 1911, 600 Lifuans were away — working in New Caledonia and on ships. 150

Salins, a French official, reported in 1884 that the Loyalty Islands formed a veritable 'nursery' for workers, and so

141 Ella, 2–4 September 1871, Diary 1868–1878, H250, NL.
142 Le Borgne, 239–268.
143 Le Borgne, 141.
144 Hadfield, Lifu report, 29 December 1894, SSR, LMS.
145 Dellon to Beaulieu, 10 October 1882, AAN.
146 Creagh to LMS, 16 January 1886, SSL, LMS.
147 Messager des Loyalty, 28 August 1893.
148 Creagh to LMS, 6 May 1898, 28 July 1899, SSL, LMS.
149 L'Océanie Française, September 1911.
150 Sarasin, 268.
Impressed was he with the islanders' apparent eagerness to work for the French that he suggested that they could very well form a 'native corps' to help the French put down possible insurrections in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides; when Le Chartier called into Hare to choose four sailors to help with government recruiting in the New Hebrides, fifty islanders scrambled to be selected; the governor wrote in 1891 that the Loyalty Islanders were 'passionate sailors' and made up 'almost all the crews of our numerous steam and sail coastal vessels'. This reputation and occupation lasted well into the twentieth century.

Finally, it is necessary to mention those Europeans, apart from the missionaries, who lived for some time on the Loyalty Islands. William Barlow and William Jones escaped from the Norfolk Island convict settlement and spent 1843 and 1844 on Hare; Charles George Bridget, better known as 'Cannibal Charley', deserted his ship in 1842 and for the rest of the decade lived on Lifou and Hare, going about naked with long blond hair; a Mr Edwards was shipwrecked on Uvea in 1849 and spent several months there; the same year, the crews of the wrecked Sarah and Castlereagh built themselves a camp at Chichenche and waited some six months before being taken off by another vessel; John Jones from London found a sensual paradise, according to the missionaries, cavorting with the Uveans in the mid-1850s; and in 1860, MacFarlane came across enemies he thought even worse than the priests - eight or nine runaway whalers...
who were paying for the delights of Lifu with tobacco. In the early 1870s, several Loyalty Islanders working in Queensland married and brought back with them young Brisbane women, labelled 'prostitutes' by the Queensland government. One lived at Niu for some time but she, and five others whose names are documented, became disenchanted with island life and were last heard of living in Nounoua. There were other less colourful characters including one or two retired soldiers and sandalwood traders who lived quiet lives amongst the islanders. The majority of Europeans, however, were the resident traders. Apart from Burns on Uvea in the 1850s, there were three Englishmen, William Underwood, Joseph Andrews, and Don Carter, who traded at Payawe and St Joseph, and two Frenchmen, Chevallier and Libois, who had their depot at Waika, in the 1860s and 1870s. The resident traders on Niu grouped themselves at Niu and Butche. A Frenchman, Constant, was there before 1868 and during the 1870s there arrived the Englishmen James Robertson, Joseph Booth, Jack Vora (?), Mr and Mrs Carter, Dirty Jerry Imber 'the beachcomber, doctor and storekeeper of the district', as well as the wife and children of Fitzgerald, the sandalwood trader from the Isle of Pines, who settled at La Roche. Some time in the 1860s, William Diapea, or as he is better known, Cannibal Jack, arrived on Niu from Fiji with

159 MacFarlane to LNS, 16 October 1860, SSL, LNS.
160 Mary Ann; Anne Bradley; Harriet Charlsworth; Harisac Charlsworth; Ellen Foulcs. See Gray to Colonial Secretary, 12 May 1874, Gov/A7, 251-253, Queensland State Archives; Beaulieu to Fraysse, 24 November 1877, PCD; Sleigh to Ella, 12 April 1872, Ella Correspondence 7, A208, ML.
161 Febvre to Poupinel, 20 November 1859, VMA; Jones to 'My dear friends', 16 May 1856, JNF 1849-1876, A399, ML.
162 Oral evidence collected at Nuii, Payawe, and St Joseph. Underwood was a prominent sandalwood trader, see Shineberg, Sandalwood, passim.
163 Pallières to Ouahé, 16 November 1869, AAN; Sleigh to Ella, 6 August, 5 September 1873, Ella Correspondence 4, A205, ML.
164 Beaulieu to Fraysse, 24 November 1877, PCD; Gaide, 18 February 1881, Diary PCD; Goujon, 'La Mission de Marie', N.C. La Loyalty, III CNC, APH; James Hadfield, introduction to William Diapea, Cannibal Jack, London, 1928, xi; Jones to LNS, 26 February 1879, SSL, LNS; Luguibre to Beaulieu, n.d., PCD.
Joseph Streeter in a stolen cutter, had considerable experience in this part of the world as he could speak the four languages of the Loyalty Islands. On Lifou, one of the first resident traders was Frank Hayes, an Irish Catholic, who lived at Eago before 1858 and married the local clan chief's daughter. Many years later, Hadfield met Hayes and described him as 'one of the cleverest raconteurs... He had heaps of stories in his repertoire, chiefly of whaling expeditions and cannibal feasts which he had attended'.

Mr and Mrs Hennessy settled at Chepenhe in 1861 and their daughter Mary married Wainya and had two sons. The Hennessseys were joined by three French colonists, Charbonnel, Bingesser, and Costan, along with John Seigfreid, and, in the mid-1870s, by F. Rouset and James Wright. Wright married one of Wainya's daughters and had thirteen children of whom five girls married other chiefs; Wright lived grandly as storekeeper and patriarch. Luengoni and Mu were the homes for a number of English settlers from the 1860s: James Earl Markham, Joseph Streeter, William Forrest, J.F. Reed,

---

166 Beaulieu to Fraysse, 24 November 1877, PCD.
167 Beaulieu to Fraysse, 24 November 1877, PCD; Garnier, 292; Sleigh to Ella, 12 April 1872, Ella Correspondence 7, A208, ML.
168 Beaulieu to Fraysse, 24 November 1877, PCD; Garnier, 292; Sleigh to Ella, 12 April 1872, Ella Correspondence 7, A208, ML.
169 Bourgey to Guillon, 1 June 1864, enclosed in Guillon to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; 'Procès-Verbal d'Information', December 1865, enclosed in Guillon to Min., 31 January 1866, CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM; MacFarlane to Ella, 1 November 1865, Ella Correspondence 6, A207, ML; Moniteur, 9 June 1875; Treve to Guillon, 17 September 1864, enclosed in Guillon to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
170 Sarasin, 269.
and Alexander Wilson, most of whom married into local society.\footnote{171}

Not all the names of the European resident traders have been traced, especially those who stayed for short periods; seven such Englishmen were reported to be living at \('english Bay\').\footnote{172} In 1860, one visitor counted eleven Europeans in addition to the missionaries\footnote{173} and by 1866 the total number was put at thirty-eight, consisting of eleven Frenchmen, twenty-six Englishmen, and one German.\footnote{174} Sixty-three Europeans were listed in 1870: thirteen Frenchmen, thirty-nine Englishmen, two Swiss, and nine Americans.\footnote{175} But these numbers were far from stable. Cyclones, crop and market failures, and competition sometimes saw all but the hardest traders leaving the islands\footnote{176} and at the end of the century only the well established settlers were allowed to remain when the French closed the islands to European settlement and declared them a 'Native Reserve'.\footnote{177}

Those resident traders who integrated with the islanders played an important social and economic role in their society. They brought considerable wealth to the islands not only through their store-keeping but also because many of them, notably Carter, Booth, Wilson, Streeter, Forrest, and Robertson owned or chartered many of the local trading vessels,\footnote{178} thus encouraging commerce between the

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item[171] Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; James Hadfield, introduction to Diapea, Lemibal Jack, xxI. Information was also gained from Professor Guirart in Paris, Loyalty Islanders, and tombstones at Luongoni and Hu. All the Englishmen who settled on Lifou are well known to present day Lifuans, and their fair-skinned, often blue-eyed descendants, bearing the same surnames, are very proud of their partly English ancestry.
\item[172] Goubin to ?, 21 September 1878, AMO, 5(1885), 130.
\item[173] Ashwell, 5.
\item[174] 'Tableau de la population', 1 July 1866, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 6 August 1866, Renseignements statistiques, carton 28, ANOM.
\item[175] Census, 15 June 1870, Renseignements statistiques, carton 28, ANOM.
\item[176] Jones to LMS, 18 August 1886; and Hadfield to LMS, 27 November 1888, 3 August 1889, SSL, LMS.
\item[177] Gallet to Director of the Interior, 29 November 1885, CO 1885, carton 85, ANOM; Sarasin, 223.
\item[178] Shipping reports, Moniteur, 1862-1886.
\end{itemize}
and Alexander Wilson, most of whom married into local society. 171

Not all the names of the European resident traders have been traced, especially those who stayed for short periods; seven such Englishmen were reported to be living at We which became known as 'English Bay'. 172 In 1860, one visitor counted eleven Europeans in addition to the missionaries 173 and by 1866 the total number was put at thirty-eight, consisting of eleven Frenchmen, twenty-six Englishmen, and one German. 174 Sixty-three Europeans were listed in 1870: thirteen Frenchmen, thirty-nine Englishmen, two Swiss, and nine Americans. 175 But these numbers were far from stable. Cyclones, crop and market failures, and competition sometimes saw all but the hardiest traders leaving the islands 176 and at the end of the century only the well established settlers were allowed to remain when the French closed the islands to European settlement and declared them a 'Native Reserve'. 177

Those resident traders who integrated with the islanders played an important social and economic role in their society. They brought considerable wealth to the islands not only through their store-keeping but also because many of them, notably Carter, Booth, Wilson, Streeter, Forrest, and Robertson owned or chartered many of the local trading vessels, 178 thus encouraging commerce between the

171 Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; James Hadfield, introduction to Diapæa, Cannibal Jack, xxii. Information v. s. also gained from Professor Guiart in Paris, Loyalty Islanders, and tombs at Luengoni and Mu. All the Englishmen who settled on Lifou are well known to present day Lifuans, and their fair-skinned, often blue-eyed descendants, bearing the same surnames, are very proud of their part-English ancestry.

172 Goubin to ?, 21 September 1878, ANO, 5(1885), 130.
173 Ashwell, 5.
174 'Tableau de la population', 1 July 1866, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 6 August 1866, Renseignements statistiques, carton 28, ANOM.
175 Census, 15 June 1870, Renseignements statistiques, carton 28, ANOM.
176 Jones to LMS, 18 August 1886; and Hadfield to LMS, 27 November 1888, 3 August 1889, SSL, LMS.
177 Gallet to Director of the Interior, 29 November 1885, GG 1885, carton 85, ANOM; Sarasin, 223.
178 Shipping reports, Moniteur, 1852-1886.
islanders and European trading interests in Noumea, and their integration and intermarriage into the local society was a source of great pride and prestige for the islanders who had, and cherished, the reputation of accommodating and assimilating overseas strangers. It seems likely that the Loyalty Islanders accepted these nineteenth century Europeans in much the same manner, and for similar reasons, as they accepted the seventeenth and eighteenth century strangers from Polynesia.

Because so much of the contact history of the Loyalty Islands is concerned with religious, national, and indigenous political conflicts, and because the islands are small, harbourless, lacking water, and unsuitable for large-scale European agriculture and settlement, it is easy enough to overlook a major aspect of the Islands' contact history - the variety and extent of European trading contacts with the Loyalty Islanders from 1841, and the islanders' undying enthusiasm for travelling and working overseas on their islands, and especially on ships and in other countries, large numbers of them had experience in living and working with Europeans, particularly Englishmen, and were in a position to be well acquainted with their material culture and commercial activities, and their ideas.
Chapter Nine

Commerce

The Loyalty Islanders' pre-European patterns of trade among the three islands, the Isle of Pines, and New Caledonia came to an end in the 1840s for the influx of European shipping into New Caledonian waters instantly created opportunities for new items and systems of trade. Even the most sleazy sandalwood cutter was an argosy laden with new and exciting riches for the islanders. Initially, they responded most enthusiastically to those items which were more efficient, novel, and convenient substitutes for their own material culture. Glass beads, especially large blue ones, quickly became their 'chief ornaments', complementing, and often replacing their shell and jade necklaces imported from the Isle of Pines and southern New Caledonia. Some islanders abandoned bleaching their hair with lime in favour of sprinkling it with paper shavings. Similarly, abandoning their tortoise and sea-shell fish-hooks, they crowded around the first missionaries 'like bees; a yam in one hand, holding on by the boat with the other, and clamorous for fish-hooks'. The thousands of fish-hooks sold and given away by sandalwood traders and missionaries very quickly made the islanders' own hooks obsolete, not because metal hooks were necessarily better for catching fish, but because the islanders no longer had to spend hours constructing them out of obdurate materials. Emma Hadfield explained:

Fish-hooks were cut from pearl or tortoise shell. They were beautifully pointed and curved, but never barbed, and they varied in size and shape. In examining these exquisite hooks - some of them a quarter of an inch in diameter - one marvels

1 See above, 6.
2 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 131; Ella to his wife, 9 December 1864, Ella Correspondence 3, A204, ML.
3 Ella to his wife, 9 December 1864, Ella Correspondence 3, A204, ML.
4 Turner, 422.
5 Jones, 4 November 1856, Journal, JNP 1845-1876, A399, ML; Sleigh to LMS (for an order for 1000 fish-hooks), 30 November 1863, SSL, LMS. See also Shineberg, Sandalwood, 148.
that the men, with their big clumsy fingers and without the aid of any carving tools save the bits of sharp stone or rock they used, could do such delicate work. The making of these hooks certainly involved a great amount of patience and labour; and one cannot wonder that the native-made fish-hooks have long been superseded by the European variety. I doubt whether one specimen of the shell fish-hook has been seen on the island for a great number of years, with the exception of those in my own collection.

The islanders also prized glass bottles but did not use them as containers; instead, they broke them and used the pieces as cutting instruments. Shaving was at once revolutionized when the comfort of a sharp edge replaced the painful plucking of whiskers with shells. Any metal, and especially hoop-iron and nails, was "of the highest value", and most metal items were beaten and sharpened into a tool edge. Within a year or two, more sophisticated European tools like knives, scissors, saws, files, and tomahawks were in demand. Most of these articles were adapted for use in the islanders' own way. Chisels, for example, were lashed to wooden handles and used as adzes, and scissors were pulled apart and used like a knife, or for poking holes.

The sandalwood tree, which had hitherto been useless for the islanders, was the main item of exchange, but the islanders quickly realized that they also had unexpected wealth in coconuts, yams, and other local produce.

Our decks [wrote Cheyne] swarming with Natives during the day, and no possibility of keeping them out of the ship. they bring us daily a plentiful supply of coconuts and yams, which they dispose of for more trifles, our prices are as follows. One fowl for 1 glass bottle, or one piece of Iron Hoop - or one large fish hook - one coconut for 2 very small glass beads - 1 yam for one large blue glass bead - or one small fishhook - one bunch of sweet potatoes for 1 large head, one bunch of Bananas for one empty bottle, Sugar cane for small beads.

6 Hadfield, 83.
7 Jones, 9 April, 4 November 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
8 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 128.
9 'The Massacre at Hawee', Nautical Magazine, 13(1844), 609.
10 Creagh to LMS, March 1856, SSI, LMS; Jones, 16 June 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
11 Jones, 1 April 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
12 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 116.
At the beginning, trading between Europeans and loyaltylanders was not a one-sided, European conducted arrangement; in fact, the intruders usually held the advantage. They had the superiority of numbers and strength during the early years of trading. Even when they had no intention of capturing a ship, they stole from, cheated and threatened the traders in the expectation of getting more than they offered. Cheyne's borrowing dealings, trading with a gun in one hand and a piece of hoop-iron in the other, and keeping all-night round in case of attack, were common enough experiences for traders and others in the early years. On their first voyages, the intruders found putting themselves and their boats in the 'hands' of the islanders. Masters of ships visiting the loyalty islands were wary to be continually guarded against treachery and not allow any of the natives on deck, as they are by no means to be trusted. But by the later 1840s, and especially after colonial settlement, trading was usually peaceful and efficient, although some captains occasionally had their problems:

Despite missionary influence, wrote J. MacGillivray, so devoted by most of them wearing clothing of some description or other, often a mere scrape, yet never saw a man noisy or insolent set, probably because they saw that we were unarmed. The late had charge of the trading box containing tobacco, pipes, and calico. The intemperance and improvidence, often accompanied by threats, too often to press his temper severely, but being an old hand at trading, he got through his business very well, having half filled the boat, which was surrounded by a rich, the people were desirous to launch her. They made a show of doing so, but held her fast. At length the case down and used his influence so effectively that the boat was launched and trading still went on. Some of the natives endeavoured to steal the yams which they had sold, and required to be sharply watched. As the boat left the shore, the intruders saluted with showers of stones made up into balls, paper apples (which they would not purchase), and a few stones. I think we were all

13 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 92-134, 150-154, passim. See also Erskine, 347; Murray, 'Samoa 1841... Tutuila to Sydney', SSJ, LJS; Simpson, 'The Scimitar's Voyage', Sydney Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 15 September 1845; 'Sydney Herald', 25 May 1862.

14 Gill 11, 225; Murray, 'Samoa 1841... Tutuila to Sydney', SSJ, LJS.

15 Cheyne, A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, London, 1832, 18.
very glad to get off, for although only a few of the natives were armed, the appearance of affairs at one time indicated that very little might have brought on a melee.

When MacGillivray reached his ship, he discovered some islanders on board, refusing to leave. He found it necessary 'to take more active measures, so gave the ringleader a few inches of the point of a sword in the glutens maximus, which had a very salutory effect'.

Yet another disadvantage the Europeans faced throughout the nineteenth century, was the negotiating skill of the islanders. If allowed, they bartered and haggled all day. Erskine found 'conversation on serious subjects impossible' once the islanders started to barter for 'the most trifling articles of European manufacture'. MacFarlane quickly discovered the difficulties of trading with the Lifuans on his first day.

Bartering was a new thing to me: I would rather have do to with the £ s. d., than with fish-hooks and cottons, hatchets and knives, shirts and calicoes. In my day dreams of missionary life, this sort of work had no place: however, I went at it: I knew that we must have some pork to eat, and something to feed the pigs with. We must have mats for the floor; we must also have servants, and food for them: and over all, and most expensive of all, the natives knew that I was a "new hand", and inexperienced, and took the advantage. I bought, and bought, and bought, but finding that some of the things were moving in a circle, and having no inclination to pay half-a-dozen times for the same article, I was obliged to close the market, at the expense of my popularity.

The Loyalty Islanders quickly developed the reputation of being sharp salesmen and having an eagerness for trade which Erskine thought was 'greater than among any other islanders'. They frequently broke agreements and raised their prices, trying to see how far they could push the traders. Cheyne described one incident which he thought typified their 'Roguery and cowardice':

16 J.M. [MacGillivray], 'A Look in at Lifu', Empire, 11 April 1864. The reference to Fao indicates that MacGillivray was probably at We.
18 Erskine, 376, 377.
19 MacFarlane, 73.
20 Erskine, 380.
I was standing at the gangway with a cutlass in my hand, bargaining for their wood, which they had piled up in lots on the platform of the canoe. Two lots had been paid for, and passed on deck. The third belonged to a savage looking old man who demanded one piece of bar iron in exchange. Having received the iron, he stowed it away in the bottom of the canoe and refused to deliver up the wood, unless another bar were given him. Finding that he would neither pass the wood up nor return the iron, I yielded to his second demand, expecting the immediate delivery of the wood. In this however I was deceived; he sat down in the canoe, and very deliberately commenced packing up the bar iron in his tappa, chuckling inwardly at the success of his roguery. Greatly incensed at the man's effrontery, I again demanded the wood, which he again refused to deliver without the payment of a third piece of iron and on my threatening him with violence, he saluted me with a volley of abuse telling me that he should like to eat me, and finally expressed his contempt by turning round, and placing himself in a most indecent posture before me. This last insult was more than I could bear irritated as I already was, by his previous villany. I jumped into the canoe, Cutlass in hand, when (thanks to their Cowardice) the whole party, although armed with clubs, jumped overboard, leaving me in quiet possession of the canoe & sandal wood. Having passed the wood on deck, I cut the canoe adrift and heard the savages upbraiding each other with their Cowardice in suffering one man to drive them all overboard.

At other times, the islanders' persistence succeeded. One visitor complained: 'really they are such beggars that you are obliged to give them your tobacco in order to have any peace at all.' The Loyalty islanders never lost their enthusiasm for trading with passing vessels, and even after a generation of contact, they still flocked around traders as eagerly as in the 1840s. In 1870, one visitor wrote:

21 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 118.
from every little passage in the reef, canoes have put off, bringing coral, fowls, eggs, and yams, and the deck was covered with natives asking eager questions about everybody and everything.... On going down to our boat we found the beach literally covered with natives of all ages and sexes, each with a pile of yams, gesticulating and talking at the pitch of his or her voice....

Nor did the islanders ever lose their reputation for having a 'particular aptitude for commerce'. 24 'The Hârô natives', explained one traveller, 'whose intellects have been sharpened through their contact with civilization, are conversant with many of the tricks of trade, and can drive a hard bargain'. 25

The islanders' greatest advantage in the trading activities was that for Europeans to get the island produce they wanted, they had to satisfy the islanders' changing demands. Beads and similar trinkets quickly glutted the market. Bottles and hoop-iron could still buy island produce until the late 1850s, but only among the southern and eastern Ràdônu on Hârô, 26 where the people had refused to associate with the materially well-off LMS supporters in the north and west, and had little opportunity to develop their trading contacts with Europeans because of the lack of landing places around their coastline. For the great majority of Loyalty Islanders, there was a glut of these articles too by the late 1840s; instead, they had discovered the pleasure of tobacco, and European fabrics.

Traders calling, [said MacFarlane] found that they could not any longer obtain pigs and sandal-wood for beads and pieces of hoop-iron; clothing and other useful articles were called for, and in this case the demand created the supply.

23 Hope, 20-21.
25 Anderson, 158-159.
26 Jones, 4 November 1856, Journal, JNP 1845-1876, A399, NL.
27 MacFarlane, 48-49.
In 1849, Erskine found the Uveans begging for "tapa", and were delighted with pieces of printed calico, which some applied as head-dresses and others as petticoats... any article of clothing I believe in every respect would be the best means for an European to traffic with. 28

The Melanesian mission, referring to Lifu, reported: 'The sandalwood traders have found now, that nothing is so popular as an article of trade as anything in the way of clothing', though it added that tobacco and knives and adzes were still useful trading items. 29 By the early 1850s, most Loyalty Islanders had some piece of European clothing or cloth attached to some part of their bodies, often to the amusement of Europeans: 'it was laughable to see the variety of dress, native and European, the most ludicrous of which was a fellow strutting along with an old hat and dress coat without any trousers', said one missionary. 31 The amount of cloth and clothing available to the islanders rapidly increased through trading with the commercial vessels and the LMS missionaries. 32 These missionaries frequently sent off orders for up to 500 yards of calico, 500 assorted needles, and one gross of assorted balls of cotton thread. 33 By the 1860s, even they were amazed at the quantity and variety of 'good and appropriate clothing' worn on church occasions. 34 European visitors too commented on the 'most civilized' appearance of the people: 'The men were all decently dressed in shirts and waist-cloths, the women in large loose gowns of blue calico'. 35

The craving for tobacco also began in the late 1840s and continued unabated throughout the century. When Selwyn was at Uvea in 1849, the islanders dived for pieces of tobacco that the

28 Erskine, 345.
30 Murray and Sunderland, 'Samoa 1852... Deputation from Apia to New Hebrides', SSJ, LMS.
31 MacFarlane, 78.
32 MacFarlane to LMS, 17 December 1859, SSL, LMS.
33 Ella to LMS, 25 February 1870; and Sleigh to LMS, 30 November 1863, SSL, LMS.
34 MacFarlane to LMS, 18 June 1863, SSL, LMS.
35 Hope, 20-21.
sailors threw overboard. Men and women stretched out their arms in 'supplication' and Selwyn thought that their faces expressive of earnestness and desire, would have been beautiful and striking but for the drawback, that all this picturesque earnestness of entreaty, which might have served for a lesson to a painter or a sculptor, was wasted upon broken pipes and bits of tobacco.

36

Many European visitors spoke of the islanders' craving for tobacco and their compulsive, obsessive smoking. 37

Everyone here is incessantly smoking. Tobacco is the article of commerce which of all others is the most sought for. A little piece of tobacco will obtain a man's day's work.

38

It was commonly held that the islanders would give away their last yam for a few puffs on a pipe. 39 One traveller described them as 'most expert thieves stealing things out of your pocket & then returning it to you for a piece of tobacco which is the great article of trade'.

39

Two items of trade which featured in commercial dealings between islanders and Europeans elsewhere in the Pacific - sex and muskets - were of no economic significance on the Loyalty Islands. Sailors were never mobbed by women as they were at Tahiti or New Zealand. Uvean women were noted for their sexual reticence. 'At this island [wrote Cheyne] strict chastity is observed among both sexes before marriage and promiscuous intercourse expressly forbidden'. 41 Even the Marists thought that the people had little or no interest in sex, and spoke of them as 'loveless' characters. 42 Sexual relationships between the Uveans and Europeans were unheard of. Burns explained that women had no wish to 'prostitute'

---

36 Selwyn to his father, 14 March 1850, 'Letters from Bishop Selwyn and others', 263.
37 Erskine, (at Uvea) 344, (Lifu) 365, (Mare) 377; Fabvre to Yardin, March 1860, IV ORC, APH; Garnier, 288; Moniteur, 28 April 1861; de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 22.
38 [Jouan], 'The Loyalty Islands', Nautical Magazine, 30(1861), 407.
39 MacFarlane to LMS, 16 October 1850, SSL, LMS.
40 Swainson, 'Private Journal', Turnbull Library.
41 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 128-129.
42 Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.
themselves, and nor did the Uvean men offer the women to Europeans. They were, said Jouan, 'neither debauched or loose as in the islands of Polynesia'. The women of Mare and Lifu had fewer inhibitions and sometimes swam out to ships and posed erotically in the water for the sailors. The married women were willing enough to go with sailors to their cabins. Henry Swainson, who prided himself as a connoisseur of female pleasures, was delighted and 'quite satisfied' with the 'syrens' he took to the doctor's cabin on the Savannah. Tobacco and cloth was the usual payment for these dalliances. Unmarried girls, said Swainson, although 'they would allow you to take any kind of liberties with them without the slightest objection they would not allow you to go any further the reason is that chiefs keep them to broach themselves'. Women were never sent on board by chiefs to offer themselves to sailors in return for trade. Sexual activities between visiting Europeans and Loyalty Islanders remained a limited pastime, and never became an organized business enterprise.

The impact of European firearms will be considered in a later chapter; here it is suffice to say that muskets were never an important item of trade, nor was there ever a 'general demand' for them at any time in the contact period.

Fortunately for the islanders, the depletion of their sandalwood did not mean that they were cut off from European shipping and supplies of European goods at a time when they were becoming dependent upon them, for even greater numbers of vessels arrived to take on island crews, and barter for other island produce. Coconuts, taro, yams, bananas, sugar cane, and especially pigs and fowls, which had thrived on coconuts since their

---

43 RC, NE, (Burns), 22.
44 Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 373. Even the most important chiefs took few wives - Vehemay had 4 and Kauma and Fumati 2 each, see Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 131. On the other hand, Yiewene Naisi on Mare had 60 and Bula on Lifu had 40, see Turner, 401.
45 Alcan, 123.
46 Swainson, 'Private Journal', Turnbull Library.
47 RC, NE, (Dawson), 64. See below, chapter 11.
48 See above, 174-183.
introduction in the 1840s, were the main exports of the 1850s. Jones, L, November 1856, Journal, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML. These commodities were part of the trade in tropical exports from New Caledonia. See Douglas, 'The export trade in tropical products in New Caledonia 1841-1872', JSTOR, 31 (June 1971), 157-169.

49 Jones, 'Shipping Intelligence', 1856-1862, JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML. Uvea, with its bountiful supply of large coconuts was noted for the quality of its pigs and fowls. On Mare, Jones was 'always' short of food for his own pigs because the Si Guahma sold 'all things to ships'.

The LMS missionaries specialized in exporting coconut fibre to Sydney. The coconuts were 'donated' by their supporters and were submerged in the sea for six weeks; then the fibre was pulled off and left to wash in the rain while the nuts were given back to the islanders to use. In 1863, the missionaries collected 14,731 lbs. of fibre valued at £350. The French prohibited this trade in 1864, and confiscated another 11,000 lbs., which the Samoan and Rarotongan teachers had stored in their huts awaiting export; the French later sold the fibre themselves. The missionaries managed to sell secretly another 11,000 lbs., to Ross Lewin in 1867. By the mid-1860s, however, the fibre market had collapsed.

On Uvea, the poverty-stricken Catholic missionaries took advantage of the abundance of coconuts and made coconut oil. Their supporters were taught how to extract the oil which they then 'donated' to the priests, or the 'oily fathers' as they were

50 Jouan, 'Notes sur les Îles Loyalty', MS., Auckland Public Library.
51 Bourgey to Guillain, 1 June 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS; MacFarlane, 103.
52 Creagh to LMS, 13 June 1864, SSL, LMS.
53 Creagh to Guillain, 17 September 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
54 Creagh to Ella, 12 June 1867, Ella Correspondence 5, A206, ML.
55 MacFarlane, 103.
56 Poupinel to Colin, 5 June 1865, ANO, 2 (n.d.), 325; Pionnier to Chastel, 29 November 1871, IV ONC, APM; Rougeyron to his missionaries, 15 October 1865, 411, I ONC, APM.
The priests sold the oil, and with the money they bought clothes, building materials, and religious statues and ornaments for their people. Until the oil market declined in the 1870s, oil manufacturing on the Loyalty Islands, and especially on Uvea, was a flourishing industry. In the early 1860s, annual exports amounted to about 22,000 lbs., and by the 1870s, the figure had risen to over 66,000 lbs. On Mare and Lifu, the priests experimented with cotton, and by 1863, they had discovered a species which grew well. In the late 1860s, about 23,200 lbs. was exported annually, and so successful was the crop by the 1870s that 'cotton growing was... all the rage' among the islanders: 30,800 lbs. was sold in 1871, and 57,200 lbs. in 1872. The trade was dominated by the Catholics on Lifu, though Jones had some success on Mare; but both LMS missionaries and supporters usually sold their cotton to the Catholic priests as they gave them the highest price. The type of cotton that grew best was never of top quality, nor was it ever tended with the necessary care. As the cotton exports declined in quality, the islanders received less payment and quickly lost interest in the crop in the later 1870s.

58 MacParlane, 103.
59 Poupinel to Colin, 5 June 1865, AFO, 2(n.d.), 325; Rougeyron to Guillain, 3 May 1866, 411, I OMC, APM.
61 Calculated from shipping reports, Moniteur, 1860-1872.
62 Bertrand to Poupinel, 3 October 1861, VMA; Fabvre, 'Notes sur le R.P. Jean-Baptiste Fabvre', Fabvre Personal File, APM; Guietta to Poupinel, 23 March 1868, VMA; Rougeyron to his missionaries, 15 October 1865, 411, I OMC, APM.
63 Calculated from shipping reports, Moniteur, 1860-1872.
64 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS. Visitors commented on the cotton-growing industry, see Balanes, 531-532; Le Chartier, 106-107; S.M. Vollet, 'Renseignements sur les iles Loyalty', Annales Hydrographiques, 35(1872), 55.
65 Calculated from shipping reports, Moniteur, 1870-1872.
66 Jones to LMS, 23 March 1874, SSL, LMS.
67 MacParlane to LMS, 27 May 1870, SSL, LMS.
68 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS; Fabvre, 'Notes sur le R.P. Jean-Baptiste Fabvre', Fabvre Personal File, APM; Hadfield to LMS, 26 April 1882, SSL, LMS.
They turned instead to producing copra for the newly flourishing market. In 1872, they sold 101,200 lbs., and by 1877, the amount had risen to 1,819,400 lbs., and copra remained the principal export well into the twentieth century. Pigs, fowls, and yams remained profitable exports but they were never on the scale of copra. Small quantities of sugar cane, bananas, coffee, and boche-de-mer also found a ready market. In the 1870s, sandalwood, which had had time to regenerate, was exported in small quantities, and, at the same time, a fungus which was sent to China as a food, was a profitable export. Maize, too, which was grown on Mare in the 1880s, was a minor, though successful export crop: in 1884 some 880,000 lbs. was sent to Noumea.

Despite changes in the major exports from sandalwood, to yams, pigs, fowls, to fibre, to oil and cotton, and finally to copra, the payment the islanders demanded remained unchanged from the early 1850s until the 1870s - consisting of tobacco, cloth, and a variety of European tools and utensils. By 1875, some traders still gave exclusively calico and tobacco for all island produce. Even those islanders working on English ships, or in Australia where they had ready access to a galaxy of European goods, were content to bring back blankets, shirts, trousers, tobacco, pipes, axes, and knives. Those returning from Australia were described as being 'particularly fond of little boxes, cedar or painted red, or like cedar, about two feet long, eighteen inches broad, and eight inches high. They must

69 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880; and Hadfield to LMS, 26 April 1882, SSL, LMS.
70 Calculated from shipping reports, Moniteur, 1870-1877.
71 Caillet, notebook, 28-30; Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS; shipping reports, Moniteur, 1870s.
72 Creagh to LMS, 31 May 1875; Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880; Jones, 10 year report, 1881, all in SSL, LMS; Sleigh to LMS, Lifu Report, 23 December 1874, SSR, LMS; Shipping reports, Moniteur, 1870s.
73 Salinis, Rapport, 21 February 1884, AAN.
74 Calculated from shipping reports, Moniteur, 1884.
75 Caillet, notebook, 27, 29-30; Coote, 156; Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS.
77 RC, ME, (Burns), 22, (Row), 72, (Merriman), 32.
have locks and keys. These boxes they fill with anything they can collect. One labour recruiter, organizing the return of some Loyalty Islanders and New Hebrideans, commented:

I had for many days... good reason for cursing those... chests, as the owners kept up a constant state of disturbance, never being able to decide, when their money was running short, what desirable article they would purchase next, and, when at sea, always fetching their whole property on deck every morning and bartering among themselves, both sides being always dissatisfied with the result, and insisting on bringing me into the squabble as arbitrator.

In the 1870s, there was a change in the islanders' demands. Traders reported that the islanders had developed a 'pretty good idea of the value of money, and in many cases prefer[red] it to any other article of exchange'. In 1876, Sleigh recorded: 'The natives prefer cash now more than formerly in preference to goods in barter', and the other LNS missionaries made similar observations. One visitor to the Loyalty Islands in 1885, said that the people had 'an exact idea of the value of money; in all cases they prefer it to articles of exchange'.

Once the Loyalty Islanders moved into the vortex of commercial interchange with Europeans, they quickly abandoned their previous patterns of trade. The change was not disruptive for the Loyalty Islanders - steel replaced imported stone, whaleboats and cutters replaced their canoes built of imported timber, and chiefs' daughters were married to European settlers who could confer a prestige and wealth as great, if not greater, than many New Caledonian chiefs. Strong social and family ties with New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines were retained, but travel to these places was severely restricted by the French from the 1860s because they feared Loyalty Islanders would spread their dangerous Protestant and English

---

78 Re, NE, (Towns), 31.
79 Hope, 16.
80 Campbell, 136.
81 Sleigh to LNS, 11 March 1876, SSL, LNS.
82 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880; and Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LNS.
83 Le Chartier, 106.
84 See below, 228-229.
217

ideas. But though the Loyalty Islanders discarded one pattern of trade for another, there was one element of similarity between the old and the new - pre-European trading had been peaceful and based on the mutual requirements of all those involved. In commercial exchanges with the Europeans, the changing patterns of imports and exports indicates, too, that both Europeans and Loyalty Islanders displayed an ability to understand and accommodate, to mutual advantage, the commercial needs of the other. 85

The islanders traded directly with ships' captains in the earliest years of contact, and then in conjunction with the Polynesian teachers. The greatest stimulation to trade came from the permanent missionaries who encouraged, organized, and directed the export of local produce. One of the ways they did this was through their systems of 'annual contributions', where the islanders 'donated' produce which the missionaries then sold. 86 Once the French assumed control of island affairs, the money the missionaries received from these contributions was theoretically to be used to run the mission and benefit the islanders; the missionaries were forbidden to make personal use of the money or send it to their parent mission organizations. The LMS missionaries, in particular, had their annual contribution system very effectively organized, and though the following figures are incomplete, they give some idea of the extent and value of these contributions. 87

85 The pattern of imports and exports described here supports the account of trading developments throughout the south-west Pacific until the mid-1860s given by Shineberg, Sandalwood, chapter 12.

86 Loyalty Island Minutes, 15 August 1860, SSO, Box 12, LMS; MacFarlane to LMS, 18 June 1863, SSL, LMS; Pionnier to Poupinel, 5 February 1874, TV OMC, APM.

87 Calculated from SSL, SSR, and SSO Box 11, 12, LMS 1865-1897. The missionaries usually gave the figures in French currency. The exchange rate they worked on was 25 francs = £1 sterling, see Sleigh to LMS, 28 November 1877, SSL, LMS.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Value (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>all islands</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Mare</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Uvea and Mare</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Lifu</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The donations consisted of fibre, yams, pigs, fowls, and similar produce, and clothes and food for the teachers. By 1880, however, the islanders nearly always gave cash. The Catholic mission was given yams, pigs, cotton on Mare and Lifu, and coconut oil on Uvea, though the value of these contributions was never on the same scale as that given to the LMS mission.

The contributions naturally stimulated European commercial interest in the Loyalty Islands and in the earlier years of mission settlement the islanders often used the missionaries as middle-men to draw up contracts and negotiate prices with traders on the understanding that payment belonged to the islanders and not to the church; mission commercial agents in Sydney, and later Noumea, were particularly useful for such dealings. The marketing systems were based on a broad network in which islanders, missionaries, and European shippers were dependent upon each other, and for the most part relations were harmonious. There was apparently tacit agreement between Catholic and Protestant missionaries not to become too economically competitive for fear that both missions might suffer from diminishing profits. The success of the trading vessels depended upon missionary encouragement and organization of island trade.

---

88 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS.
89 Pionnier to Chastel, 29 November 1871, IV ONC, APM; Rougeyron to Guillain, 3 May 1866, 411, I ONC, APM.
90 Rougeyron to Guillain, 3 May 1866, 411, I ONC, APM. The LMS agents in Noumea were 'Jourbet & Cartes', see Jones to LMS, 29 March 1881, SSL, LMS.
labour and production, and it was in the traders' interest to maintain friendship with both missions; without this friendship, traders were unable to do business on any profitable scale. In turn, the missionaries were economically dependent upon the traders for their supplies and for the well-being of their missions. A bad season resulted in fewer shipping contacts which meant less wealth for the islanders, a lowering of contributions, and a subsequent cut-back in building projects and other mission activities.

The friendship between the LMS missionaries and the English traders has already been mentioned and whatever social and political ties were formed between them, the underlying link was economic. These missionaries were always ready to do business with traders such as Ross Lewin who was treated as an outlaw by missionaries in the New Hebrides. In 1867, Creagh, who had stockpiled fibre but was unable to send it openly to Sydney because of a French prohibition, sold it secretly to Lewin for £92; Ella declared Lewin was 'most welcomed' whenever he brought him supplies; and Jones bought cattle from him. The Catholic missionaries never developed personal ties with the English traders, but they nevertheless had binding commercial arrangements. They worked closely with Burns on Uvea, and later had a long-standing contract with Henry who took all the oil they could supply in return for half the payment in trade, at prices lower than Noumea, and half in cash.

The participation of the missionaries in most of the commercial activity on the Loyalty Islands angered the French administration. Guillain told Commander Palmer:

91 RC, MS, (Henry), 47.
92 Calliot, notebook, 33; Montrouzier to Fauvre, 1 January 1859, IV ONC, APM.
93 Sleigh to LMS, 9 December 1882, SSL, LMS.
94 See above, 190-192.
95 Creagh to Ella, 12 June 1867, Ella Correspondence 5, A206, NL.
96 Ella, 19 June 1867, Diary 1864-1867, B249, NL.
97 Loyalty Island Minutes, 15, 16 October 1873, SSO, Box 12, LMS.
98 Bernard to Fauvre, 14 July 1859; and Forestier to Poupinel, 17 September 1860, IV ONC, APM.
99 Bernard to Rocher, 30 November 1861, VMA.
the chiefs are entirely under their control, owing to the traffic in provisions and stores which goes on between them... the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries were all alike engaged in trade... their excuse for trafficking with the natives being, that by doing so they prevent the latter being robbed by the traders.... this traffic is not altogether for the benefit of the Mission, but also for their own. 100

McFarlane and Jones were especially singled out as men who were pursuing personal fortunes, 101 and not without justification for when they were made to leave, both abandoned acres of property and houses and workshops which would have been the delight of many an English squire. Jones valued his house alone at £1,000, 102 and even the LMS felt it necessary to warn Jones several times about his trading activities. 103 The French made similar attacks on the Catholic missionaries, 104 and both Protestant and Catholic missionaries, for reasons of propaganda, accused each other of trading for personal gain. Both missions, however, justified trading in the same terms - as necessary for the maintenance of the mission and for the benefit of their people, and both missions interpreted their followers' material wealth as a sure sign of progress towards 'civilization'. 105

As the volume of commerce increased, more resident traders were enticed to the islands, particularly Lifou, and the people were eager enough to do business with them, for some islanders began to feel that the missionaries had too much control over their commercial affairs. Such opinions became more widely accepted by the islanders when they found that they often received better prices from these traders than they did from the missionaries, and consequently they took their business directly to these wealthier,

100 Palmer to Lambert, 22 March 1869, RC, ME, 1.
101 Bourgey to Guillaud, 1 June 1864, enclosed in Guillaud to Min., 5 January 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; Courrier du Havre, 10 February 1865, in CG 1865-1866, carton 86, ANOM; Jones to LMS, 18 March 1872, SSL, LMS; Creagh to Ella, 4 November 1873, Ella Correspondence 4, A205, ML.
102 Jones to LMS, 8 October 1872, SSL, LMS.
103 Jones to LMS, 18 March 1872, SSL, LMS.
104 Rougeyron to Guillaud, 3 May 1866, 411, I ONC, APM.
105 Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LMS; Rougeyron to Guillaud, 3 May 1866, 411, I ONC, APM.
more generous, Europeans. Competition between the traders, however, caused their profits to fall drastically and they were finally forced to agree amongst themselves to 'give no more than mutually understood fair prices'.\footnote{Sleigh to LMS, Lifu Report 1877, 30 January 1878, SSR, LMS.} Unfortunately for the islanders, these controlled prices were usually much lower than before, and the missionaries, too, suffered because the contributions were correspondingly lowered.\footnote{Sleigh to LMS, 9 December 1882, SSL, LMS.} Some islanders once again worked through the missionaries, while others saw the necessity to become more independent and traded directly with ships' masters or, more commonly, with agents in Noumea.\footnote{Salinis, Rapport, 24 February 1884, AAN.} The wealthier LMS villages of No, Nocche, Chepenaha, Luengoni, and Mu, and the Catholic village of St Joseph chartered and even bought schooners to transport produce to Noumea.\footnote{Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS; Hadfield, Lifu Report, 2 January 1888, SSR, LMS.} By the end of the century, there were very few temporary European traders left on the islands: the French residents' liberal trade licensing policies (one issued seventy licences in one year) meant that competition among these traders for what little section of the market remained open to them was so keen that most were unable to make a living.\footnote{Hadfield to LMS, 3 August 1889, SSL, LMS; Sarasin, 223.} The departure of all but one LMS missionary towards the end of the century also had little effect on the islands' economy. Many of the people, partly as a result of mission teaching and example, had developed considerable expertise in marketing their produce, and they no longer had to contribute hundreds of pounds to support these same missionaries. By the 1890s, the Loyalty Islanders had a considerable independence and control over their commerce with non-resident Europeans, and although this commerce had reached new levels of sophistication, it was perhaps more reminiscent of the days of direct trading of the 1840s than of the height of missionary trading influence in the 1860s and 1870s.

\footnote{Sleigh to LMS, Lifu Report 1877, 30 January 1878, SSR, LMS.} \footnote{Sleigh to LMS, 9 December 1882, SSL, LMS.} \footnote{Salinis, Rapport, 24 February 1884, AAN.} \footnote{Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS; Hadfield, Lifu Report, 2 January 1888, SSR, LMS.} \footnote{Hadfield to LMS, 3 August 1889, SSL, LMS; Sarasin, 223.} \footnote{Hadfield, Lifu Report, 28 December 1893, SSR, LMS.}
The monetary value of the Loyalty Islanders' exports can never be fully assessed, but it was undoubtedly considerable. Some idea of this value emerged from an analysis of the shipping reports in the Moniteur which listed the cargoes and their value landed in Noumea by the licensed vessels on the local trading routes for the years 1863 to 1876. The figures which follow are considerably less than the real amounts exported because the value of a cargo was not always published, some vessels known to have arrived were omitted altogether, and there were many other vessels which took cargoes from the Loyalty Islands to the New Hebrides or Australia without passing through Noumea. Thus, where the Loyalty Island Resident recorded exports of £4,800 in 1872, figures given by the Moniteur amount to £3,925; and in 1875, the Resident recorded £10,000, while the Moniteur's total was £6,525. The following figures, incomplete as they may be, are given simply as a guide to the value of visible exports brought to Noumea from the Loyalty Islands by the licensed traders, and to indicate the rapid expansion of the islanders' production of their local resources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£1863</th>
<th>£1864</th>
<th>£1865</th>
<th>£1866</th>
<th>£1867</th>
<th>£1868</th>
<th>£1869</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£300</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>2,012</td>
<td>1,610</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1870, £1,450; in 1871, £1,900; in 1872, £3,935; in 1873, £5,212; in 1874, £5,825; in 1875, £6,525; in 1876, £9,950.

In 1911, a visiting anthropologist said the exports were worth £11,200.

These European values had little relation to the payments the islanders received. If an Uvean sold fungus worth £20 on the Noumea market, it was unlikely he would have received £20 worth of tobacco, cloth, or cash; and there is little point in speculating on his estimation of the worth of whatever he was paid. Nevertheless, there are several indications that many people collectively, if not individually, had considerable purchasing power on the European

---

112 Callet, notebook, 29-30.
113 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS.
114 Calculated from shipping reports, Moniteur, 1863-1877.
115 Sarasin, 229.
market, especially as a result of cash payments for their exports. The contributions given to the missions have already been mentioned. As well, the islanders paid hundreds of pounds for books from the mission presses, and between 1870 and 1880, the Lifuan Protestants spent £175 on horses and £2,595 for a schooner and whale boats; throughout the islands most Protestant villages and the wealthier Catholic ones had whale boats worth £50 each. 116

While the overall picture is one of material prosperity, there were some serious weaknesses in the islanders' economy. A decline in the cotton and oil markets forced them to change immediately to new export crops. Drought periodically affected their crops, particularly coconuts, and during the drought-stricken periods of 1877-78, 1883-86, and 1896, copra production was almost at a standstill. 117 European agents found themselves taking as many 'francs in a month as they formerly took pounds'. 118 Shippers diverted their vessels from the Loyalty Islands' run and called instead at ports around New Caledonia, loading minerals from the flourishing mining towns. 119 Hurricanes also damaged plantations. A severe cyclone in 1880 destroyed almost every hut on the islands, 'ravaged' the crops, and led to a drop in trading activities. 120 Nor was prosperity evenly distributed. Uvea and Mare suffered because of the destruction of plantations during the wars. Mare was particularly hard hit in the early 1880s by a plague of locusts which prevented coconuts from growing for over a decade afterwards. A species of bird on Uvea and Lifou protected the coconut trees from the locusts, but attempts to introduce these birds on Mare were unsuccessful. 121 Missing out on the benefits of the copra trade,

116 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS; Pallu de la Barrière to Min., 6 December 1883, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM; Anderson, 158.
117 Creagh to LMS, 22 June 1886; hadfield to LMS, 27 April 1896, SSL, LMS; Sleigh to LMS, Lifou Report 1877, 30 January 1878, SSR, LMS.
118 hadfield to LMS, 3 August 1889, SSL, LMS. The exchange rate, £1 = 25 francs, has already been mentioned.
119 Shipping reports, Moniteur, until 1886.
120 Fabvre to ?, 28 January 1880, IV OPC, AEM; Jones to LMS, 26 January 1880, 18 January 1881, SSL, LMS.
121 Beaulieu to Procureur, 5 October 1884, AMO, 5(1885), 546; Jones to LMS, 22 February 1878, SSL, LMS; Moniteur, 10 May 1882.
The Maroons turned instead to growing maize, but it required far more labour and was much less profitable than copra. The Mare Catholics were the poorest of all the Loyalty Islanders. Apart from the wars, droughts, storms, and locusts, they were unable to find markets for their cotton, and had great difficulty in exporting their maize because of poor internal communications, and their lack of harbours or safe landing places. Gaide mournfully wrote: 'Mare is excessively poor, it is the poorest of our New Caledonian missions; nothing is produced.'

The Protestants on Mare had the advantage of anchorages and could readily export maize and fungus, and Creagh thought they had 'a considerable amount of material comfort'. The Lifu Protestants were the wealthiest of all the Loyalty Islanders, and, by the late 1880s, even they admitted that the Catholics too had done much to improve their material wealth. Hadfield described Nathalo as 'quite a flourishing settlement' with its sheep and goats, houses, and its trading schooner. The Uveans, though not as rich as the Lifuans, were also thought to be 'relatively affluent'.

The Loyalty Islanders are enterprising, they make very good sailors, they have a very developed sense of personal property, and finally they are rich, thanks to the commerce in copra which they undertake because of the numerous coconut trees.

VISITORS to the Loyalty Islands were amazed at the islanders' settlements with whitewashed, concrete houses, churches with towering spires, and the well-clothed, civil, industrious inhabitants who were accustomed to receiving Europeans. These visitors were shown wells sunk up to 150 feet through solid coral to fresh water, roads cut through coral and bush, horses and carts

122 Gaide to Poupinel, 10 July 1880, IV ONC, APM.
123 Gaide to Poupinel, 10 July 1880, IV ONC, APM. See also Boililot to ?, 15 October 1893, IV ONC, APM.
124 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS.
125 Hadfield, Lifu Report, 2 January 1888, SSR, LMS.
126 Pallu de la Barrière to Min., 6 December 1883, CG 1877-1884, carton 65, ANOM.
127 Gouharou to Pallu de la Barrière, 4 December 1883, CG 1877-1884, carton 65, ANOM.
carrving produce for export, and schooners and whaleboats owned
and manned by the islanders. Time and time again, visitors
recorded their amazement at such developments which they interpreted
as pleasing signs of the islanders' progress towards 'civilization'
their 'rapid and wonderful' rise from barbarism to 'material and
mercantile prosperity'. 128

In the three islands, they are very intelligent...
and they have a degree of civilization which one
is astonished to find so close to New Caledonia. 129

[Loyalty Islanders] are the most advanced of any
natives in Western Polynesia. This remark applies
especially to the inhabitants of Mare. 130

[The Loyalty Islands are] occupied by really the
highest type of coloured men I have seen. 131

It was generally agreed amongst Europeans that they were 'entitled
to be ranked as the foremost tribes of Western Polynesia'. 132

Such opinions were largely a product of an educated European's belief
that aspects of his technology, when adopted by a non-European
society, could bring about desirable social change. But many of the
apparently more spectacular changes in the islanders' material
culture were not as significant, or as extensive, as many Europeans
thought.

The large, sparkling white concrete houses, with glass
windows, venetian blinds, European furniture and decorations were
certainly impressive. Naisiline's was described as:
quite a palace compared with the usual run of
Western Polynesian native abodes. It is a stone
house of two stories, with French windows which
open out to a verandah and balcony in front.
The interior fittings, such as the staircase,
are not quite complete, and several of the rooms
are still unfurnished. The furniture is of plain
deal; and upstairs, or rather, up the ladder, is
a great four-posted bed. 133

Wainya's house at Chepenche was considered 'vastly superior' to
HacFarlane's own grand home. Wainya had his fitted out with glass

128 Sleigh to LMS, 21 December 1875, SSL, LMS. See also
Anderson, 158; Coote, 154; Goodenough, 305-308.
129 Vollet, 55.
130 Campbell, 134.
131 Hope, 30.
132 Campbell, 135.
133 Campbell, 139.
building doors, and a large English bed, tables, chairs, a sofa, and pictures which, said MacFarlane, 'gives it quite a European appearance'. But such houses were only for the privileged few - the wealthiest chiefs, the Rarotongan and Samoan teachers, the Loyalty Island teachers, missionaries, and a few of the permanent resident traders. And those Loyalty Islanders who owned such buildings kept them mainly for a display of prestige and wealth and seldom used them, except to receive European guests. The islanders never slept in the houses, preferring to spend the night in the communal huts. The overwhelming majority of the population, including most of the chiefs of the smaller clans, had only their huts made from pandanus, grass, and coconut tree fronds. The missionaries constantly regretted that the people preferred to live in their 'low dirty smoky huts' and 'wretched hovels' scattered about the villages 'without the slightest efforts at order'. In 1880, Creagh explained that their huts were 'far better than those their grandfathers occupied'. The islanders had neither inclination nor reason to change these dwellings which were comfortable, and, with fires perpetually smouldering on the floors, warm and free from mosquitoes. Furthermore, their huts were easily and cheaply built out of readily available materials. Almost every year, severe cyclones blew down many buildings and it was far simpler to re-erect a grass hut than a concrete structure. And the islanders certainly had enough building to do for their chiefs and missionaries. Some of the churches involved years of continual work. The Catholic church on the promontory at Mkeafepune overlooking Sandalwood Bay was completed after a long period of back-breaking labour for every piece of material and every drop of water for the cement had to be manhandled through dense bush and up steep coral cliffs. The church Jones built at Ro had concrete walls three feet thick, set on foundations twelve feet below the surface of the coral, and thirty feet high. It could hold over 800 people and took more than nine years to

134 MacFarlane to LMS, 20 June 1864, SSL, LMS.
135 Creagh to LMS, 21 July 1871, SSL, LMS.
136 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS.
Creagh decided to pay the islanders to cut wood he supplied if they used it to build themselves European styled houses, but his plan failed miserably. The islanders were more interested in the pay than cutting the wood:

Eight or ten will be connected with one saw; the other six will be sitting & lying down while two of their number work half-an-hour & then perhaps two more will take the saw. Now they think or seem to think that those who are merely looking on ought to be paid as well as those who work. They have to learn by experience the proper rate of wages.

While the missionaries admitted their failure to persuade their supporters to build 'decent' houses, they claimed to have changed settlement patterns by grouping people in villages near the sea instead of their living inland as in pre-European times. It is difficult to understand where the missionaries got this idea from, for although such population movements were common elsewhere in the Pacific as a result of European contact, they did not occur on the Loyalty Islands. By the 1840s, the coastal villages of Nokche, Nebuet, Roche, Ro, Tadine, Medu, Hu, Dueulu, Peng, Chepenehe, Eecho, Inangod, We, and Luengoni were already well established, and all the villages on Uvea had to be near the sea because of the island's shape. Furthermore, the inland villages of Kuna, Manako, La Roche, Penelo, Tawained, Wiwatul, Meleck, Nathalo and Kumo, to name the major ones, were neither abandoned nor moved closer to some part of the coast even though it was obviously economically advantageous to do so. Political and territorial arrangements precluded any such moves. Minor changes undoubtedly took place. Some people may have moved from one village where there was no missionary to one where there was, providing that they did not resettle in enemy lands. Also, during the planting and harvesting seasons in pre-European times, the people normally remained at their inland plantations in temporary huts until the work was completed.

---

137 Campbell, 138; Fabvre to ?, 8 October 1873, IV ONC, APH; RC, ME, (Henry), 47.
138 Creagh to LMS, 2 November 1859, SSL, LMS.
139 Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LMS.
After mission contact they still lived in these huts but returned to their villages every weekend for church activities. 140

Communications showed only limited improvement. The sections of road capable of taking horses and carts were very rough, limited to the outskirts of the largest villages, and could be measured in yards rather than miles. No new major routes were opened up, though some of the more important tracks were widened to enable horses to get by. By the 1880s, most areas on Lifu and Marc could be reached on horseback and the islanders considered this sufficient. 141 They lacked the resources, manpower, and inclination to crush, burn, and smooth out the twisted coral into a network of highways as the missionaries urged. Jones, one of the most enthusiastic advocates of roads, thought that the greatest drawback to further prosperity on Marc was the bad state of internal communications; he accused the chiefs of not being 'civilized enough to see the need' for roads. 142 Horses and donkeys helped to transport some produce from the plantations to the sea, but even in the 1880s, most of the produce was still carried by the women. 143

It is [wrote Creagh's daughter] quite usual to see a family returning home after a day in their garden, walking single file, the man first carrying nothing but a club to defend his family from possible enemies, then the woman, bowed down with a huge bundle of garden produce on her back, the baby in a sling in front and the rest of the family trailing behind. 144

Because of very limited grazing areas, there were relatively few horses and donkeys, hardly enough to have radically changed methods of communication and transportation. By the turn of the century, most islanders still walked everywhere. Whaleboats had largely replaced canoes by the 1880s, 145 but they did not necessarily improve

140 Creagh to LMS, 29 September 1858; and Hadfield to LMS, 26 October 1882 SSL, LMS.
141 Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS.
142 Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS.
143 Creagh to LMS, 21 July 1871; and Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS. The same was true well into the twentieth century, see Hadfield, 79-80.
144 Annie C. Creagh, 'A Short Record of the Life and Missionary Work of the Revd. Stephen Mark Creagh', 1933, TS. In my possession, 7.
145 Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS.
inter-island travel; the islanders' largest double canoes could travel just as fast and hold as many people as a whaleboat. The advantage of a European craft was that the islanders were saved the task of importing wood and then building their canoes. Whaleboats were also easier to sail and were probably a good deal safer.

Macfarlane thought their canoes were:

of an inferior kind. The small ones are simply the trunks of trees scooped out and sharpened at both ends, with an outrigger tied on with native cord made from coconut fibre. The larger ones have a plank sewn to each end by native cord, whilst the largest are made by attaching two together laying boards across, and building a small house on the top of all. These are lumbering, dangerous things; being tied together by native string they are neither very secure nor durable: the string rots, and often when out in a high sea the whole thing falls to pieces, leaving the natives to sink or swim. A case of this happened not long ago on the coast, when thirteen person were drowned.

Cheyne also thought their canoes were:

clumsy in appearance, and although they voyage backwards and forwards to Lifu and New Caledonia in them, yet they are very poor sea boats - leak much in a seaway, and do not sail fast on a wind.

Other European items that the islanders adopted were similarly substitutes for aspects of their own technology. European tools and utensils were used to serve the islanders' former purposes, and did not in themselves necessarily create new activities. The use of steel, glass, metal fish-hooks, and trinkets, has been referred to already, and to this list can be added European pots, which replaced their own clay pots originating from New Caledonia, and European clothing, for the islanders were used to adorning their bodies with fringes, leaves, hats, shells, and painting themselves.

146 The canoes could hold about 50 men and could reach the Isle of Pines and New Caledonia in one day, see Goujon, 'La Mission de Maré', N.C. La Loyalty, III ONC, APH; Labillardière, 246-247.

147 MacFarlane, 16.

148 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, (referring to Uvean canoes), 129.

149 Sarasin, 253.
white and bleaching their hair. Smoking was one of the few activities without pre-European precedents.

The new export crops did not involve changes in cultivation techniques. Cotton, maize, coffee, and fruit trees grew virtually wild. The islanders cut down areas of bush, left it to dry, and then burnt it, just as they did when preparing their yam and taro gardens. Seeds or shoots were then planted in the exposed pockets of soil. The missionaries were amazed that cotton 'grew with but little or no trouble' and, as with their yam crops, the islanders paid little attention to their new plants, apart from the occasional weeding, between planting and harvesting times. The islanders were not interested in using certain agricultural methods Europeans took for granted. The idea of ever manuring their soil, for example, filled them with disgust. It was 'not in accordance with native ideas' to constantly tend to their growing crops, and it was through such neglect that the quality of the cotton declined. The most profitable crops for the islanders - sandalwood and coconuts - needed virtually no attention at all.

European axes and knives lightened the task of cutting down the dense bush but there were no European tools used for tilling the soil, for it is extremely light and a pointed stick was sufficient. In contrast, the New Caledonians had to work a heavy soil, and sometimes carried water for miles to help soften the earth that they were preparing for plantations. On the Loyalty Islands, European agricultural implements were not only unnecessary but unsuitable. Ploughs, for example, could not be used for the soil is in small pockets, thin, and usually dotted with coral rocks and outcrops.

The herds of cattle owned by some villages were very small because of lack of water and grazing land, and were a source of prestige rather than a viable commercial asset. Pigs and fowls,
which were major export goods, thrived on coconuts and looked after themselves. The Loyalty Islanders' export trade was limited by both the environment and certain cultural traits. The bulk of their profits, apart from those earned by the sale of their labour, came from animals and indigenous crops which required the minimum of attention.

Visiting Europeans who highlighted the more obvious manifestations of European material culture in the Loyalty Islands as evidence of rapid and desirable social change, underestimated the patterns of continuity in the islanders' daily existence. The commonly reiterated interpretation of these changes as the Europeanization of the 'native' way of life, could perhaps have been more accurately described as the 'nativization' of the European way of life. However, underlying the continuity, European technology and commerce was producing socio-economic changes which were not so readily apparent to European observers who were too busy looking for more concrete signs of 'civilization'. Steel tools and the stimulus of trade resulted in a rearrangement of patterns and priorities of work. European tools and substitute items reduced the time and effort required for clearing bush for plantations and building huts, and trading for materials and then making canoes, fish-hooks, stone and shell implements and decorations. These were tasks normally performed by the men; the women benefited less, for European technology could not assist them in their duties of looking after the household, the children, and in their many other tasks. Cheyne described how the Lifuan women appeared 'to be kept under much subjection - and are made to cultivate and attend to their plantations'. He described how the Uvean women were similarly 'under much subjection, and have to carry burdens, and do the greater part of the work, the men seldom assist them unless when planting yams'. To Jouan, a Loyalty Island woman was a 'beast of burden;
The goes fishing, works the land, she fetches water and wood. 160 Freed from many of their more time-consuming tasks, the men could travel overseas and provide the labour force necessary for the increasing production and export of food they normally grew, as well as collecting and preparing sandalwood and fungus, making coconut fibre, oil and copra, and growing cotton and maize. The rapid change from a subsistence to an exporting agriculture necessitated a very considerable increase in time and labour spent on exploiting island produce. Furthermore, collecting sandalwood and making coconut fibre, oil, and copra, were year round tasks, breaking up the former clearly defined seasonal agricultural work patterns of planting and harvesting. 161 In addition, the islanders performed other new tasks such as widening tracks, digging wells, and building and rebuilding churches, houses, and workshops which were periodically destroyed by cyclones, as well as devoting a great deal of time to church activities. Overall, there was a significant increase in the variety of everyday activities, and the efforts these required. Overseas travel by the fittest young men may have placed a strain on some of the clans, but it seems that the pattern of frequent arrivals and departures would have ensured that there was always a residual work force, and exports showed no noticeable decline during times of extensive migration.

European technology brought its pleasures, its labour saving devices, and increased the variety of life and the material prosperity of the Loyalty Islanders, yet the price they paid was an increase in time and labour spent on surplus production and on new activities. It is worth emphasizing that such industry resulted from the islanders' enthusiasm. If the inspiration for a particular project was European in origin, its undertaking and successful completion was dependent upon the islanders' voluntary efforts. Not without good reason did Europeans speak of them as persevering and hardworking people, in contrast to 'lazy' islanders elsewhere in the Pacific. 162

161 These patterns are described in Ray, 265-266.
162 Campbell, 136; Jones to LNS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LNS; Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 10; de Vaux, 490.
The socio-economic changes appear to have had little effect upon the islanders' social structure in spite of the consequent acquisition of European property, and the introduction of money after 1870. In an economy such as on the Loyalty Islands, where commercial interchange in both the pre-contact and contact periods was based on the exchange of goods, money becomes 'a common denominator among the categories [of exchange values] which were previously lacking'. Thus, the value of a twist of tobacco could, after 1870, be related for the first time to the value of a schooner. Most significantly, money, which took the place of such European items of consumption as tobacco and cloth, could not only be used to purchase these same items, but could be accumulated, so potentially increasing an islander's purchasing power. Most people spent their money on the same goods they normally bartered for, and the bulk of their imports into the twentieth century remained firmly based on cloth, tobacco, tools and utensils, and small luxury items such as a mirror or an umbrella. More expensive items, such as whaleboats, horses, cattle, and schooners, were far beyond the reach of individuals and were bought on a corporate basis. Money left over after the islanders had bought their personal wants was given to the missions and to their clan chiefs who hoarded it until they could afford to buy the expensive goods for their village. There were no new social elites as a result of successful trading, nor were there individuals who challenged the existing authorities solely on the basis of newly acquired material riches. Social laws placed effective limits upon the acquisition of significant wealth by any individuals other than clan and great chiefs. 'La coutume', as it is called today, is an ancient system of redistribution of wealth among members of the clan, and especially to the chief, which assures security for all and the continuity of the community. The missionaries fought hard to root out this system, complaining that the chiefs were


164 Campbell, 136; Creagh, 10 year report, 29 December 1880; and Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LHS.

simply making use of the wealth of their people. Also, they
attacked other members of a clan who, as they imagined, 'stole'
goods from, for example, a relation returning from overseas with a
box of clothes and utensils. According to the missionaries, anyone
who managed to 'improve his position' in a material way was the
target for the 'cupidity and indolence of all about him'.

It was quite impossible for a native to keep any of
his own belongings, if a friend cast a longing eye
upon anything he possessed, it must change hands.
When a young couple married, a great feast was
prepared - the friends on both sides were all expected
to bring contributions, which were piled in two great
heaps. When the feast was over what was left was
divided amongst the friends and relations, those from
the bride's friends being distributed among the
bridesgroom's friends and vice versa, the young couple
being left with nothing to begin housekeeping with, -
but as communistic ideas prevail amongst them, they
share and share alike and no one goes hungry.

Commercial exchanges between Europeans and Loyalty Islanders
in the nineteenth century were peaceful and mutually profitable, and
such was the extent of trading contacts, that the islanders, whether
on their islands or overseas, had ample opportunity and the necessary
wealth in either produce or labour to buy those goods they desired
most. Although socio-economic developments and changes took place
as a result of trading with Europeans, they were largely determined by,
and remained within the framework of indigenous self-
determination and, while not without their tensions, were profitable,
creative, and welcomed. The islanders were fortunate that while
there were opportunities for extensive trading with Europeans, they
were able to live their own life much as they wished, isolated from
some of the more usual and destructive consequences of European
commercial interest. The islanders never had to concern themselves
with the problems presented by European land grabbing and
settlement.

166 Hadfield to LMS, 26 April 1882, SSL, LMS.
167 Annie Creagh, 5-6.
Chapter Ten

Religion, instruction, and example

From the late 1840s onwards, missionaries and other Europeans were greatly impressed by the Loyalty Islanders' devotion to their respective missions and their enthusiasm for all activities connected with the church. It was generally considered by these Europeans that the various congregations would have set a fine example in many a European parish.

Their enthusiasm in religious matters is most remarkable... and [they] are in many respects models of generosity and religious zeal.

The entire populations took part in church affairs. In 1890, Hadfield reported that there was not one regular absentee among the 8,000 or more Protestants throughout the three islands. Nor did the Loyalty Islanders abandon their Christian ceremonies when they went overseas. Those who worked on the cane plantations in Queensland conducted their own religious services and were often considered by labour traders and missionaries who visited them to be 'an example to the white men among whom they lived'.

The Loyalty Islanders accepted the missionaries largely within the framework of their own political aspirations. As has already been described, the decision to follow one or other of the missions was made for most individuals by their great chiefs or clan chiefs, and the exact moment when the Islanders throughout all the regions began to behave as, and call themselves, Catholics or Protestants can readily be documented. The Islanders continued to associate themselves with the missionaries throughout the remainder

1 e.g. Bernard to Poupinel, 30 November 1861, VHA; Creagh to LNS, February 1835, 23 January 1874, SSL, LMS; Gill, 228; Goodenough, 305-308; Hadfield to LNS, 12 September 1896, SSL, LNS; Nihill to 'Papa', 1 August 1852, W. Nihill Papers, Bocken Library; Pionnier to Gay, 13 June 1871; and Pionnier to ?, 3 August 1874, IV ONG, ARM; Tyrrell to ?, 21 September 1851, 'Letters from Bishop Selwyn and others', 833.

2 Coote, 154.

3 Hadfield, Report, 28 December 1893, SSR, LMS.

4 RC, ME, (Macdonald), 34. See also RC, ME, (Lewers), 38, (Steel), 44, (Lang), 15-16.
of the nineteenth century largely because it was politically and economically expedient to do so. But this reason is not sufficient on its own to explain the popular enthusiasm for Christianity, and neither does it fully explain the nature of the islanders' Christianity.

It is necessary, first of all, to emphasize that the new doctrines, as the islanders interpreted them and as they were often explained by the missionaries and Rarotongan and Samoan teachers, were not in essence incompatible with their former beliefs and rituals.

The Loyalty Islanders believed their existence to be affected and ultimately controlled by ubiquitous spirit-beings — the spirits of the dead, represented by the dead person's fingernails, tufts of hair, bones, and teeth, all carefully protected in small packets, and spirits of supernatural origins which fell into two classes. Some had regulative functions in the temporal world — such as responsibility for the fertility of women and crops, the weather, the health of the people, and their success in fishing and warfare. These spirit-beings were sometimes represented by natural forms such as trees, rocks, areas of bush, villages, burial grounds, and various birds and animals. The islanders also possessed small figures carved from wood, and naturally shaped or roughly carved stones, the most important of which were the hane. The more perceptive missionaries noted that such artefacts were not idols: 'They generally look to some spirit beyond the image or stone before which they bow'. Some of these spirits were temporary or periodic. When Jones visited Lifu in 1856, he and his Lifuan

5 Hadfield, 143, and chapter IX *passim*.
9 MacFarlane, 16.
guides walked over a 'god' for the fertility of yams - a white mark on a flat coral rock. Jones explained that as the yams had already been gathered, the 'god' was no longer important, but had it been the planting season, no one would have dared to approach the rock.10 Other spirit-beings, having no physical representation, existing in human or phantom form in the islanders' imaginations, were malevolent and were held responsible for death and destruction.11 There was no hierarchical arrangement of any of the spirit-beings, and no concept of a supreme one; each was a separate and independent entity.12 All were capable of benefiting or harming the islanders, and much of a person's everyday existence was concerned with rituals to appease hostile forces, and perhaps set them onto enemies, and to solicit the aid of the regulative spirits.13 In addition, each clan had its own totem, a lizard, a rat, or a bird, but never a kingfisher which 'everyone agreed... was a bird of ill omen and the incarnation of wickedness'.14

The atesi and the masters of the soil who possessed the bone were those who had the most power over the spirit-beings, and hence over the temporal world. Beneath them were the priests with various specialized tasks, such as making wind and rain, and causing or curing disease.15 The missionaries also noted a few cases where men whom they referred to as sorcerers, apparently distinct from the atesi and the masters, took advantage of the islanders' dread of evil spirits. These men made elaborate arrangements where an accomplice was hidden and made noises supposedly emanating from some demon, much to the terror of selected audiences. The missionaries' interpretation of such tactics as a method of maintaining order and

10 Jones to 'Hy dear friends', 16 May 1856, JMP 1845-1876, A399, HL.
11 Beaulieu, notes for the theological conference Noumea 1890, AAN; Bernard, 'Des superstitions', in 'Notices Historiques', AAN; [Marist Mission], Rapport sur les Superstitions, 9, 12; Ray, 296.
12 Beaulieu, notes for the theological conference Noumea 1890, AAN.
14 Hadfield, 156.
a healthy respect for those in authority was probably correct. But even the ordinary villager could claim some degree of supernatural influence, usually based on the relics and ever-present spirits of his ancestors.

Almost every man had his sacred object; each had its separate charm, and would only answer that purpose. Some were for making yams grow, others taro, others again bananas. In war they would take these sacred objects with them to render them invulnerable.

The islanders, explained the missionaries, lived 'in a constant relationship with the world of the spirits', and felt themselves under 'constant surveillance' no matter what they did or where they went. Their cosmological view made no distinction between religious and secular matters, but was concerned to explain, and hopefully to regulate, the forces of cause and effect. They made no attempt to explain the existence of their world or to hold to any metaphysical absolutes. In its general characteristics, their system of beliefs seems to have followed the broad outlines of many other religions of Melanesia.

The apparent ease and speed with which Loyalty Islanders accepted aspects of the Christian doctrine once they associated themselves with a mission can be explained partly by the way in which the new God was introduced to them: he was another spirit-being, but one who could carry out alone the multiplicity of activities of their own spirit-beings, and one who was apparently very powerful.

Given their preoccupation with spirit-beings, the Loyalty Islanders found it perfectly acceptable that the first Europeans

17 MacFarlane, 16.
18 [Marist Mission], Rapport sur les Superstitions, 9, 30.
19 Beaulieu, notes for the theological conference Noumea 1899, AGN.
20 e.g. see P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggit, eds., Gods Ghosts and Men in Melanesia, Melbourne, 1963, 6-22, and passim. The Loyalty Islanders' religion appears to have been very similar to that attributed to the New Caledonians, see Gagnière, Etude ethnologique sur la Religion des Néo-Calédoniens, Saint Louis, 1905. One of the first descriptions of the religions of the New Caledonians and the Loyalty Islanders is in Ta'unga, chapter 11.
and the Rarotongan and Samoan teachers that they met had their own supernatural champion with whom they communicated ritualistically. Although the islanders initially felt that the European deity may have been irrelevant to their way of life, they never denied his presence, or that he had some power. When the epidemics swept through the islands in the early 1840s, the new God was quickly implicated. Ta'unga described how the Mare people 'searched and searched for the reasons for that sickness' and after killing several of their priests, blamed the teachers. 21 And during the height of the following epidemic, he reported:

the chief's household became affected and all my medicine was used up in treating them. His family attended worship, but only because they feared death from the disease. 22

Ta'unga also noted the various rumours circulating Mare and Lifu. One ship's master allegedly told Bula:

'It is Jehovah who has killed you. All the islands are consumed by deaths wrought by Jehovah. But in Samoa, and it is really from there that this illness comes, the white men are consumed by death! Likewise when the ships which travel about reach Samoa, the crews dare not go inland for fear of that sickness. No more white men go to Samoa these days. Jehovah is a man-eating god. It is only in the white men's land that nobody dies. That is because the white men have no god. If only you people would live without gods like the Europeans do, you would not die...'

When the high chief of Lifu heard that news he became angry with the teachers and sought means of killing them. 23

Hence from the earliest years of European contact, the islanders' conception of the Christian God was explicable in their own terms, and they experimented accordingly. Sometimes the powers of their own and the European deities were put directly to the test. The LMS mission reported the following incident on their voyage to Mare in 1848:

21 Ta'unga, 80.
22 Ta'unga, 80.
23 Ta'unga, 81.
An old chief, hearing the teachers tracing diseases to divine and not human agency, sent for a noted priest, and engaged him to exert his power and bring disease upon some of the teachers, to see whether Jehovah or the priests of Naré were true. The priest went to the bush behind the teachers' house, with his basket of relics, viz., the hair, fingernails, bones, etc., of his forefathers; and, striking the air with his club, looked to see whether there was blood on his basket - a sign that vengeance had gone forth on the teachers. He beat the air and looked at his basket until he was tired. No blood appeared; and the chief and priest concluded that "Jehovah, the God of the teachers, must be a true God and a mighty one".

Missionaries and teachers were keen to encourage such experimentation, and emphasized that their one God could do all that the islanders' spirits could do, and a great deal more. Often explicit in such arguments was the threat that those who refused to believe in the new deity faced certain death. Ta'unga reported the following conversation with Jokwie, whom he met at Mu:

'Have I a soul?' he asked, and I replied, 'Yes, you have a soul'. Then he asked, 'Will my soul die?' and I answered, 'It will die if it does not know salvation'. 'For what reason will it die?' he asked, and I told him, 'It is because of your sins, because you glory in doing evil things. You have been held back by the power of the devil. You are in his hands now and you will not live'. 'How can the spirit be saved?' he asked, and I answered, 'By Jesus who was sent by God... It is right that you should believe in Jesus so you will be saved...'

Such notions are further exemplified by Ta'unga's discussion with a New Caledonian:

I met a man called Kari. I asked him, 'Who is God?' and he replied, 'Tungoe. He is a powerful and mighty god. There's no one to compare with him.' I asked him, 'What did he do?' And he replied, 'He saved us in the war'. So I told him about the real God, Jehovah, the creator of all things, and the guardian of all these things... you say that Tungoe is the God. He didn't create all things; he didn't make the heavens, the earth, the seas and man. He is not the basis of life. You say that Tungoe is made of rock. Ah! but Jehovah created the rock that you idolise. And you, you were also created by Jehovah and he gave you a long life. Also will he shorten it if he is angry with you. Can Tungoe save you from His hands? Who is there to protect you?'

---

74 Turner, 463-464.
75 Ta'unga, 83-84.
76 Ta'unga, 100-101.
Jones and Creagh on Mare were constantly exhorting the members of the yudok in the south and east to 'consider the advantages they would derive from accepting the Gospel', and pointed to the people's 'false gods' and asked if they protected them from death. On a visit to Uvea in 1860, MacFarlane heard of a deity made from a great rock which had recently tumbled into the sea, and he noted that the teachers told the people it had fallen because 'they did not accept the Gospel'.

The teachers always made the most of epidemics, telling the islanders that it was God's curse upon them for not believing in him, and the missionaries sometimes used the same argument. During an epidemic of scarlet fever on Uvea in 1860, Bernard 'took advantage of this terrible judgement of God' and made appeals for greater devotion to the church as a way for the sufferers to escape the wrath of the Almighty.

The new God was also portrayed as being invincible in war. Creagh told a group of southern Maresans that their chief who had recently been killed in battle, would still have been alive had he believed in the Protestant religion. Such claims gained credence, especially after Naasiline's successful attack upon the Si Achakaze under the Christian banner.

The Christian God's affinity with the islanders' own spirit-beings was further emphasized not only by his capabilities, but by the indigenous names given to him by the teachers and missionaries. On Lifiu, the Harists adopted the term hazet, and the LMS missionaries at first called him Cahore - ca meaning one. The LMS

27 Creagh to LMS, 26 May 1859, SSL, LMS.
28 MacFarlane, December 1860, Journal 1859-1869, A833, ML.
29 For other examples of natural phenomena being attributed to the power of the Christian God see Baker to LMS, 16 July 1861, SSL, LMS; Ella to his wife, 24 February 1863, Ella Correspondence 6, A207, ML.
30 Bernard to his sister, 14 April 1861, IV ONC, APM.
31 Creagh to LMS, 26 May 1859, SSL, LMS.
32 See above, 47-50.
33 Ray, 295.
34 Hadfield, 143.
missionaries later adopted the term Akatesi, the Mina equivalent. 35
in the TSW language, the LMS teachers used Kong, meaning an evil
spirit-being, capable of great wrath. Ella tried to change it to
Nalu, for he felt that Kong reinforced the notion that religion was
'purely a conciliation of an Evil Spirit'; 36 but even by the 1870s,
most Protestant Oceanians still retained the word Kong. 37

Even the adaptation of the external trappings of
Christianity indicates continuity rather than radical change. Although
they abandoned many of their sacred artefacts, 38 these were replaced
with novel and, they considered, more impressive ones, especially
from the Marists - statues of Christ and the Virgin, rosary beads,
religious paintings in churches, and their own individual medallions
bearing Christ's image. Although the LMS missionaries frequently
accused the Marists of indulging in idolatry, they too provided
their supporters with similar visual manifestations of their religion
- crosses, bibles, altars, stained glass windows in churches, and
the coconut juice and yams for communion 39 - all of which were
imbued with supernatural presence. Attention has already been drawn
to the islanders' fear on entering a church for the first time, and
their considering the missionaries' personal possessions as 'sacred'. 40

Missionary prayers, sermons, devotions for the sick, and
blessings of newly planted crops and new churches all had their
pre-European counterparts. 41 Words such as amen and Jehovah were

35 Hadfield, 144.
36 Ella, 20 June 1863, Diary 1864–1867, B249, ML; Ella to his
wife, 2 February 1865, Ella Correspondence 6, A207, ML.
37 Pratt to Ella, 18 September 1872, Ella Correspondence 7,
A208, ML.
38 MacFarlane to LMS, 16 October 1860, SSL, LMS; Turner, 512–
513. The abandoning of the artefacts may not have been
the great blow to 'heathen worship' as the missionaries
liked to imagine. In 1842, Cheyne noted that the 'images'
were 'very slightly esteemed - as the natives will readily
barter them for any European article which may take their
fancy', Trading Voyages, 131.
39 MacFarlane, 89–90.
40 See above, 46.
41 [Marist Mission], Rapport sur les Superstitions, passim.
warily used as incantations by the islanders, for they 'thought... [them] of far more importance than the prayer itself'.

Christian burial techniques and the notion of a spiritual life after death were not incompatible with the islanders' own beliefs and customs. Great chiefs on all the islands were usually placed in their canoes and hoisted up to caves overlooking the sea, or hidden deep in inland grottos. Most islanders, however, were buried underground, sometimes in a canoe or a specially hollowed out tree trunk.

Many when sick [explained MacFarlane] have their coffins made, that they may examine them before they die to see if they are properly cut.... Sometimes a native recovers after his coffin is made, upon which he suspends it from the roof of his hut until required. A few years ago there was a man... who, supposing that he was about to die, had his coffin made, that he might see his future resting-place. The coffin was made and laid beside him, and he pronounced it good. Afterwards, however, he recovered, but instead of suspending it from the roof of his hut he fixed to it an outrigger and used it as a small fishing-canoe.

There was no concept of reward or punishment after death. The islanders believed dead people lived on in spirit form, not going to any one place, but normally remaining about the islands, in frequent contact with those still living.

The Marists were instructed that 'the fear of superstition does not exclude faith' and were, in fact, encouraged to take advantage of many of the islanders' beliefs:

42 Jones, 'Nengone Habits, tales, traditions', 1863, MS., A396, ML.
43 Extracts from Nihill's journal, [Church of England], Island Mission, 60; Hadfield 216. The most notable burial caves visible today are at Doking, Chepenehe, and Netche. Erskine saw Yiewene Naisiline's coffin-canoe high in the cliffs at Netche, see Erskine, 374-375.
44 Hadfield, 216-217; Jones, 'Nengone Habits', A396, ML.
45 MacFarlane, 13-14.
considering that our natives have a superstitious
veneration for their ancestors, we believe it is
necessary to direct, use, Christianize this
traditional tendency.  

The priests were urged to place crosses and statues in all those
places where the islanders thought evil spirits lived, and to hold
impressive masses for the dead, and to pay particular attention to
holding memorial services each year for deceased great chiefs and
other prominent persons. They were also instructed to build fine
cemeteries where 'faith and art' combined.  

The LMS missionaries were just as aware of the necessity
to accommodate aspects of the islanders' 'superstition'. MacFarlane
commented:

feeling the tendency of the natives to regard the
sacrament with superstitious feelings, and the
desirability of keeping it as simple and primitive
as possible, and also of using elements that might
be easily procured by the natives themselves, we
determined to use the bread and wine of the country,
viz., the beautiful white yams for which the Loyalty
group is celebrated, and coconut milk... 

In many respects, Christianity provided the islanders with
new forms of animism and ritual, such that their pre- and post-
contact beliefs differed in degree rather than kind. And the
missionaries were only too well aware that Christianity had been
mingled with their former beliefs. In 1848, Turner explained: 'the
people generally still amalgamate with their Christianity their
former rites of heathenism', and in 1880, Creagh echoed similar
sentiments:

there is a vast amount of superstition, error, &
ignorance still pervading the minds of great numbers
of our church members. Their religion is more a
thing to be seen than to be felt & enjoyed in the
soul. 

48 [Marist Mission], Rapport sur les Superstitions, 100.
50 MacFarlane, 89.
51 Turner, 463.
52 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS.
Superstition is dying out, but its death is difficult and slow; and often when we have thought it had entirely gone, at least in its more preposterous phases, it has given a few convulsive gasps, proving to us that it still has a strong hold over the minds of most of our poor deluded islanders.  

The islanders' conception of Christianity was reflected in what the missionaries thought was a lack of spiritual understanding and feeling. There was not, said MacFarlane that deep heart-felt repentance on account of Sin. They never appear sorry for what they did before the Gospel was brought to them.  

I should like to see more heartiness and life in religion [said Sleigh].  

[Ella noted:] very dull, dreary, and wretched.... Why do I realize so little of spiritual conversion. 

The Marists were not so concerned to see a show of repentance, but complained that the islanders had a light-hearted approach to life which precluded the acceptance of 'serious ideas' of religion: there is not yet a well developed Christian spirit, but, however, [they] observe with great fidelity the main tenets of Christian life. 

The missionaries naturally made much of the theological differences between their respective Catholic and Protestant converts and the islanders were also well aware of some of the more notable divisive issues. Public debating between Catholic and Protestant islanders was common. The Catholics taunted the Protestants for their ignorance of the Holy Spirit, the Virgin, and Purgatory, and the Protestants retaliated by criticizing the Pope, the Catholic 'idols', and their 'compromising' in matters of faith and social

53 Hadfield, 167.  
54 MacFarlane to LMS, 16 October 1850, SSL, LNS.  
55 Sleigh to LMS, 12 November 1886, SSL, LNS.  
56 Ella, 18 October 1874, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML. See also, Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LNS; MacFarlane to LMS, 14 April 1869, SSL, LNS.  
57 Guitta to Poupinel, 26 November 1873, IV ONC, APM.  
58 Pionnier to Gay, 13 June 1871, IV ONC, APM. See also Pionnier to Chastel, 29 November 1871; and Boillot to ?, 15 October 1893, IV ONC, APM.
but for the islanders, such differences were not based on theological grounds but were utilized to highlight their conflicting political positions. In the handful of cases where individuals changed their religion, notably Ombalu, Pumali, and Take, they were motivated by temporal aspirations. It was a constant source of regret for both missions that once the lines of demarcation between Catholic and Protestant supporters were established, neither mission made further gains. As Fabvre sadly commented:

since the beginning of the mission, I do not believe that there has been one true conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism, not one real defection from Catholicism to Protestantism.

Christianity, as the islanders accepted and understood it, does not appear to have been the intellectual and spiritual bombshell the missionaries intended. The islanders' own beliefs did not pose any serious obstacle to the following of the new God, for their own religion was essentially pragmatic — an attempt to provide causal explanations for happenings in the temporal world. If the European God was all powerful, there was every reason to accept his protection and invoke his aid. The selection and adaptation of various Christian notions did not, therefore, involve any fundamental or disturbing changes in their view of existence, and heightened the pleasure of other attractions the missions offered.

Most islanders were exceptionally fond of their missionaries, and as many of the missionaries remained on the islands for long periods of time, they built up very strong personal ties with their followers. Beaullieu spent over fifty years there, Jones and Creagh over thirty, and Sleich and Fabvre over twenty. According to Hadfield, whenever a missionary left, the people in his area were called 'the deserted one' by the other islanders. Hadfield explained how they 'vinced under the taunt' for their missionaries were their 'pride and joy'.

59 Guide to Favre, March 1864, IV ONC, APM; Monrouzier to his parents, 21 May 1858, Monrouzier Personal File, APM.
60 See above, 131, 132, 164.
61 Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 January 1873, IV ONC, APM.
62 Hadfield, Lifu Report, 22 December 1892, SSR, LHS.
The islanders were also 'not a little proud' of the mission stations — particularly the LMS stations at Ro, Natche, Chepenehe, and Nu, and the Marist stations at St Joseph, Nathalo, and La Roche. Whenever a church or some other building was completed, several thousand people from all over the islands came to gaze in wonder and admiration.

The missionaries, particularly those of the LMS in the earlier years, were closely identified by the islanders with the technological apparatus of the European world — such as buildings, tools, and printing presses. The people crowded around muttering: 'how wise and how rich these foreigners are!'. The wells both missions dug were always a source of amazement. Guitta's personal popularity among his Marean followers rose perceptibly when his well struck water. Rougeyron commented on the occasion: 'It is not only with religion you must impress the natives, but still with things of material interest'.

Attention must also be drawn to the great pleasure the islanders gained from endless discussions about Christian doctrine amongst themselves and with the missionaries, who were often kept up until dawn, answering questions and relating biblical stories. As well, there were the pleasures of literacy, Christian rituals, and singing hymns.

The church provided opportunities for social advancement and prestige. Baptism and church membership added to an individual's dignity. MacFarlane explained:

I have found natives so anxious to be admitted to the church, that in order to accomplish their object, they would profess faith in Christ, or in anybody, or anything else; although there was evidently no change of heart.... They will make any sacrifice to be admitted to the church; would, no doubt, go round the island on "all fours" if required...

63 MacFarlane to LMS, 16 October 1860, SSL, LMS.
64 Sleigh to LMS, 1 November 1869; and Sunderland to LMS, 16 August 1835, SSL, LMS; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 28 October 1861, VNA.
65 Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LMS.
66 Rougeyron to Fauvre, 16 December 1868, APP, 41(1869), 464.
67 Barriol to his parents, September 1858, IV ONC, APM.
68 To be discussed shortly.
69 MacFarlane, 87-88.
Young children were encouraged by their parents to sit for examinations the missionaries held periodically - a child might win some prize or be picked as a bell ringer or a minor church official if he or she was successful. Adults who had no chance of ever becoming a teacher had the opportunity to work in the local church administration as organizers and overseers of the various church activities. The LMS missionaries appointed large numbers of 'chapel keepers' whose job was to watch over young people to make sure they did not read, talk, or fall asleep while they should be listening or worshipping. The Marists had a system of 'censors' who were responsible for reporting any 'misdemeanours' on church occasions to the priests. Some individuals who may not otherwise have gone to church and taken part in the religious activities were forced to do so by the Marist censors, and the LMS police. In 1869, MacFarlane wrote of some members of his congregation:

'Tis all fear, fear, fear; they are afraid of God, and afraid of the missionaries and afraid of the Commandant. They fear of hell, expulsion from churches...

But such moods were not characteristic of the majority of people, who certainly showed their enthusiasm for the church every weekend and on special religious occasions. Each Saturday, they returned from their inland plantations and prepared food and practised their lessons for the following day. On Sunday, everyone dressed in their finest European clothes and participated in long church services, vast outdoor question and answer meetings and feasting. The special collection days for both missions, the celebrations on the anniversaries of the founding of the respective missions, mass baptisms, and meetings to welcome visiting mission personalities were the most impressive occasions where a thousand or more islanders displayed their wealth in produce and their oratorical capabilities. So successful were the LMS collection meetings that the missionaries

70 Jones to LMS, 11 May 1860, SSL, LMS; MacFarlane, 63.
71 Ella, 22 October 1868, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML.
72 Pionnier to his family, 5 December 1872, ANO, 3(1873), 272-273.
73 MacFarlane to LMS, 14 April 1869, SSL, LMS.
74 Creagh to LMS, 6 June 1866, 2 July 1880; and Jones to LMS, 11 May 1860, SSL, LMS; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 28 October 1861, VMA.
Young children were encouraged by their parents to sit for examinations the missionaries held periodically. A child might win some prize or be picked as a bell ringer or a minor church official if he or she was successful. Adults who had no chance of ever becoming a teacher had the opportunity to work in the local church administration as organizers and overseers of the various church activities. The LMS missionaries appointed large numbers of 'chapeli keepers' whose job was to watch over young people to make sure they did not read, talk, or fall asleep when they should be listening or worshipping. The Marists had a system of 'censors' who were responsible for reporting any 'misdemeanours' on church occasions to the priests. Some individuals who may not otherwise have gone to church and taken part in the religious activities were forced to do so by the Marist censors, and the LMS police. In 1869, MacFarlane wrote of some members of his congregations:

'Tis all fear, fear, fear; they are afraid of God, and afraid of the missionaries and afraid of the Commandant. They fear of hell, expulsion from churches...

But such moods were not characteristic of the majority of people, who certainly showed their enthusiasm for the church every weekend and on special religious occasions. Each Saturday, they returned from their inland plantations and prepared food and practised their lessons for the following day. On Sunday, everyone dressed in their finest European clothes and participated in long church services, vast outdoor question and answer meetings, and feasting. The special collection days for both missions, the celebrations on the anniversaries of the founding of the respective missions, mass baptisms, and meetings to welcome visiting mission personalities were the most impressive occasions where a thousand or more islanders displayed their wealth in produce and their oratorical capabilities. So successful were the LMS collection meetings that the missionaries

---

70 Jones to LMS, 11 May 1860, SSL, LMS; MacFarlane, 83.
71 Elia, 22 October 1868, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML.
72 Pionnier to his family, 5 December 1872, AMO, 3(1875), 272-273.
73 MacFarlane to LMS, 14 April 1869, SSL, LMS.
74 Creagh to LMS, 4 June 1866, 2 July 1880; and Jones to LMS, 11 May 1860, SSL, LMS; Rougeyron to Poupinel, 28 October 1861, VMA.
soon abandoned the practice of holding them at either Ro or Netche twice a year and organized numerous separate village collections. The people thought the idea was a good one for there were far more opportunities for feasting and, said Creagh, 'it gives a greater number of orators an opportunity of displaying their powers'. The missionaries sometimes encouraged 'innocent games' such as throwing wooden spears and 'foot racing for prizes'. Always there were flags, processions, and people running madly about. MacFarlane described one of the first collection meetings on Lifou:

Great preparations were made. A suitable place, about a quarter of a mile from the village, was cleared, and a platform erected under a large tree. Large quantities of food were collected and piled in heaps, crowned with baked pigs, fowls, and fish, pierced through with long sticks and placed in the most grotesque manner. Mrs McFarlane and the teachers' wives made a number of gay banners from pieces of fancy print; upon a few white ones I painted mottoes and texts of scripture; these were carried by the delighted natives, who formed at the church, and walked in procession to the place of rendezvous, each Sabbath school teacher at the head of his and her scholars - we had commenced regular Manchester Sabbath schools. Many of the Roman Catholics and heathen were present, to whom spirited and pointed appeals were made by the speakers. The natives gave such as they had, and their contributions amounted, from both districts, to £13, 17s 71/4d in cash, and 2,145 native mats, bags, etc. After the meeting was over the food was divided, which is a rather exciting and amusing time. The natives gave such as they had, and their contributions amounted, from both districts, to £13, 17s 7 1/4d in cash, and 2,145 native mats, bags, etc. After the meeting was over the food was divided, which is a rather exciting and amusing time. I soon learnt that the success of a meeting amongst the natives did not depend so much upon the amount of food, it would be considered an insult to any that were omitted. When all is divided, one man is appointed to stand near each pile of food, calling out the name of the village for which it is intended, and immediately after which there is a scramble. Half a dozen men stand round, armed with cudgels to prevent natives from other villages taking the food which does not belong to them; yet although they use their sticks pretty freely, there is a good deal of pilfering goes on, much to the

75 Creagh to LMS, 2 July 1880, SSL, LMS.
76 Sleigh to LMS, 1 November 1869, SSL, LMS.
amusement of the crowd of spectators. After the food has been distributed, all is noise, merriment and confusion for a time. Some may be seen capering about with immense yams, the size of which they are diminishing as quickly as possible; another will have a leg of pork; others will be carving a fowl in the most primitive and expedite manner; whilst fish, on the end of sticks, may be seen moving as rapidly in the air as ever they did in their natural element. The food having all disappeared, we spend the remainder of the day in innocent games. Fire-works, and sometimes a balloon, close the proceedings of a happy day.

The missionaries sometimes used technological novelties to attract even greater numbers. One priest had a camera and toured about, photographing the islanders who flocked to him in their hundreds and Hadfield drew crowds to the LMS mission with his magic lantern shows.

In the Loyalty Islands, Christianity was generally accepted eagerly by the islanders and rapidly became one of the most dominant popular forces in their society. But although the people acted and identified themselves as either Catholics or Protestants, the evangelists looked in vain for spiritual conversion which betokened ultimate success for their mission. In spite of the obvious changes to their way of life and the impressive external manifestations of Christianity, the reasons why the islanders accepted, and the way in which they interpreted the new doctrines lay within the patterns of their own political, economic, and social aspirations, and their own beliefs.

As soon as finances and other circumstances allowed, the LMS and Marist missionaries, and the French administration attempted to educate the younger Loyalty Islanders in the hope of creating a future adult generation in the image of 'civilized' Europeans. The LMS missionaries were the first to begin the experiment and throughout the nineteenth century, most of the Loyalty Islanders' formal education was under LMS auspices.

In 1856, Jones and Creagh set up day schools for boys and girls on Mare with rolls of over 300 at both Ro and Natche, and by

---

77 MacFarlane, 83-85.
78 Hadfield, Lifu Report, 22 December 1892, SSR, LMS.
the 1860s, they had over 400 pupils at each station. But in spite of such impressive figures, high absenteeism tempered the success of the schools. Parents did not like to leave their children behind when they went to their inland gardens during the week, and in the planting and harvesting seasons, the children were usually required to help with the work. To keep the children under the 'yoke of instruction', the LMS missionaries organized boarding schools at Ro in 1857 and Netche in 1859. Jones had fifty pupils by the early 1860s and Creagh had thirty. In addition to religious instruction, these children were taught to speak, read and write English, and were given lessons in arithmetic and geography. The girls were also given lessons in sewing, ironing and other domestic tasks, while the boys were taught carpentry, masonry, and other trades. Both schools had small plots of land within two or three miles and all pupils worked there on Saturdays to help keep them in food. On Lifu, MacFarlane and Sleigh, who also had problems with absenteeism from the day schools, commenced boarding schools at Chaponche and N. MacFarlane established a seminary at Chaponche in 1862, and Jones opened one at Ro the following year, where it was hoped to train teachers to help run the church on the Loyalty Islands and penetrate New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and beyond.

In May 1864, the French ordered the closure of all the LMS schools, though because there was no French presence on Mare, Jones continued his programmes untroubled, and MacFarlane secretly taught pupils in his seminary at Chaponche. The small number of Protestant supporters and the difficulties they and Ella had with

---

79 Creagh to LMS, 29 September 1858, 26 January 1859, 2 November 1859, 26 November 1860, 14 December 1862; and Jones to LMS, 26 June 1855, 10 November 1859, 19 December 1862, SSL, LMS.
80 Jones to LMS, 11 February 1856, 23 April 1858, SSL, LMS.
81 Creagh, *Report of the Boarding School for Native Children* (Netche), 1861; and Jones, *Report of the Boarding School for Native Children* (Ro), 1862, SSL, LMS. See also Creagh to LMS, 28 May 1859; and Jones to LMS, 6 August 1860, SSL, LMS.
82 MacFarlane, 95; MS. notes at Ecole Pastorale, Chaponche, Lifu.
83 See above, 109.
84 MacFarlane to Jeffries, 3 May 1866, SSL, LMS.
the Catholics meant that there was no effective school system on Uvea. Not until Hadfield arrived in 1879 were there any regular classes.

After the LMS was given permission to recommence its schools in 1865, the day schools were moved out into the villages and taught by the islanders themselves. In 1884, there were twenty-five schools with 1,700 pupils on Lifu; on Uvea, there were five schools and 350 pupils; and on Mare in 1877, there were fourteen schools with 1,000 pupils. \(^{85}\) The new system fared little better than when the schools were conducted by the missionaries at their stations. There were still problems of absenteeism. Also the parents lost their earlier enthusiasm for schooling their children, possibly because the schools run in their villages and by islanders did not confer the same prestige upon their children as those held by the missionaries at their stations. Furthermore, the parents were expected to provide money for the village schools as the parent LMS organization did not provide for them in the annual budgets. \(^{86}\)

The missionaries thought that the greatest weakness of such schools was the inefficiency of the teachers.

Some of our best preachers or pastors (who are the teachers of the schools) are our worst scholars.... Our pastors seem to have the idea that their main or only business is to stand up and preach, notwithstanding our repeatedly telling them to look well after the children & to insist on the parents cooperating with them in their efforts.... Many were chosen merely because they could speak; but there were no better to be had. \(^{87}\)

The LMS missionaries remaining on the islands, therefore, were not unduly disturbed when the French finally closed all such schools in 1884. \(^{88}\)

After 1865, the LMS missionaries concentrated their efforts on the boarding schools on Lifu and Mare, yet these schools too faced great difficulties. The Mare schools were abandoned in 1869.

---

\(^{85}\) Creagh, Statistics for Wet 1884; Hadfield, Statistics for Uvea 1884; Jones, Statistics for Mare 1877; Sleigh, Statistics for Losi 1884, all in SSR, LMS.

\(^{86}\) Creagh to LMS, 8 July 1882; Hadfield to LMS, 26 October 1882; Jones to LMS, 22 February 1878, 6 September 1882, SSL, LMS.

\(^{87}\) Creagh to LMS, 8 July 1882, SSL, LMS.

\(^{88}\) Jones, Statistics for Mare 1884, SSR, LMS.
because they absorbed too much of the missionaries' time, and because
the LMS cut down on the funds available to them. \textsuperscript{89} Attempts
made later to revive the schools but the conditions laid down were
that the parents had to feed and clothe the students and as a
consequence, support fell drastically. \textsuperscript{90} The schools on Lifu were
also made dependent on parental aid: 'The eager rush of former days
for the Institution', reported the missionaries, 'has passed away.' \textsuperscript{91}

For all their very considerable efforts, the LMS
missionaries' achievement in the field of schooling fell far below
their expectations. In 1883, Creagh summed up the situation by
saying that the people had not so much gone back in their educational
progress, but that they had not reached 'to that high standard which
we aim at'. \textsuperscript{92} The missionaries were inclined to blame the islanders'
low 'intellectual capacity' rather than the administration of the
schools. \textsuperscript{93} Creagh complained that the young men could manage:

\begin{itemize}
  \item compound add. sub. mult. & div of money, and a few
  \item simple questions in calculating money, English &
  \item French; but they are puzzled & fail in most cases
  \item at all complicated which require any independent
  \item thought.
\end{itemize}

The most successful Protestant school was the seminary at
Chepenehe. Apart from educating scores of young men to preach on
their own islands, fourteen were trained and sent to the east coast
of New Caledonia between 1871, when the French allowed them in, and
1900, and twelve went to New Guinea between 1871 and 1882. \textsuperscript{95} Like the

\begin{itemize}
\item Creagh to LHS, 23 January 1869, SSL, LHS.
\item Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS; Jones
to LMS, 22 February 1878, 6 September 1882, SSL, LMS.
\item Creagh, Report for the Lifu Institution 1885, SSL, LMS.
\item Creagh to LMS, 15 January 1883, SSL, LMS.
\item Jones, Report for the Mare Institution 1878, SSR, LMS.
\item Creagh, Report for the Lifu Institution 1875, SSR, LMS.
\item MS. notes at Ecole Pastorale, Chepenehe, Lifu. See also
Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1860, SSL, LMS. There
was continual arguing between the LMS missionaries on the
Loyalty Islands and Guillain throughout the 1860s over whether
or not Protestant teachers should be allowed into New Caledonia
from the Loyalty Islands. As long as Guillain remained
governor, the missionaries had no chance of expansion in that
direction. See Creagh to LMS, 26 August 1869, 24 November
1870; Creagh and Jones to Guillain, 23 December 1866;
MacFarlane to LMS, 14 April 1869; all in SSL, LMS.
\end{itemize}
Karatongan and Samoan teachers a generation beforehand, these men bothered little with the formalities of a European classroom curriculum but they could preach the gospel in fine style.

The Natives never bothered with day schools and concentrated on boarding schools where they hoped to isolate the children from their corrupting village environment. But lacking resources, and support on Mare and Lifu, it was not until the 1870s that small schools were commenced at Nathalo and St Joseph, and the 1880s at La Roche and Penelo. 96 The French administration played an even smaller role in the formal education of the islanders. There were no government schools on Uvea at all, and none on Lifu until 1886, 97 except for the one conducted by the soldiers at Chepenehe in the 1860s. The French preferred to concentrate on Mare to weaken English influences. In the early 1880s, they organized a number of schools hoping to create a 'French generation' within about fifteen years. In 1884, on paper they had schools at Tadine, Niri, Ro, Hedu, and Tawained, with a total roll of 760. One was run by the hapless Cru and the others by a few Mareans and three army officers. The people were very reluctant to send their children to the schools and such was the severity of the problem of absenteeism, that the schools did not operate in practice. 98

ALTHOUGH their formal educational programmes failed to produce students in the image of English middle-class school children, the LMS missionaries' greatest achievement was in providing the basic tools which enabled the islanders to become literate in their own languages. With Ta'unaga's assistance, the LMS prepared a few pages in Rempang which they distributed to the teachers on Mare in 1848. 99 The pamphlets were instantly popular and by 1852, the Si Gwahrna and Si Waeko were 'vigorously applying themselves to read'. Eighty read

96 Le Boucher to Min., 29 October 1885, GC 1885, carton 85, ANOM; Guide to Poupinel, 22 January 1873, IV GCC, APH; Goubin to ?, 21 September 1878, AMO, 5(1885), 129; Frayse to ?, 15 October 1893, IV GCC, APH; Salinis, Rapport, 24 June 1884, AAN.

97 Creagh to LMS, 14 January 1886, SSL, LMS. After 1886, the school was usually run by Lifuans themselves and was not very successful.

98 Salinis, Rapport, 24 June 1884, AAN.

99 Gill, 227.
Nihill set up a small press at Netroe in the early 1850s and trained Mareans to operate it. He translated 'simple' portions of scripture and liturgy which were widely distributed. When the permanent LMS missionaries arrived in 1854, some 250 islanders could read and forty could write. The LMS missionaries set up a much larger press, and with Nihill's aid and his knowledge of the language, began to translate and print chapters of the Bible. The slim books were seized eagerly and the islanders throughout the northern and western areas of Mare formed themselves into small groups to practise reading and writing. Those who were given slates avidly copied parts of the sermons they heard and afterwards were surrounded by crowds of people eager to discuss what they had written. By the mid 1850s, portions of scripture were printed in Denu and sent to Losi where there was tremendous enthusiasm for them. Anything printed, said Jones:

is prized as the nugget would be by the Australian scrivener and is sought after with equal...[?] and the house of the missionary being the receptacle for all such publications, is crowded continually.

With the aid of some Lifuan scholars in Auckland, Patteson translated and printed thirty-two pages of Bible history, sixteen of prayers, and eight of questions and answers. He was given an enthusiastic reception at Mu in 1858:

"You see" said I cunningly "that we don't forget you during those months that I can't live among you". They began reading at once. "Excellent". "Exactly right". "The very thing..."
printed material was copiously cared for and a piece of paper was a valuable extra. Jones was forced to set aside one morning a week to distribute old newspapers and advertising pages of evangelical magazines just for this purpose. The islanders also made special bags to carry their books about. 107

Until Jones was expelled in 1637, books poured from the LMS presses on Hare. By the mid-1860s, the missionaries had printed 1,500 copies of much of the New Testament in Newcome; 5,000 copies of a 120 page Lifuan hymn book; 6,000 copies of John’s Gospel, and 8,000 catechisms in Pohn. 108 By 1871, most of the Bible had been translated and printed in Dehu, Newcome and Lu. 109 The islanders’ enthusiasm for books never died out; even as late as 1877, an edition of 6,000 Lifuan hymn books virtually sold out in a few hours.

‘Pleasantly shows that neither religion nor clothing prevented stronger attractions,’ said the missionaries. ‘The desire to read was also sustained throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the 1870s, the islanders were still in the habit of copying down missionary sermons, checking them later against the missionary’s own notes, and then forming groups where the sermons were again copied out and discussed.’

Most of the Uvea Protestants could read by the mid-1860s and many took great delight in writing with sticks in the sand. 112 In 1871, Creagh reported that on Hare ‘nearly every young man & woman can read and write’, and the French administration was disturbed when Salinis explained in 1874 that the entire Protestant population under the age of twenty-seven was literate. 114 Creagh wrote in the 1880s that most of the Lifuans had ‘attained the art of reading, & many are able to write, after a fashion’. 115

107 Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LMS.
108 Creagh to LMS, 3 January 1865, SSL, LMS.
109 ‘A list of Scriptures translated on the Loyalty Islands to Dec 1871’, SSL, LMS.
110 Sleigh, Life Report, 10 December 1878, SSR, LMS.
111 Jones to LMS, 15 October 1871, SSL, LMS.
112 Garnier, 302.
113 Creagh to LMS, 21 July 1871, SSL, LMS.
114 Salinis, Rapport, 24 February 1884, AAM.
115 Creagh to LMS, 8 July 1882, SSL, LMS.
took a census of literacy on Uvea and Lifu in 1894: 2,653 out of 5,659 Lifuan Protestants could read and by 1901, the figure had risen to 3,193; 510 out of 712 Uvean Protestants were able to read. 116

One of the most remarkable features of the rapid change from a pre-literate to a literate society on the Loyalty Islands was that it resulted largely from the islanders' mutual instruction. The LMS missionaries provided them with an alphabet and printed material, and taught pupils in the day schools before 1864 and in the boarding schools and the seminaries how to read and write, and from there the movement snowballed. The missionaries themselves were amazed that every night 'in almost every hut... a group of most earnest learners... [could] be seen'. 117

In the earlier contact years, printed material was often seen as 'a kind of talisman which gave as magic the knowledge of thoughts'. 118 Books and pamphlets were also prestige possessions, and provided opportunities for people to show off their skill in reading, so emulating Europeans. Montrouzier was most sceptical of the Protestants he saw ostensibly reading at Chepenehe in 1858, and described how they could keep on reading out aloud when the books were taken away for they had learnt the words off by heart. 119 Macfarlane gave the example of one islander who 'had on a pair of spectacles; he was looking intently, with the most hypocritical face, upon a small hymn book which was turned upside down'. 120 However, from the 1860s onwards, there is every indication that books were desired for pleasure and information, and that an extremely high proportion of Loyalty Islanders could read their own language. 121

The Marists did little in the field of translating and printing, mainly because they had not the resources to set up a press, and they were forced to use the scriptures printed by the LMS missionaries in Nengone and Dehu. They were in difficulties on

116 Hadfield, Lifu Report, 29 December 1894; Lifu Report, 26 December 1901, SSR, LMS.
117 Ella to LMS, 26 October 1865, SSL, LMS.
118 Montrouzier to Fauvre, 1 January 1859, IV ONC, APM.
119 Montrouzier to Fauvre, 1 January 1859, IV ONC, APM.
120 Macfarlane, 77.
even because the LMS missionaries printed in Jai, whereas a large proportion of the Catholics spoke Uvea. In 1862, Bernard translated some catechisms into Uvea but the Marist organization was unable to publish them because of the great number Bernard demanded and lack of money. 122 The Marists were particularly at a disadvantage with regard to printed catechisms, for they could obviously not use those the LMS circulated, and throughout the remainder of the century, they were much disheartened by their inability to emulate the LMS mission printing programme. 123

The French administration accused the LMS mission of having taught the Loyalty Islanders English, and English customs, but such learning resulted from their association with Englishmen generally, and not from formal mission training. In the LMS boarding schools and the seminaries, some attempt was made to teach the brightest pupils how to read and write English but with very little success. When the directors of the LMS suggested in 1882 that more effort should be made by the missionaries on the Loyalty Islands to teach the people to read English, Jones answered that such a task was impossible. Since 1857, he pointed out, only two Ncreans had managed to use 'with intelligence' books in English. 124

An ability to communicate in English came quickly to the Loyalty Islanders. In 1849, Erskine met a chief on Lifu who addressed him 'with a swaggering manner and an odious jabber of English slang words'; 125 Nihill reported in 1850 that the Lifuans had adopted 'every low and degraded habit and expression to be found among the worst of our countrymen'; 126 the LMS missionaries on their first voyage to Uvea, in 1857, commented that many of the young men had travelled around the Pacific on English trading vessels

122 Rougeyron to Poupinel, 5 February 1862, VMA.
123 Gaide to Poupinel, 8 November 1865, VMA; Fabvre to Poupinel, 8 January 1873, IV ONC, AP4.
124 Jones to LMS, 6 September 1882, SSL, LMS. See also Creagh to LMS, 8 July 1882, SSL, LMS.
125 Erskine, 366.
and, consequently, speak a little English. Some of them, indeed, spoke English so well, that we had no difficulty in conversing with them. 127 Merriman told the Royal Commission into kidnapping that the 'greater part' of the Mareans spoke 'imperfect English, as many of them have been in vessels for bâche-de-mer', 128 before the Marists learnt the islanders' languages, they had to speak to them in English; 129 and French administrators and other European travellers frequently commented upon the islanders' knowledge of the English language and their ability to emulate the example set by the Englishmen with whom they lived and worked. 130 One Frenchman who called into Uvea showed an islander a watch and waited for the man's expected reaction of great excitement and bewilderment at such a wondrous object. Instead, the Uvean glanced at it casually and said, correctly, 'It's half-past eleven'. 131

The French administration and the Marists made little headway in teaching the islanders French until well into the twentieth century, and most of the middle-aged and older islanders today had parents, and certainly grandparents whom they remember spoke English. Although most of the present day islanders speak French, in addition to their own languages, they count and tell the time in English and virtually every European item that was originally introduced in the nineteenth century, still retains its English name.

The islanders' social habits were not noticeably affected by the religious and formal or informal secular instruction they received from Europeans. Patteson, in 1858, was one of the first missionaries to strongly criticize those who were ostensibly practising Christians:

127 Samoa Reporter, October 1857.
128 RG, ME, (Merriman), 23.
129 Hontrouzier to Yardin, 8 September 1858; and Palazy to ?, July 1858, IV GNC, APM.
130 Garnier, 305; Couharou to Pallu de la Barrière, 4 December 1883, CG 1877-1884, carton 88, ANOM; Guillain to Bourgey, 20 April 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM; de Rochas, 'îles Loyalty', 23.
131 Garnier, 302.
The same dirt, the same houses, the same idle vicious habits in most cases - no sense of decency or but very little - Where is the expression of the Scriptural life...? A man reads a chapter in his filthy hut, men, women & children, pigs & fowls all huddled together - The Chap. contains warnings agst. immorality. This over, instantly they all lie down together & with minute accuracy discuss some case of adultery that has taken place in the village - children & all alive, eagerly alive, to the interest of all the conversation, and as the filthy poison sinks into their minds they congratulate themselves that they are spiritual & so forth. 

Throughout the century, such complaints were common enough from the missionaries. In his 1880 ten year report, Creagh wrote:

We have not that amount of social elevation we could desire; the people for the most part cling to their old habits - herd promiscuously together; sleep in dirt and squalor in houses with but one room & no windows; wear but scant clothing except on service days & holidays, & use language offensive to civilized ears... refinement does not exist amongst them, and their moral feelings are not at all elevated. 

The LMS missionaries initially had hopes that 'moral improvement' would result from the islanders' visits to 'civilized' countries, as well as through mission activities on their own islands. In 1848, the missionaries were pleased to find that so many Mareans had already been to Sydney and related their adventures to spellbound audiences. They described
great houses for the worship of God, crowds attending, schools for the children etc.; and are thus testifying to their countrymen that what the teachers have told them of Christianity must be true.

The Melanesian Mission policy was based on similar assumptions and it was hoped that those returning from school in Auckland would become 'little centres of light to their own people'.135 Unfortunately for the missionaries, very little 'respectability' rubbed off onto the islanders overseas. Nibill noted with dismay the reaction of the Melanesian Mission pupils as they neared their islands after

---

132 Patteson to 'Fan', 25 August 1858, Patteson Papers, ANU; See also Patteson to Jones, 25 August 1858, JMF 1845-1876, A399, NL.

133 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS. See also Ella, Uvea Report 1868, SSR, LMS; Hadfield, Lifu Report, 18 December 1889, SSR, LMS; Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS; Sleigh to LMS, 30 January 1878, SSR, LMS.

134 Turner, 464.

135 Patteson to Jones, 25 August 1858, JMF 1845-1876, A399, NL.
their sojourn in Auckland:

they seem to get wilder again; tie on handkerchiefs in room of native head-dresses; talk more of their own tongue, and in louder tones. 136

The LMS missionaries explained that all those islanders who travelled on English ships

seem to have profited little from what they have seen; for they have all returned to their former savage life. 137

Such comments were naturally a reflection of the missionaries' own narrow moral outlook, and were based on their assumption that the consequence of accepting Christianity should have been 'social elevation' - the substitution of the values of European respectability for the islanders' own habits. The comments, nevertheless, are significant for they indicate that the islanders selected and adapted only aspects of Christianity and all it was supposed to involve, and they did so for their own reasons and in their own way.

In their responses to Christianity and other European ideas, as well as in their trading and commercial developments with the Europeans, the Loyalty Islanders displayed a remarkable self-determination, characterized by confidence, enthusiasm, and creativeness. It was a reaction of a people intent on taking the initiative and putting to good use, rather than rejecting, or passively accepting, the presence of Europeans and their ways.

136 Hogg, 19.
137 Samoan Reporter, October 1857. Similar comments were made by the LMS missionaries about those islanders returning from working on the mines in New Caledonia later in the century, see Hadfield to LMS, 4 March 1892, SSL, LMS.
THE QUESTION OF IMPACT
Chapter Eleven

Firearms

The consequences of the European influences discussed so far do not appear to have been detrimental to the general well-being of Loyalty Island society. But it is necessary to investigate other European influences which historians and other writers have long maintained did have a pernicious effect upon Pacific islanders, and frequently resulted in serious depopulation of their communities – firearms, diseases, and, some would add, alcohol.

A commonly held assumption is that the introduction of firearms into existing hostilities among Pacific islanders resulted in unprecedented mortality.

[muskets assisted] the islanders to decimate themselves much more efficiently than was possible when they had to depend upon mere clubs and spears. 1

Native feuds hitherto conducted on a small scale flared into wars of extermination. 2

The rise of pocket-Napoleons was implicit in the first sight of a musket on an island shore. 3

In a society dominated by war... initial reactions to the acquisition of bloodier weapons were overt aggressiveness and cruelty. 4

other similar statements are all too common in works on the Pacific. Similar assumptions have been made about the fighting on the Loyalty Islands where, it has been argued, firearms turned the islanders' lands into 'bloody wars' and gave them 'a desperate character' unknown in 'traditional' warfare. Some comments by Europeans during the contact period lend weight to such opinions. In 1860, Saisset wrote to his minister in Paris that the fighting on the Loyalty Islands had become 'very deadly' since firearms had been introduced by English traders; Bernard said the same wars had resulted in 'depopulation'; and Jones wrote in 1888 that hostilities on Mare had 'caused decimation during the last thirty-five years'. Missionary records are sprinkled with references to 'wars of extermination' on the Loyalty Islands and as so much of the contact history revolves around indigenous conflict, such comments might seem reasonable enough; but a closer investigation suggests they are inaccurate.

VISITORS to the Loyalty Islands in the 1840s all thought war was virtually continuous and formed 'the principal employment'. Even in times of 'peace' there was always great hostility and mutual suspicion between enemies. The first Europeans described three methods of warfare. Unique to Lifu was a formalized combat where,

---


7 Saisset to Min., 10 August 1860, B84 1036, ANM.

8 Bernard to Favre, 4 September 1867, IV ONC, APW.

9 South Australian Register, 8 March 1888, Jones noscuttings, ML.

10 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 105. See also Ta'unga, 86.

11 Cheyne, Sailing Directions, 28; Hadfield, 170.
on a result of some insult, one party issued a declaration of war against another and both sides mutually arranged a time and place for 'a fair open fight'. No matter how serious the issue, the formalities of consultation and the 'etiquette of war' were always strictly followed. For several days the warriors prepared their weapons, sung and danced, and practised for the battle. Ta'unga described how a leader went through the motions of lunging, crouching, and dodging with a spear in front of warriors who copied his movements in unison. Then they performed rituals to make themselves invincible and blackened their chests and faces and arranged tapa and feathers in their hair before marching off to fight. Cheyne gave an excellent description of a typical battle: on the day appointed both parties meet on a clear spot of Ground between the two tribes - and form in line abreast of each other about 100 yards (or more) distant. The fight is then commenced by throwing Spears from both Armies and which they generally catch and throw back again. The two lines then make a charge, meet, exchange blows with their clubs in passing - and again halt, at about the same distance, having changed positions. They continue these manoeuvres, until some of either party is killed. The victorious army then carry off the bodies of their slain enemies, and return home with them. These contests seldom lasted more than a few hours and were usually between Wet and Losi on the beach at We, situated at the boundaries of all three great chiefdoms and one of the few large open areas on the island. Apart from these formal battles, a common form of warfare on all three islands was ambushing. Small groups prowled around by day or night and waylaid stragglers or small fishing or planting parties. Cheyne explained that the attackers did not scruple to murder defenceless Men, Women or children... and carry their bodies home and feast on them. The third method of warfare

13 Hadfield, 169.
14 Ta'unga, 84.
18 Cheyne, *Trading Voyages*, 106, see also 130.
can be loosely categorized as organized raids upon an enemy. As many warriors as possible were gathered for these expeditions and they usually tried to take their intended victims by surprise. Once the attack began, they 'gave vent to their feelings by wild, hideous gestures, yells, and shoutings.... No order or discipline was observed, but each man was allowed to follow his own inclinations'.

Even in the largest raids, very little fighting was ever in the open and there were very few pitched battles. 'Their Wars are sometimes carried on in open fight, but stratagem is more generally resorted to', said Cheyne, and Ta'unga noted: 'Relatively few people are taken in open warfare. A much greater number are obtained in fighting by stealth, like kidnapping.' If the surprise assaults did not destroy or immediately put the enemy to flight, there could be brief hand to hand combat but as soon as one side began losing men it fled through the bush. The villages and plantations of the defeated party were then burnt if the issue was considered a serious one. When faced with aggression by a larger force, a smaller group quickly retreated to the top of high coral outcrops, like those at Nonakau and La Roche, or into man-made fortifications such as the large stone fort on the plain at Naened on Mare, or the wooden barricades at Heo, Veneki, and Fayawe. The attackers then roamed about, pillaging and destroying villages and plantations, scouring the countryside and killing any refugees who had been unable to reach safety in time, and attempting to starve or intimidate those in the strongholds into submission. The larger and more aggressive wars were usually undertaken in attempts to extend the authority of a particular great chief.

19 Hadfield, 169.
20 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 129.
21 Ta'unga, 86. See also, de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 204; Ray, 293.
22 Hadfield, 170; MacFarlane, 7.
23 M.J. Dubois, 'Les grands refuges de guerre de Naened à Maré', JSO, 26 (March 1970), 55-60; P. O'Reilly, 'Deux Sites Fortifiés du district de La Roche dans l'Ile de Maré, JSO, 6 (December 1950), 87-93. Remains of the palisades at Veneki, Heo, and Fayawe are still standing.
The methods of warfare were a reflection of the political and territorial arrangements on each island as they existed in the islands. Formalized combat was possible only on Lifu because the great chiefdoms of Wet and Losi were apparently of equal strength and neither side felt able to conquer the other by armed aggression. The fighting instead evolved into a method which still provided opportunities for displays of bravery and outlets for vengeance and anger, though without the difficulties of a long war of attrition. Tensions in and among these great chiefdoms, however, could still result in ambushes and small skirmishes. On Uvea, and particularly on Mare, the unstable political situation enabled ambitious men to engage frequently in wars of conquest. Both islands were, according to Europeans, in states of constant 'anarchy', where the niceties of any formalized combat were irrelevant.

Pre-European weapons were clubs, spears, and slings and stones. The clubs were either crudely shaped out of knotty roots of hardwood trees, or highly polished and painstakingly carved with a variety of rounded heads, or with very sharp beak-like points. The spears were made from thin pieces of hardwood eight to ten feet long were usually without barbs or poison, and were launched with a sin, a short cord made of coconut fibre. All the sling stones were imported from New Caledonia and were 'greatly prized', and after every battle, warriors ran about retrieving them. The stones were about two inches in length, oblong, and pointed at both ends. Emma Hadfield explained:

Most native warriors were adepts in the use of the sling, and could cast the stone with terrific force. I once saw a man throw one of these stones with such force that it tore up the ground even at a distance of about one hundred yards. One can quite imagine how easily one of them would penetrate the enemy's skull.28

---

25 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 106; MacFarlane, 7.
26 Garnier, 303; Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 11; Jones, 16 May 1856, Journal, JNP 1845-1876, A399, NL.
27 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 94, 104, 129; Erskine, 364; Hadfield, 172-173.
28 Hadfield, 173.
Loyalty Islanders quickly discovered the power of European firearms. At Uvea, Cheyne said they:

expressed great astonishment at the [ship's] Big Guns, and it was amusing to see the curiosity excited among them all, when they were told the large guns were to be fired; when the firing took place they expressed great surprise and astonishment at the Ball flying along tearing the water up; and on the firing of the second gun, [Whenegay] begged that no more should be fired as the noise had almost distracted him, we hung some bottles up to the yard arms, & surprised them by the precision with which we could fire with Muskets. The King went away fully satisfied with our superiority in the respect of firearms, and appeared quite bewildered with the many strange sights he had seen.

But Whenegay was not too bewildered to urge Cheyne to fire his canoes at Nekalo when he paddled alongside several days later.

The people of Mare and Lifu had much more unpleasant introductions to firearms with the skirmishes with sandalwood traders on Mare, the explosion of the powder barrel which killed one of Maisiline's sons, and Cheyne's firing at canoes in Sandalwood Bay.

But the Loyalty Islanders were not interested in adding firearms to their own collection of weapons. Tomahawks, however, were a different matter and they quickly became 'preferred to any other weapon'. Cheyne believed that with one tomahawk he could 'purse the head of any native on the Island [of Lifu]'. They were not so much a new addition to the islanders' arsenal but were more efficient substitutes for their own clubs. Europeans were usually hesitant to give muskets as presents or payment, although some had no qualms about doing so, but it was thought safe enough to give away or trade with tomahawks. The islanders quickly became discerning in their choice and both traders and missionaries had to supply particular types. Sleigh complained that a Sydney merchant had twice sent him a consignment of two dozen 'hatchets'

30 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 117.
31 See above, 31-33, 99.
32 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 96, 129. Missionaries and traders on the Loyalty Islands usually used the term tomahawk, rather than hatchet, or axe.
33 See below, fn. 38.
34 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 153; Erskine, 376.
The methods of warfare were a reflection of the political and territorial arrangements on each island as they existed in the 1600s. Formalized combat was possible only on Lifu because the great chiefdoms of Wet and Losi were apparently of equal strength and neither side felt able to conquer the other by armed aggression. The fighting instead evolved into a method which still provided opportunities for displays of bravery and outlets for vengeance and anger, though without the difficulties of a long war of attrition. Tensions in and among these great chiefdoms, however, could still result in ambushes and small skirmishes. On Uvea, and particularly there, the unstable political situation enabled ambitious men to engage frequently in wars of conquest. Both islands were, according to Europeans, in states of constant 'anarchy', where the niceties of any formalized combat were irrelevant.

Pre-European weapons were clubs, spears, and slings and stones. The clubs were either crudely shaped out of knotty roots of hardwood trees, or highly polished and painstakingly carved with a variety of rounded heads, or with very sharp beak-like points. The spears were made from thin pieces of hardwood eight to ten feet long, were usually without barbs or poison, and were launched with a slip, a short cord made of coconut fibre. All the sling stones were imported from New Caledonia and were 'greatly prized', and after every battle, warriors ran about retrieving them. The stones were about two inches in length, oblong, and pointed at both ends. Emma Hadfield explained:

Most native warriors were adepts in the use of the sling, and could cast the stone with terrific force. I once saw a man throw one of these stones with such force that it tore up the ground even at a distance of about one hundred yards. One can quite imagine how easily one of them would penetrate the enemy's skull.

Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 106; MacFarlane, 7.
Garnier, 303; Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 11; Jones, 16 May 1856, Journal, JNF 1845-1876, A399, ML.
Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 94, 104, 129; Erskine, 364;
Hadfield, 172-173.
Loyalty Islanders quickly discovered the power of European firearms. At Uvea, Cheyne said they:

expressed great astonishment at the [ship's] Big Guns, and it was amusing to see the curiosity excited among them all, when they were told the large guns were to be fired; when the firing took place they expressed great surprise and astonishment at the Ball flying along tearing the water up; and on the firing of the second gun, [Whenegay] begged that no more should be fired as the noise had almost distracted him, we hung some bottles up to the yard arms, & surprised them by the precision with which we could fire with Muskets. The King went away fully satisfied with our superiority in the respect of firearms, and appeared quite bewildered with the many strange sights he had seen.

But Whenegay was not too bewildered to urge Cheyne to fire his cannon at Nekelo when he paddled alongside several days later.

The people of Mare and Lifu had much more unpleasant introductions to firearms with the skirmishes with sandalwood traders on Mare, the explosion of the powder barrel which killed one of Haisilino's sons, and Cheyne's firing at canoes in Sandalwood Bay. But the Loyalty Islanders were not interested in adding firearms to their own collection of weapons. Tomahawks, however, were a different matter and they quickly became 'preferred to any other weapon'. Cheyne believed that with one tomahawk he could 'purchase the head of any native on the island [of Lifu]'. They were not so much a new addition to the islanders' arsenal but were efficient substitutes for their own clubs. Europeans were usually hesitant to give muskets as presents or payment, although some had no qualms about doing so, but it was thought safe enough to give away or trade with tomahawks. The islanders quickly became discerning in their choice and both traders and missionaries had to supply particular types. Sleigh complained that a Sydney merchant had twice sent him a consignment of two dozen 'hatchets'...

Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 114-115.
Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 117.
See above, 31-33, 59.
Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 96, 129. Missionaries and traders on the Loyalty Islands usually used the term tomahawk, rather than hatchet, or axe.
See below, fn. 38.
Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 153; Erskine, 376.
which were too large for the islanders purposes, and he sent off
another order specifying 'Sarbic hatchets'. Missionaries, as well
as traders, introduced large numbers of tomahawks, and orders for
four dozen at a time for one mission station were common. By the
1850s, tomahawks were widespread throughout the Loyalty Islands
and were used universally in battles, but they never completely
replaced the wooden clubs. And while tomahawks made very good
weapons, they had a great many other peaceful purposes which helps
explain the demand for them. Throughout the nineteenth century,
they remained valuable items of trade but they were never as keenly
sought after as cloth and tobacco.

The first islanders to own muskets were chiefs who were
given them as gifts by some traders and missionaries. Muskets
were always regarded as valuable possessions but they were never in
demand like tomahawks. Traders and missionaries were never forced
to sell muskets, as happened elsewhere in the Pacific, nor were
these weapons ever a significant item in the supply and demand of
trade with the islanders. Some islanders did bring back muskets
as payment for working on ships or in Australia, but eagle-eyed
missionaries counted out in ones and twos, seldom more, the muskets
being unloaded from ships and carried to the villages. And many
of these firearms were 'fowling pieces' which fired shot instead
of bullets and which enabled the islanders to hunt birds and flying
foren, and even dispatch their own fowls, more effectively. The
French banned the importation of firearms into New Caledonia and the

35 Sleigh to LMS, 30 November 1863, SSL, LMS.
36 Ella to LMS, 25 February 1870, SSL, LMS.
37 Alcan, 111; Bernard to Yardin, 16 November 1861, IV ONC,
APM; Jones to LMS, 23 April 1858, SSL, LMS.
38 e.g. Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 153; Testard to Bernard,
[1858], 5ca 180, I ONC, APM; Jones, 9 April 1856, Journal,
JMP 1845-1876, A399, ML.
39 e.g. Wright, 87-90.
40 Rc, ME, (Dawson), 64.
41 Gade to Mulsant, 9 March 1869, IV ONC, APM; Jouan, 'Iles
Loyalty', 9; de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 22, 26.
42 e.g. Ella to LMS, 30 June 1874, SSL, LMS.
43 'Statement of Capt. Winship', Gov A/3, 559-575, Queensland
State Archives.
There were very few firearms on Uvea by the end of the 1840s.ilion reported that the warriors were armed to the teeth with clubs, spears, and tomahawks, but he never saw any muskets. By the 1860s, only a 'small number' were said to have muskets and these usually belonged to those who had been overseas. Saisset, however, told his minister in 1860 that Bazit had 3,000 warriors armed with muskets sold by English traders. Such an estimate was quite unrealistic for the total population of Uvea was scarcely this number. Saisset guessed wildly and was mainly concerned to stress how dangerous he thought it was to allow so much English shipping in New Caledonian waters. The local French paranoia was summed up by the Lifu Commandant when he reported that firearms were 'fraudulently introduced by small sea traders of that race which notably infects the south seas'. One traveller more realistically estimated that Bazit's warriors may have had 100 muskets. By the late 1860s, however, Ella estimated that the Uvean Catholics had forty firearms and most of these, together with those owned by the Protestants, were confiscated by the French in 1869. Ella reported that in 1872

44 Shueberg, Sandalwood, 123, 265 fn.10.
45 Some English traders, however, were fearful of the French regulations. In 1864 MacGillivray reported that on his vessel visiting Lifu there were muskets but no bullets because of the 'stringent regulation regarding firearms'. See 'A Look in at Lifu', Empire, 11 April 1864.
46 Alcan, 111.
47 Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 9; de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 22, 26.
48 Saisset to Min., 10 August 1860, BB4, 1036, ANM.
49 See below, chapter 13.
50 Treve to Guillain, 10 September 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
51 de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 210.
52 Ella, notes, Ella Correspondence 11, A212, NL.
53 Ella to LMS, 26 December 1873, SSL, LMS.
The Catholics had again amassed fifty muskets. These figures are not likely to have been under-estimated by the Catholic-hating Ella, and, as the Catholics formed the large majority of the population, it is unlikely the Protestants had as many muskets themselves. The French again tried to confiscate these weapons after the 1873 attack upon the Protestants, but the islanders handed over only eleven.

On Lifou in 1864, the French confiscated fifty-nine 'guns and pistols', but not fowling pieces, and though they were well aware not all the firearms had been surrendered, they were satisfied the islanders had destroyed these themselves rather than give the French that pleasure.

At the time of the 1869 war on Mare, the Catholic padouk had only four muskets while the Si Gwaham people were reported to have 'many guns'. The French took these weapons away in 1870, and in 1876 again took away 'arms', but there is no indication of the types of weapons confiscated this second time. After the 1880 war, the French once more collected the Protestants' arms which consisted solely of spears and clubs. It is impossible to give accurate figures for the number of firearms introduced into the Loyalty Islands, but there is no indication that the numbers were large, and there was never a 'saturation' level of one gun to every fighting man.

---

54 Ella to Richerie, 18 July 1874, SSL, LMS.
55 Ella to LMS, 14 November 1874, SSL, LMS.
56 Treve to Guillain, 10, 15 September 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
57 Beaulieu, 'Guerre de 1869', PCD; Creagh to Ella, 4 December 1869, Ella Correspondence 5, A206, ML.
58 Creagh to Jones, 27 January 1870, SSL, LMS; 'Rapport sur les affaires de Maré', enclosed in Guillain to Min., 7 October 1876, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
59 Courbet to Min., 3 September 1880, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
60 Courbet to Min., 3 September 1880, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM.
61 This term is used by D.U. Urlich, 'The Introduction and Diffusion of Firearms in New Zealand 1800-1840', JPS, 79(December 1970), 399-410.
over a significant demand for them. There was, however, a
sufficient number of firearms which theoretically could have had
impact in the fighting.

From 1844 until 1880, there are twenty-four documented violent
incidents among the islanders which resulted in loss of life.62 They
were variously referred to as 'battles', 'wars', 'skirmishes', 'armed
campaigns', 'massacres', 'murders', 'butcherings', 'assassinations'.
The majority of these incidents date from the time of permanent
mission settlement in the 1850s and there are other references to
fighting on all three islands in the 1840s. But because most of
the reports of these earlier fights are based on hearsay and usually
collected years after the event, they cannot be corroborated and are
considered too unreliable for analysis here. For example, Erskine
was told that 300 people died in the Losi war of 1847-1849,63 but
MacFarlane later wrote that the same war had been 'more protracted
than sanguinary'.64 Once there was permanent mission settlement,
every violent incident was noted by both Marist and WMS missionaries,
and the more serious ones by the French administration also, which
enables facts and figures to be carefully cross-checked. In
particular, both missions wrote very long, careful, and detailed
accounts of any fighting and of the numbers of their converts
wounded or killed, and though their respective accounts almost
always presented conflicting interpretations, the details of the
events themselves are virtually identical.

In all the documented incidents, the methods of warfare
remained unchanged until the wars ended altogether. The formal
combats at We were the first to finish, sometime in the late 1840s
or early 1850s, when Bula's acceptance of Christianity possibly
made them irrelevant, for the new Christian institutions of teachers
and policemen gave Bula unprecedented opportunities to extend his

5 Calculated from mission, government, and other documentary
sources.
6 Erskine, 374.
7 MacFarlane, 35.
8 Gaide to Fauvre, March 1864, IV OMC, APM.
Ambushing remained the common method for settling scores on all three islands and in spite of notion of influence, women and children were often victims until the fighting ended. On Mare and Uvea, the organized raids followed their pre-European patterns, without changes in strategies of attack or defensive arrangements. "It is rare", explained de Rochas, "for the enemy parties to make frontal assaults on each other... because the tactics of war lie in surprise and ambushes".67

The first detailed reports of fighting on Uvea concern the assassination of Whenegay in 1856. In the fighting that followed, forty-five men were killed. Nekelo's warriors were armed with about 100 muskets and fired upon Whenegay's men. They managed to dodge the first volley by hiding behind trees and coral boulders and while Nekelo's fighters were furiously trying to reload their cumbersome weapons, they rushed upon them with clubs and tomahawks, killing about forty.

It is the bloodiest incident [wrote de Rochas] which has ever taken place in the Caledonian archipelago... It is explained by the imprudence of the attackers who, having too much confidence in their guns, had neglected to arm themselves with tomahawks and clubs.68

During all the years of conflict over Owa's expulsion from the north, with the exception of a young girl, only his brother died, after being badly burnt when his hut was set alight with gunpowder.69 Thirteen Protestants and two Catholics died in hostilities after Beka was assassinated in 1863. Most of the fighting involved brief scuffles in heavy bush when the Catholics, led by Bazit, chased the assassins south to Fayawe.70 Some of the Protestants may have been shot because Bernard admitted that his followers were armed with muskets.71 In the 1872 attacks upon the Protestants, the Catholics

---

66 As Fao sometimes accompanied Bula's warriors to the battlefield, he may have instructed them to abandon the usual rules of combat and fight far more ruthlessly. MacFarlane said Ukeneso looked upon Fao 'as the chief cause of his defeat in their late wars'. See MacFarlane, 39.

67 de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 205.
68 de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 210.
69 Ella to LMS, 20 January 1868, SSL, LMS.
70 Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN.
71 Bernard to Yardin, 13 September 1863, IV ONC, APM.
claimed twelve lives and lost one themselves. One of the
Protestants was shot while fishing and the rest were clubbed to
death while unsuspecting in their villages. LMS propaganda was filled with descriptions of
Catholics 'threatening with tomahawks' and of Protestant skulls
being split open and their blood gushing onto the opened bibles on
the victims' knees. And this fighting was at a time when Ella
claimed the Catholics had fifty firearms. The three month long
siege of Fayau in 1873 was more spectacular than deadly; the
warriors spent each day taunting, threatening, and screaming
obscenities at each other. Resident Caillet, who came from Lifu
to investigate the war, said it was never 'pursued with vigour'. Altogether, fifteen people lost their lives, and of these only
seven, three Catholics and four Protestants, were killed in
fighting around the barricade; at least one of these was shot. The
other eight victims were Protestant women who, in a party of sixteen,
cropt outside the barricade one night in search of food and water
and were captured by some Catholics who pulped their hands with the
backs of tomahawks. Only eight survived such mutilation. Between
1866 and 1873, ninety people died as a result of the fighting on
Duva.

On March, there was no fighting in the north from at least
1854 until 1860. After Neisilime's and Cocene's reprisal killings
in 1860, in which fifteen people died, the Si Gwahma and Si Waeko
attacked the Si Achakaze who lost forty people in the fighting

---

72 Creagh to LMS, 20 May 1872, SSL, LMS; Ella to Richerie, 18 July 1874, SSL, LMS; LMS, Statement Respecting the Persecution of the Protestant Converts, sent to British PO, 2 December 1874, PO 27/2098; Plomnier to Poupinel, 9 April, 15 May 1872.
73 Sleigh to Richerie, 8 May 1872; and see also Sleigh to Creagh, 5 May 1872, SSL, LMS.
74 Statement Respecting the Persecution of the Protestant Converts, PO 27/2098; Sleigh to Richerie, 23 May 1872, SSL, LMS.
75 Ella to Richerie, 18 July 1874, SSL, LMS.
76 Caillet to Richerie, 18 September 1873, (copy), Caillet's notebook, 40-47.
77 See the references given above, 139 fn.42.
around the cliffs at Menaku. The LMS missionaries, Jones and Creagh, made reference to spears and clubs, but not to firearms. 'All men, women, & children were cut to pieces', explained Jones. 78 Beaulieu, who later collected considerable information on the battle, maintained that Naisiline's men had four muskets and many 'tomahawks', and 'The si Adyakazé were literally hacked to pieces'. 79 In the south and east of Mare, the paduku were perpetually fighting with and amongst each other, and from the time there is documentary evidence, in 1858, until the Marist missionaries arrived in 1866, seventy-five people were killed in a large number of skirmishes. Tomahawks, clubs, and spears were the weapons used, and, as already mentioned, these paduku had only four muskets by 1869.81 A typical encounter was the attack by the Si Gureschaba on Katici of the Si Gwahina, to avenge the murder of the Si Gureschaba's Great Chief Naiams. Katici was ambushed and managed to kill seven or eight of his attackers with an axe handle before he was speared through the throat by Sinewami. He was cut up with 'axes' and eaten while still warm; the Si Gureschaba drank his blood and even licked his bloodstains from the coral rocks.82 The most publicized, and said to be the most ruthless fighting, took place during Naisiline's attacks upon these paduku in 1869 and 1880, when he drove them onto tiki and destroyed all their villages and plantations. But he killed only eighteen people in 1869, and of these, thirteen were shot. The Si Gwahina lost one man.83 After this battle, virtually every reference to weapons mentions only clubs, spears, and tomahawks. The Nareans, unlike the Uveans, chose not to rearm themselves with firearms after the French confiscated them. The opportunities to rearm were certainly there. French administrators

78 Jones to LMS, 6 June 1861, SSL, LMS. See also Creagh to LMS, 6 November 1861, SSL, LMS.

79 Beaulieu, 'Etat de l'Ile de Maré en 1866', PCD.

80 Creagh to LMS, 29 September 1858, 23 October 1862, 14 December 1862, 1 November 1864, SSL, LMS; Goujon, 'La Mission de Maré', N.C. La Loyauté, III ONC, APM; Jones to LMS, 23 April 1858, SSL, LMS.

81 See above, 270.

82 Beaulieu, 'Guerre de 1869', AAN; Creagh to LMS, 28 February 1870; and Creagh to Jones, 27 January 1870, SSL, LMS. See also the references given above, 144 fn.11.
were absent for long periods and had no chance of policing their prohibition of firearms, it was a period of extensive migration to and from Australia, and shipping contacts were as numerous as they had ever been. In the build-up to the war of 1880, the priests wrote about the Protestants 'polishing' their clubs in readiness, and about Protestant chiefs, like Wainane, who boastfully marched their troops armed with clubs over Catholic lands. When violence broke out in a series of ambushes in 1879, two Protestants were beaten to death with clubs and iron bars by Jalo's supporters, and in the main battle of 1880, firearms were still absent. Four Protestants were wounded and the Catholics lost twenty-three people. Eight were clubbed to death while they were fleeing to La Roche to join the besieged Catholics, while another thirteen were children who hid in the bush only to be flushed out and crushed to death with coral boulders by the Protestants. The total, then, from 1858 until 1880, is 174 dead.

From the time of the first mission settlement on Lifu until peace in 1864, the fighting was on a very small scale and the numbers killed were insignificant. MacFarlane explained:

I remember the first [war] that took place after my arrival on Lifu. From the report and from a letter hastily written by the French priest I thought that, before I could get to the spot (ten miles off), the combatants would be in the condition of Kilkenny cats. I soon found, however, that, whatever they might have suffered or lost in the struggle, they had not lost their legs, nor yet the ability to use them. Both armies had decamped, each claiming the victory, four men being left behind severely wounded by tomahawks, two from each side. This is a fair specimen of wars among the natives.

In the Loyalty Islands, from the time of mission settlement until the last battle in 1880, 264 people were recorded.

References:

14 Guide to Beaulieu, 28 January 1879; Guide to ?, 8 May 1879; Guide to Frayssse, 26 July 1880, all in PCD.

15 Guide to Poupinel, 10 October 1879, IV ONC, APH; Jones 'A Brief Account of the Mare Difficulties', enclosed in Jones to LMS, 22 April 1881, SSL, LMS.

16 Guide to Poupinel, 3 September 1880, IV ONC, APH; Jones to LMS, 18 November 1880, SSL, LMS. See also the references given above, 156 fn.65.

17 MacFarlane, 7. See also MacFarlane to LMS, 16 October 1880, SSL, LMS.
dying in battle on Mare and Uvea, as well as some very small number on Lifu. Over 200 of these were killed by weapons other than firearms.

European technology had a minimal influence on fighting in the Loyalty Islands. Gunpowder was used in several instances to help destroy plantations and villages, but it was used as an incendiary, not an explosive device. Tomahawks were universal weapons but never completely replaced wooden clubs which were just as effective for splitting skulls.

The clubs [wrote Emma Hadfield]... although they were very heavy, and appeared somewhat unwieldy, they were handled with great skill and force. The father of one of our old schoolboys was struck in the back with a club of the bird's beak shape; the weapon completely penetrated his body from back to front. (There was no disgrace whatever attached to a wound in the back.)

The advantage of tomahawks was that the islanders did not have the bother of making them, and they were, besides, very useful all-purpose tools. Several reasons can be suggested for the minor role of firearms. The types available to the Loyalty Islanders were smooth-bore, muzzle-loading muskets which were cumbersome and complicated to use, inefficient, and inaccurate, and very often in a dilapidated condition. De Rochas thought that most of the muskets he saw on Uvea in the late 1850s were 'useless', and there had been little improvement by the 1870s. At the siege of Loyawe, Pionnier explained: 'the few firearms that are to be found there often in very bad condition manufactured I do not know when misfire every time for some [warriors] or else produce nothing but a useless detonation'. In the heat of battle, warriors were known to forget essential steps of the loading procedure. Two Si Couma men who hurriedly fired at some Catholics found, said MacFarlane, that the 'shots were perfectly harmless, the men having

---

Bernard, 'Notices Historiques', AAN; Ella to LMS, 20 January 1868, SSL, LHS.
Hadfield, 172-173.
Shineberg, 'Guns and Men', 75-80.
de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 209.
Pionnier to Gay, 15 June 1873, IV ONC, ARM.
forgot to put in the balls'. 93 Some islanders had little faith in muskets. One Catholic who was about to lead his men into the bush after some Protestants shook with fear and asked Bernard to bless a medal he was wearing. Bernard commented that 'he had more confidence in that than in his inferior musket someone had given him'. 94 Apart from muskets, the Uveans had at least one blunderbuss, and the Lifuanu had a small number of pistols 95 which, like the muskets, were smooth-bored and muzzle-loaded. The efficient breech-loading Snider rifles and all-metal cartridges developed in the later 1860s 96 never made an appearance in the fighting. By the time such weapons could have been imported in any number, the fighting on Lifu and Uvea had finished and firearms were not seen in battles on Mare after 1870.

Yet the unreliability of firearms cannot be the only reason why they played an unimportant part in tribal hostilities for other Pacific islanders may well have used muskets effectively. Another, and more important reason lies in the nature of fighting on the Loyalty Islands. Single-shot firearms which took time to load were unsuited to the 'stratagem' and 'stealth', or what would now be called guerrilla tactics, which characterized much of the Loyalty Islanders' warfare. Nekelo's resounding defeat when well armed with muskets in 1856 was a stern lesson in the superiority of clubs and spears at close quarters in heavy bush. The islanders had no reason to adopt new weapons of doubtful efficiency or new tactics, especially since they never had to face European soldiers in battle. Even if muskets had been reliable, they would still have been unsuited to the rough, overgrown landscape, and to the islanders' style of fighting.

Furthermore, the killing of large numbers of an enemy people was apparently not a feature of the islanders' raids, at least in the form they took in the early contact period. The aim was not to annihilate enemies, enslave them, or take away their

93 MacFarlane, 301.
94 Bernard, "Notices Historiques", AAW.
95 de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 209; Treve to Guillain, 10 September 1864, enclosed in Guillain to Min., 1 February 1865, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
96 Shimeberg, "Guns and Men", 81-82.
lands. A defeated party remained on its own clan land but was expected to acknowledge its inferiority and pay tribute in produce to its conquerors, instead of to its former great chief. The islanders, therefore, probably did not see firearms in European terms - as a potential means for mass killing, enslavement, and destruction. The missionaries were often extremely annoyed with the islanders' apparent satisfaction with their own way of fighting and their failure to adopt any European military philosophy and tactics. Frequently, their supporters decided to retreat when the enemy was clearly losing. 'An army of natives knows neither discipline, nor duty, nor a leader, nor an obligation to espouse a public cause' wrote one disgusted priest when his men stopped chasing a group of defeated Protestants through the bush. Pionnier described with some resignation all the time his warriors wasted and their ineffective tactics:

our poor natives, in military tactics, as in a thousand other things, are still infants.... The two parties meet each other with ear-splitting screams, or provoke each other, brandishing tomahawks over their heads and leaping like demons, then comes a shower of spears, you turn away for fear of seeing blood run, the two camps are so close and the spears are thrown so fiercely that there must be many victims, but be assured... no one is ever scratched. The adroitness of these islanders in dodging missiles is extraordinary, standing still to examine the direction of the spears aimed at them, then turning to the right or left bending double, throwing themselves on the ground on their backs or stomachs with the suppleness of a snake.... Then after further insults and shameful language each one chases his adversary, provokes him and the struggle begins again always with the number of dead and wounded equal to zero.99 their wars [wrote MacFarlane] are by no means so serious and fatal as those amongst civilised nations. They are not sufficiently advanced in civilisation yet to understand the art of killing by thousands; with them there is great preparation, great skirmishing, great noise, but few lives are lost. 

97 Jones to LNS, 21 June 1866, SSL, LMS. See also Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 130; Hadfield, 170.
98 Bernard, Notices Historiques, AAM.
99 Pionnier to Gay, 15 June 1873, IV ONC, APN.
100 MacFarlane, 7.
Rochas commented that there could not be found 'in the savages' military tactics, the skilful manoeuvres which make us so honoured in the art of war'.

Such ethnocentric interpretations indicate a failure on the part of some Europeans to understand the nature and seriousness of the fighting for the islanders. On the other hand, comments by missionaries and others about 'depopulation' and 'wars of extermination', which are referred to at the beginning of this chapter, can invariably be attributed to guesswork, heat of the moment outrage, or propaganda, or combinations of all three. Sisset's statement on Uvea was pure speculation, and reflected his paranoia of nearby English influences. Jones' comment on Mare was made in 1888, just after his expulsion from the island when most of his opinions about events there were blighted by an unreasoning indignation; and the view cannot be sustained even from his own reports of the fighting when he was there. It is necessary to see the distinction between the dramatic, emotional terminology the missionaries often adopted, especially when describing wars, and the actual details they presented of events. Both missions were likely to talk of 'massacres' and 'exterminations' and then, in the very same reports, list some small number of islanders who were killed. A careful investigation, and cross-check of mortality figures given by the French administration, and the LMS and Marist missionaries makes it quite clear that relatively few people ever died in the battles.

The assumption that firearms had a devastating effect when introduced into Pacific islanders' hostilities is not supported by events on the Loyalty Islands. There, Europeans and their technology did not change the tactics and techniques of warfare, as long as it lasted, and, in particular, firearms were responsible for killing only a small fraction of those who died in the fighting.

\[1\] de Rochas, *La Nouvelle-Calédonie*, 201.
Chapter Twelve

Disease

DISEASES on the Pacific have usually agreed that the introduction of European diseases was one of the worst legacies for the island populations of contact with the West: 'The history of disease in the Pacific in the century after Wallis landed at Tahiti in 1767 is a depressing and tragic one.' While such a general view is justified it has perhaps been too readily assumed that one of the most important consequences of European diseases was rapid depopulation of the island communities - a notion that has recently been questioned by demographic studies. Furthermore, little distinction has been made by historians and others between pre- and post-contact diseases, and between endemic and epidemic diseases and their respective effects.

During the nineteenth century contact period, the most prevalent endemic diseases on the Loyalty Islands were yaws, filariasis (notably elephantiasis of the lower limbs and male genitalia), and diseases under the general name of, and associated with tuberculosis - such as tabes mesenterica, pleurisy, pulmonary tuberculosis (consumption), and a wide variety of scrofulous sores and abscesses. Both yaws and filariasis were widespread in the Pacific long before Europeans arrived, and were present in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. In 1774, Cook saw cases of elephantiasis and hydrocele on the east coast of New Caledonia:

2 e.g. Belshaw, 94-96; Doumenge, 154; Gratton, 190; H.T. Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, London, 1939, 127; Keesing, 57; D. Oliver, 208, 247-248, 257-258, 364-365; Wright, chapter IV.
puffed and ulcerated legs and feet are very common amongst the
men; swollen testicles are likewise very common. Cheyne reported
that some Uveans also suffered from elephantiasis and hydrocele.

The tubercular diseases were most probably introduced into the
Pacific by Europeans and can be traced back to the 1780s in eastern
Polynesia. There is little point in speculating whether
tuberculosis was endemic on the Loyalty Islands before 1841 or
whether the 'colds' and 'rheumatism' that Cheyne noted may have
had some connection with tuberculosis. Certainly by the 1850s,
European visitors recorded that tuberculosis, along with filariasis
and yaws, was one of the most significant endemic diseases.

There is little quantitative evidence to document any
possible increases in the incidence of such diseases from the 1840s
through to the 1860s; and it could be argued that we find these
diseases are mentioned more in the 1860s simply because there are
more extant records for this time. However, it seems most likely
that these diseases had worsened since the time of European contact.

In the 1840s, Europeans believed most Loyalty Islanders were 'in
general' healthy and 'tolerably free from disease'. In contrast,
Peterson described in 1858 that there was a 'tendency to consumptive
diseases' which existed 'in the constitution of nearly all' the
islanders. 'Nearly all the diseases' on Lifu, he concluded, could
be referred to the scrofulous disposition of the race'. Ella
wrote that scrofula abounded 'to a terrible extent', and Bernard,
de Rochas, and Jouan all stressed the prevalence of 'scrofulous'
and 'pulmonary' diseases. De Rochas estimated that a third of the
Uvean people had some scrofulous affections. Yaws was seldom

6 Cook, 540.
7 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 127.
8 van der Sluis, 68.
9 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 127.
10 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, (at Uvea), 127; Turner, (at Lifu), 401.
12 Ella to his wife, 9 December 1864, Ella Correspondence 3, A204, ML.
referred to as such by people with little or no knowledge of medicine, and was usually put in the category of tuberculous sores or abscesses. All these diseases were widespread throughout all three islands.

Filariasis was especially prevalent on Uvea, and by 1860, it was said to be rare to see anyone without some stage of infection. \(^{16}\) Recent research has discovered that filariasis abounds on Uvea because the local vector, the Aedes vigilax mosquito, thrives in the swampy areas. \(^{15}\) Lifu and Mare have fewer mosquitoes because they are higher, and therefore drier islands with very few swamp regions. \(^{16}\)

There are several reasons why these diseases could have become more widespread from the time of the first European visits. Ready and obsessive smoking of low-quality tobacco with a high nicotine content, \(^{17}\) combined with the stuffy atmosphere of huts, was likely to have aggravated any pulmonary conditions. Jouan saw some people in their twenties die of 'asthma' and he thought smoking may have been the major cause. \(^{18}\) Furthermore, any tubercular condition can make yaws much more serious than it might normally be. \(^{19}\) Also, lack of hygiene would have helped to increase and spread skin abscesses and sores, and it is highly probable that the large numbers of pigs and fowls, which were allowed to roam freely about villages and inside huts, would have increased unhealthy conditions. According to Sleigh, 'natives often neglected personal

\(^{14}\) Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 10; see also Garnier, 303.


\(^{16}\) Even in 1943, Uvea had an 11% infection rate compared with 3% on Lifu. See William J. Perry, 'The Mosquitoes and Mosquito-borne Diseases on New Caledonia', The American Journal of Tropical Medicine, 30(1950), 110.

\(^{17}\) de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 181.

\(^{18}\) Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 9-10. See also [Church of England], Island Mission, 163-164.

Comrie, 369.
The first primer lesson was: 'Don't go out during public worship to pick out and eat fleas.'

Few things were unclean to the natives of these islands. Running sores were left exposed, and ulcerous matter was allowed to accumulate and over-flow on to adjacent parts of the body; or, if wiped off with the fingers, it was either left to dry on the hands, or transferred to the nearest nut or tree. Mucus from the children's noses was treated in the same way, or drawn off by the mother's mouth. Lice were searched for in each other's heads, and cracked between the teeth with apparent relish.

Changes in clothing and diets as a result of European presence have often been cited as contributing to ill-health among Pacific islanders, but there is no evidence that these factors had any significance in the Loyalty Islands. The islanders' diet remained virtually unchanged throughout the nineteenth century contact period and was based on the foods the earliest Europeans saw there - 'yams, Tarro, Cocoanuts, sweet potatoes, Bananas, Sugar Cane and fish'. It was uncommon for them to eat pigs and fowls after they had been introduced, and the islanders raised them almost solely for the export market. Ta'unga thought that they 'depise[d] pork and chicken', although small quantities were sometimes eaten at some of the most important feasts. By the 1880s, a few islanders sometimes added small quantities of flour, rice, tea, and sugar to their diets. Methods of cooking remained unchanged - food was either boiled, in metal rather than their traditional clay pots, roasted over an open fire, or, as was most common, wrapped in leaves, placed on glowing hot coral stones, and covered with earth and leaves.

---

20 Quoted by Ray, 271.
21 Ray, 271.
22 Hadfield, 191.
23 e.g. Belshaw, 92, 95; Hogbin, 129; Wright, chapter IV.
24 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 104. See also Murray to LMS, 3 May 1841, SSJ, LMS.
25 de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 22-23.
26 Ta'unga, 90.
27 Jones, 10 year report, 1881, SSL, LMS.
28 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 104; Hadfield, 51-57.
The islanders wore only light, loose-fitting European clothing and were fully dressed up only on Sundays. During the week, the men normally wore a skirt of cloth and perhaps a light coat. The women wore loose-fitting neck to ankle 'Mother Hubbard' dresses, designed by the LMS missionaries' wives. If the women worked hard, these dresses were often rolled to the waist, and when inland at their gardens, safely out of sight of the missionaries, both men and women adopted their 'former costumes' and went about naked. Because the Loyalty Islands do not have the high rainfall and humidity of the higher and more northerly islands, the people did not walk about in wet clothes for long periods, in contrast, for example, with the inhabitants of Vanua Lava in the Banks Islands:

The rainfall is abnormally heavy, the average being half an inch a day all the year round. The gardens are situated in the bush miles from the villages and one constantly sees processions of men, women and children going by with saturated clothes clinging clannily to their limbs. This would not matter much if the voyagers' changed completely when they reached home. But they do not all do so. They will sit and dry themselves at a fire.

For did the Loyalty Islanders adopt heavy clothing as did the New Zealand Hawaiians who consequently contracted a variety of illnesses from being constantly wrapped up in blankets all year round. The French doctors, Hialaret and Noc, who investigated the islanders' health towards the end of the century, found that tuberculosis, yaws, and filariasis were still the principal endemic diseases. Yaws, in particular, seems to have increased markedly, and was thought to be 'universal' among the population. In some villages on Lifu, half the children were covered in severe eruptions. So widespread had it become that it was accepted as part of the way

Garnier, 287.


Wright, 79-80.
parents whose children did not have it thought that it was a sign of something amiss. 32 Emma Hadfield explained that yaws generally attacked children of two or three years of age, that is, soon after they were weaned, and sometimes covered the little body from head to foot with scab-like sores, upon which greedy flies feasted from sunrise to sunset. Tonas [yaws] usually disappeared after about twelve months; but occasionally they formed large ulcerated sores which were most obstinate in healing. 33

In the 1880s, some new types of sores were noticed and sixty or seventy people were suspected of having leprosy. In 1890, Malaret confirmed forty-nine cases on Mare, fewer on Lifou, and found none on Uvea. 34 Leprosy was thought to have been introduced by Protestant teachers returning from duty in New Guinea, or from China via New Caledonia where there were confirmed cases of leprosy in 1878. The French administration immediately built lepers' camps and isolated suspect cases. 35 In 1898, 150 islanders had leprosy on Mare, 30 on Lifou, and 10 on Uvea. 36 In 1909, the figures were 107 on Mare, 75 on Lifou, and 39 on Uvea. 37 Why there was the highest incidence of leprosy on Mare, even in the twentieth century, has yet to be explained.


33 Hadfield, 203-204.

34 Malaret, 'Notes sur les Maladies', 63.

35 Malaret, 'Notes sur les Maladies', 63; Noc, 11. See also Grall, 'Contribution à l'étude de la contagiosité de la lèpre', Archives de Médecine Navale, 62(1894), 183-186, 345.

36 Noc, 11.

There were no epidemics of sexual diseases and therefore none became endemic. There are some references to syphilitic disease but these were likely a mistaken diagnosis of yaws or scrofulous sores. In 1904, Noc found no primary or secondary symptoms of venereal syphilis, and said that those sores most resembling syphilis were scrofulous for they responded to treatment with potassium iodide, and other doctors agreed. One of the main reasons why venereal syphilis was a rare disease, throughout the Pacific in fact, was because yaws built up an immunity to it. It is now considered that 'The major effect of yaws...was to protect... Island populations from the potential devastations of its relative - venereal syphilis'. In those places where yaws was not endemic, notably New Zealand, venereal syphilis had rapid and severe effects upon the people.

Gonorrhoea was never recorded on the Loyalty Islands. Even if there were undetected cases there was little likelihood of the disease being a major one. Gonorrhoea is 'dependent upon promiscuity for its survival'.

For most Melanesian cultures, with a few spectacular exceptions, gonorrhoea seems to have been a minor cause of lowered fertility or even morbidity. This would correlate with the usual Melanesian attitude toward sex, which is often diffident and circumscribed when compared to that of other Island peoples.

---

38 e.g. Jouan, 'Iles Loyalty', 10.
39 Yaws and the primary stages of syphilis, which are superficially similar, were commonly confounded with each other. Both are caused by a related spirochete - Treponema pertenue and Treponema pallidum respectively. See Hay, 'The Ecology of Yaws', The Ecology of Human Disease, 216-217.
40 Noc, 9. See also Charles Nicolas, 'Etude des causes de la disparition progressive d'une intéressante race d'indigènes', Bulletins de la Société de Pathologie Exotique, 21(1928), 457.
41 Peter Pirie, 'The effects of treponematosis and gonorrhoea on the populations of the Pacific', Human Biology in Oceania, 1(February 1972), 196.
42 Wright, 63.
43 Pirie, 197.
44 Pirie, 203.
Attention has already been drawn to the sexual reticence of the Loyalty Islanders, and especially the Uveans.45

Of the endemic diseases discussed so far, none were responsible for increasing mortality, with the exception of pulmonary tuberculosis and some of the other more serious tubercular diseases, which, according to both Creagh and de Rochas, did kill millions of people.46 Yaws is seldom fatal and is considered to have 'no direct effect upon fertility'.47 Filarisis, and scrofulous diseases are similarly not normally fatal. Filarisis is unlikely to have had any bearing on the fecundity of the population, for it is most commonly found in mature and older men.48 However painful and unpleasant these diseases might have been for the Loyalty Islanders, they could not be considered as directly responsible for any depopulation. But they most certainly helped lower the Islanders' resistance to epidemics of European diseases which were often fatal.

The pre-European diseases present on the Loyalty Islands were long lasting chronic infections. The spirochaete (Treponema pertenue) responsible for yaws, and the filarial worm can survive indefinitely in isolated communities, with children being infected by their parents. Epidemic diseases, however, such as measles and smallpox, 'cannot maintain themselves in a small, completely isolated community', and it seems likely that the Pacific Islanders were naturally protected from such epidemics in pre-European days.49

By some form of direct or indirect European contact, an epidemic, which the people said resembled measles or smallpox, swept through Hare wiping out whole villages soon after the massacre of the elektok in the early years of the nineteenth century.50

45 See above, 211-212.
46 Creagh to LMS, 29 September 1858, SSL, LMS; de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 21.
49 Burnet, 'Impact of Disease', 21.
50 Beaulieu, notes for the theological conference Noumea 1890, AAN.
Influenzas were certainly common once the islands were visited by Sandalwood and LMS mission vessels in the early 1840s. The Samoan teacher, Tataio, told the LMS missionaries at Mare in 1845 that since their last visit in 1842, there had been a 'severe influenza epidemic'. Ta'unga, who remained on Mare after the 1845 visit, wrote of 'an epidemic of dysentery... and people died one by one in all the districts'. In May 1846, he recorded another epidemic:

> it spread from one end of the island to the other. It began from the head and developed into a raging illness. If it began in the morning, by evening the victim was dead, and if it began at night, by morning the victim was dead. Death quickly followed from that disease and it was horrifying to hear the groans of those who were afflicted. Almost everyone was afflicted. The land was full of weeping and despair for not one household was free.

Life was visiting Mare said that the same disease had reached their island too.

Erskine reported that the crews of the wrecked Sarah and Currajong in Sandalwood Bay left behind them not only a legacy of 'the foulest English oaths' but also 'disease'. Dysentery made annual appearances on Mare throughout the 1850s, killing islanders and some of the missionaries' children. In 1857, the Melanesian Mission reported that dysentery was responsible for 'many deaths', but there is, unfortunately, no record of just how many.

In October 1860, a serious epidemic spread through Mare, allegedly after a French boat had landed at Netche and Medu. Creagh described the suffering of all his people at Netche, and for the whole of 1860, he recorded sixty-three deaths and forty-three births, out of the local population of 1,000. By November, the disease...

---

51 Murray and Turner, 'Samoa 1845... Deputation to New Hebrides', SSJ, LMS.
52 Ta'unga, 80.
53 Ta'unga, 80.
54 Ta'unga, 81.
55 Erskine, 363.
56 Jones to LMS, 21 July 1857, SSL, LMS.
57 Papers Relating to the Melanesian Mission, 1858, in Two Letters and Melanesian Mission Reports etc, ML.
58 Creagh to LMS, 26 November 1860, SSL, LMS.
reached Lifu and Uvea where it was said to have raged 'with frightful mortality', and lasted till January. 59 On Lifu, the LMS missionaries wrote: 'Some hundreds have died in the bush and at our station upwards of 200 have died already.' 60 Forty-four Catholics were known to have died. 61 Bernard estimated that the Roman Catholics lost about 240 people. 62 The symptoms were described as terrible head and stomach pains, a feebleness of the whole body, and red and swollen eyes. This state lasted about two weeks and then the patient appeared to be recovering, complete deafness and violent diarrhoea and dysentery set in, followed by a quick death. 63 All the missionaries identified the disease as scarlet fever. Baker thought it was measles, but scarlet fever and measles were easily confounded with each other by laymen at this time. 64

Further epidemics of dysentery reached Lifu and Uvea in 1864, and Ella mentioned 'several deaths' and Sleigh wrote that 'numbers died'. 65 The Catholics lost about fifty at Nathalo. 66 By the mid 1860s, however, there is some evidence that the Loyalty Islanders were building up immunity to epidemic diseases. There were many more references to people recovering from illnesses which had normally been fatal. On Mare in 1866, Goujon spoke of everyone being 'miserably poor' with what he called 'angina' yet all recovered. 67 On Uvea in the same year, there was an epidemic of influenza which 'made great ravages among the people' but no one died. 68 Whooping cough spread through Mare in 1867 and killed

59 Baker to LMS, 3 January 1861, SSL, LMS. See also Bernard to his sister, 14 April 1861, IV ONC, APH.
60 Baker to LMS, 3 January 1861, SSL, LMS.
61 Gaide to Poupinel, 25 January 1861, VMA.
62 Bernard to his sister, 14 April 1861, IV ONC, APH.
63 Fabre to Poupinel, 4 January 1861, VHA.
64 Comrie, 575.
65 Ella to his wife, 24 February 1865, Ella Correspondence 6, A207, NL; Sleigh to LMS, 4 November 1865, SSL, LMS.
66 Gaide to Fauvre, March 1864, IV ONC, APH.
67 Goujon to Poupinel, 14 September 1866, VHA. Angina is 'swellings of the throat or other cause of difficulty in breathing', Comrie, 48.
68 Ella, 30 July 1866, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
Influenza, dysentery, and whooping cough reappeared occasionally in the 1870s in all three islands, yet recorded deaths amounted to less than twenty, most of them children. In 1875, Ella reported that the islanders were healthy, confident and remained free from any epidemics. Apart from whooping cough on Lifu in 1886, which killed some young children, the 1880s were apparently free from serious epidemics too. Mialaret recorded influenza on Mare in 1890 but he said that it was 'very mild' compared to the Fijian variety.

There can be no question that Europeans introduced a range of epidemic diseases which resulted in a deterioration in the islanders' health. However, certain factors must be taken into consideration when discussing the incidence of mortality during epidemics. First, there are the conditions for the transmission of a disease within and between communities. On the Loyalty Islands, study churches and schoolrooms crammed with people, the custom of sitting a sick person beside a fire in his unventilated hut, and then having all his friends gather round to comfort him, the lack of personal hygiene, and the presence of pig and fowl faeces, all provided an ideal environment in villages for the spread of disease. Diseases were probably readily transmitted to other villages because of the constant travelling to the interior gardens where people from different villages mingled, and frequent journeys from outlying villages to mission stations for church events. Second, the speed of the transmission of an epidemic disease is important for if the whole island suffers badly at the same time, the people may be physically incapable of gathering food and so die of starvation rather than as a direct consequence of their illness, as

---

69 Cregagh to LMS, 8 January 1867, SSL, LMS.
70 Cregagh to LMS, 23 May 1873, SSL, LMS; Ella, November 1871, 8 June 1874, Diary 1868-1878, B250, ML; Sleigh to LMS, 29 June 1876, 20 November 1877, SSL, LMS; Sleigh, Lifu Report 1877, 30 January 1878, SSR, LMS.
71 Ella to LMS, 26 April 1875, SSL, LMS.
72 Sleigh to LMS, 12 November 1886, SSL, LMS.
73 Mialaret, 'Notes sur les Maladies', 59.
74 I am grateful to Norma McArthur for the following comments. [Church of England], Island Mission, 164.
Greatly happened sometimes in the New Hebrides. There is no evidence of starvation on the Loyalty Islands. Jones gave one tale where the Maroons in his district were short of provisions because they had been too ill to plant their yams. However, their crop commenced some six months after they recovered, when the yams should normally have been harvested. Third, there is the pathogenicity of the disease itself, and the subsequent immunity it may or may not confer upon someone who survives it. Thus while the Loyalty Islanders probably had little or no immunity to the first epidemics to strike, immunity to some diseases was later built up. Epidemics of virus diseases such as scarlet fever and whooping cough provide almost life-long immunity for a survivor so not all the islanders would have succumbed to later epidemics of the same diseases. However, other diseases such as dysentery and influenza have no long-lasting immunity conferring properties.

The Loyalty Islanders usually attributed sickness and death to some wrong doing on the part of the sufferer or the deceased, to some agent's imprecation, or to Kolemije - a demon seen in dreams. The islanders had a variety of remedies for their diseases in pre-European times, and they continued to use many of them during the contact period. Patients were treated by either a tene hase, a man who possessed a hase and worked by the instrumentality of spirits or demons, or a tene dosinoe, a man who could make and administer herbal remedies. "Sometimes", said Emma Hadfield, "the two arts seemed to merge into each other, and the magical element was introduced into the ordinary practice of medicine."

Their medicines were the common herbs and bushes that grew wild all over the island. Everyone was at liberty to gather and administer them; but they would be quite ineffective, as medicines, unless administered by the right person; even when the medicine had been given by the right doctor, its effects could be neutralised, or

---

76 Information from Norma McArthur.
77 Jones to LMS, 6 June 1861, SSL, LNS.
78 F. Macfarlane Burnet, Natural History of Infectious Disease, Cambridge, 1953, chapter VII, and passim.
79 Hadfield, 47; Ray, 272. One form of the Dehu verb mec, to be sick, is mecijë pi, to be cursed, see Ray, 272.
80 Hadfield, 198. The Dehu word dosinoe is a shortened form of its drone sinoe, leaves of a tree, see Ray, 272.
a relapse caused, if the compensation, given by the friends of the invalid, was below the doctor's expectations.

The power of healing by native medicine... was considered to be hereditary; it could however, be bestowed on a friend, in payment for some special service rendered. 81

The power of healing by native medicine was considered to be hereditary; it could however, be bestowed on a friend, in payment for some special service rendered.

Juices of plants were either rubbed onto affected parts of the body, or given to the patients to drink, and it was also common to chew certain leaves and spit them onto sores or painful areas. 82

De Rochas, a medical doctor, thought some of the herbal remedies he saw used in the 1860s were quite effective for treating some of the minor illnesses, but useless for anything serious. 83

Their common remedy for head and stomach pains and bilious attacks was to purge themselves by drinking large quantities of salt water. 84

In order to make them vomit [wrote MacFarlane]... they use the bark of a certain tree. Covering it over with leaves, they tie it up, and with this they love the water into their mouths until they have swallowed nearly a bucketful (they declare that they can take two bucketfuls!). Then like distended leeches they lie or roll on the grass or sand until they vomit, after which they say they are well and feel strong, although it sometimes proves fatal. 85

Dora Hadfield also remarked that after a person had drunk one to two gallons, their stomach could become:

so distended that serious internal injury, and sometimes death, was the result. But cases of this kind were very rare, and the disaster was usually attributed to other causes; so that the remedy is almost as popular to-day as in olden times. 86

Lancing was a common treatment for most external sores and swellings, and after European contact, splinters of broken glass replaced lancets of wood, shell, or stone. 87 Sores such as boils may have been cured in this way, but when the islanders cut out

---

81 Hadfield, 193-194.
82 Hadfield, 194; Ta'unga, 106.
83 de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 198.
84 de Rochas, 'Iles Loyalty', 21; Ta'unga, 107.
85 MacFarlane, 14.
86 Hadfield, 196.
87 Hadfield, 199-200; MacFarlane, 14.
for yaws, and leprous and scrofulous abscesses, they doubtless
used to spread the infection. Nevertheless, it gave
the sufferer real pleasure to be able to say after
an operation that the blood is black (vénent),
very black, showing that the ailment merited the
operation. 89
Islanders even attempted to burn away their leprosy. 90 All
abrasions, bruises, and pains, were also lanced. According to MacFarlane:
A man with a pain in his head would never suppose
that it arose from the state of his stomach. He
must cut his head at the very place where he feels
the pain. They lance for the most trivial things.
About two years ago, a native on the south side of
Wide Bay, had a pain in his neck, was applying the
usual remedy, cut his throat, and died. If their
children got the least knock they must be lanced.
I have known a child to fall, or rather roll off,
a board only raised three inches from the ground,
on which account the parents felt that they must
lance it. 91

On Uvea, skull operations, or trepanning, had reached a
level of some sophistication in pre-European times. If someone
suffered from headaches, their scalp was cut with sharp shells or
stones and the skull exposed. The 'surgeon' then scraped away a
section of the skull nearest to the centre of the pain and replaced
the bone with smooth, shaped pieces of coconut shell. Throughout
the operation, an assistant trickled water over the patient's
exposed skull. The scalp was then carefully stitched back with a
needle made from the wing bone of a flying fox and fine twine. After
contact with Europeans, the islanders copied techniques they
presumably picked up from watching European ships' surgeons at work.
Jones saw a skull operation where an Uvean 'surgeon' wore a pair
of dirty white calico trousers and, in addition to his glass
scalpels, his instruments included a butcher's knife and a pair of
twine scissors. 92 In 1864, Ella said that half the adult population

88 de Rochas, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 199.
89 Hadfield, 200.
90 Miallart, 'Notes sur les Maladies', 63.
91 MacFarlane, 14-15.
92 Jones to LMS, 26 May 1862, SSL, LMS. For further details
about the operations, see Ella, 'notes for an address in
England on medicinal and surgical practices in the S. Seas',
Ella Correspondence 11, A212, ML; Hadfield, 198-199.
294

had undergone the operation. Some people endured it several times and it was Emma Hadfield's opinion that 'he whole top of their heads must be a kind of mosaic work of coconut shell'. The patients walked away after the operation and apparently suffered no lasting ill-effects, though not surprisingly, a few died in the coconut grove theatres.

Visible sores, stomach upsets, swellings, and aches and pains were all familiar afflictions to the islanders, and they attempted to use their traditional remedies even though these may have been unsuccessful in curing the new ailments. But epidemics of dysentery, influenza, and scarlet fever, were beyond their experience and comprehension. When the earliest epidemics struck, the initial reaction was to blame variously their own priests, the Protestant and Samoan teachers, the Europeans, and the European God. As Ta'unga explained, 'They searched and searched for the reasons for that sickness.' Unable to appease whatever supernatural force had sent such a curse upon them, and unable to cure themselves, the most common reaction during subsequent epidemics was one of helplessness and despair, until the disease passed away.

THROUGHOUT the nineteenth century, the LMS missionaries provided most of the medical attention the islanders received from Europeans. Apart from Ella, who had some medical training, these missionaries had only the most superficial knowledge of medicine, and their medical supplies were limited and usually in short supply. Stomach upsets and most internal disorders were treated with olive oil and 'Turner's cerate'. External sores were treated with calamine powder, sulphur, red precipitate ointment (which killed worms and visible organisms in abscesses), tincture of Arnica (to mollify wounds, burns, and putrifying sores), oxide of zinc, and potassium iodide (for scrofula). The Marist missionaries made little attempt to cure their sick for they had few or no medical supplies, and Catholic islanders frequently went to the LMS missionaries seeking

---

1. Ella, 29 December 1864, Diary 1864-1867, B249, NL.
2. Hadfield, 199.
3. Ta'unga, 80.
4. Creagh to LMS, 26 November 1860, SSL, LMS.
5. This list comes mainly from Ella's letters.
During epidemics, the LHS missionaries could do little for their people for they had neither the numbers nor the resources to attend to the hundreds of sick all over the islands, and usually they had to devote themselves to looking after their own sick families. The Marists, however, became particularly active during epidemics and ran from village to village in a desperate attempt to baptize their dying supporters. They had no way to ease physical suffering of these people, but spent all their efforts trying to achieve salvation for them in the next world. The French administration did little beyond sending some doctors for brief visits towards the end of the century. These men also lacked equipment. They managed to vaccinate some islanders and instructed the missionaries how to vaccinate, though the vaccine was sometimes too old to work. They also isolated people suffering from leprosy. Apart from these measures, they did little but record what they saw. The Europeans were unable to do very much to improve the islanders' health because of lack of resources, and knowledge. Nor were they able to bring about changes in the islanders' living conditions which might have helped to prevent disease.

Once the Loyalty Islanders overcame their initial fears that missionaries caused their illnesses, and then passed the brief stage when they thought the missionaries had the power to cure everything instantly, they developed a more realistic approach towards missionary medical capabilities and European medicine. For minor internal disorders and external sores, they had no objection to using missionary powders, pastes, and potions. These items were not new to the islanders in that they had their own similar remedies, but they realized the effectiveness of some European treatments. For example, potassium iodide on scrofulous sores was clearly more beneficial than their own herbal remedies. Vaccinations were not a revolutionary treatment for the islanders as they

---

98 Ella, 28 January 1867, Diary 1864-1867, B249, ML.
99 Fabvre to Poupinel, 4 January 1861; and Guide to Poupinel, 23 January 1861, VHA.
100 Caillet to Pallu de la Barrière, 16 November 1883, CG 1877-1884, carton 86, ANOM; Grall, 183-188, 345; Hilaire, 'Rapport sur les Maladies', 4 September 1890, CG 1888-1901, carton 85, ANOM.
101 [Church of England], Island Mission, 164.
were well used to lancing which was the technique for vaccinations at that time. They were never reluctant to come forward in large numbers to be vaccinated.102

With their own medical techniques and those the Europeans could supply, the islanders were usually enthusiastic and confident, if frequently unsuccessful, in attempting to cure most of their acute illnesses and sores.

A popularly accepted notion, conceived in nineteenth century missionary propaganda, is that alcohol had a devastating affect upon Pacific island societies. Maurice Leenhardt, the missionary-anthropologist who spent a lifetime crusading against the evils of liquor, spoke of the people of New Caledonia being 'submerged in a flood of alcohol'.103

The Loyalty Islanders, however, had no known stimulants before the Europeans arrived,104 and throughout the nineteenth century, most of them demanded nothing stronger than tobacco. There is no indication that the islanders had, or wanted supplies of alcohol until the 1880s. After this time, there are a few references to 'drunkenness', which was blamed, probably correctly, on their experiences working on the New Caledonian mines.105 But up until, and well beyond, the turn of the century, mention of alcohol is notably absent from government, and LMS and Marist missionary reports. Hadfield did organize temperance societies in the 1890s and 1890s, but his aim was preventative and not curative with regard to alcohol. The societies were part of a general crusade against 'indolence' and other vices, and were designed to promote interest and involve more people in church activities.106 Emma Hadfield, after forty-one years on the Loyalty Islands, wrote that very few Lifuan drank alcohol, 'perhaps not one-half per cent of the population of 6,000 or 7,000'.107

---

102 Creagh to LMS, 4 June 1866, SSL, LMS.
104 Erskine, 377.
105 Jules Patouillet, Trois Ans en Nouvelle-Calédonie, Paris, 1873, 12; Sleigh to LMS, 28 January 1884, SSL, LMS.
106 Hadfield, Lifu Report, 2 January 1888, SSR, LMS.
107 Hadfield, 217.
In all their feastings, and at their evening meals, the Loyalty Islanders were not in the habit of drinking, until the repast was over; then water and young coconuts... were their only beverage. 108

Those Europeans who did complain about alcohol in the Loyalty Islands were speaking more from their convictions that alcohol had the potential to kill 'directly through poisoning and indirectly through sickness and quarrelling'109 than to the reality of the island situation. There is no evidence to suggest that drunkenness was common, or that alcohol created a health or social problem in the Loyalty Islands in the nineteenth century.

From the time of European contact, the Loyalty Islanders were exposed to new endemic and epidemic diseases which aggravated those diseases already present and resulted in a worsening of their health. Though by today's standards such diseases are abhorrent, it must not be forgotten that many European societies suffered from similar diseases at that time. And it should be emphasized that Europeans believed that the Loyalty Islanders were a healthy race.

In 1800, Mialaret reported: 'I was particularly struck by the vigorous nature and health of nearly everybody' on Mare, and he thought that those diseases which were present were much milder and less widespread than in New Caledonia and certainly in Fiji. In 1904, Noc expressed his confidence in the health of the Loyalty Islanders. Both doctors emphasized the physical strength of the people and their intelligence, their willingness to be vaccinated and to seek European medical attention, and their accessibility.

The doctors also stressed the importance of the salubrious climate, dry from the humid malarial zone. Noc drew attention to the dry surface of the islands, particularly on Mare and Lifu, which he thought was 'virtually free from any infection'.110

Though the islanders' health was adversely affected by European contact, the results were not drastic enough to have destroyed their general well-being, or, as will now be described, to have caused any significant depopulation.

---

108 Hadfield, 66.
110 Noc, 'Iles Loyalty', 7-17; Mialaret, 'Notes sur les Maladies', 59-63.
Chapter Thirteen

Population

Population figures for the Loyalty Islands in the nineteenth century must be approached with some caution. Many of the earlier estimates were little more than guesses, based on observations made from the deck of a ship or on information gathered from visits to one or two coastal villages. Even the first missionary estimates were liable to owe more to guesswork than to careful counting. But by the 1860s, after the missionaries had made thorough tours of the islands, their estimates can perhaps be accredited with some degree of accuracy if only because the islands are small, the villages were readily accessible, and the populations were only a few thousand. From the 1860s, French officials and European visitors confidently published population figures, but these were based, almost without exception, on mission sources. The first figures known to be reasonably accurate came from the censuses of the 1860s and 1870s, undertaken by the missionaries on instructions from the French administration. Then, from the turn of the century, censuses were taken every five years with the aid of the missionaries and with increasing participation by both resident and visiting French officials. Until the twentieth century, census-taking usually involved a head count only, with very few attempts made to ascertain carefully the age and sex structure, or the fertility rate of the populations.

William Nihill, in 1852, was the first European to attempt to count the Mare population: 'I want first to get a thorough knowledge of the people and their country and to this end I write down the names of all the people at every village I visit, which they tell me very willingly.' He painstakingly collected some 4,200 names in the north and west and thought that the total population amounted to 6-7,000. But he admitted the difficulties of his method:

Colonial Church Chronicle, 6(1852-1853), 428.
in the "census" then, I have to fight hard for the old women, who are perpetually dropping out of the list, by people forgetting to mention them. The author of a long line comes at the end of her descendants, if she is fortunate enough to be mentioned at all, but since I have found this out, I make a point of asking "Is his mother living?" before I put a man's name down, and I almost fancy I have gained the hearts of the grayhaired old dames, for they come and shake hands with me when I return from a visit to other places, & say they have been thinking of me & fearing I should get tired.

Nihill's figure of 4,200 was most likely a considerable exaggeration. His technique of asking those he met not only for their names but for the names of people they knew, probably led to duplication and the listing of names of deceased relatives and friends. Some of the names he dutifully copied down may even have been words for gods, leaves, or shells, for he encouraged the islanders to bring him such objects which he noted in his books. As the Maroons grew accustomed to seeing Nihill write down everything he was told or shown, they might have given him words and names simply to please him and themselves, for they enjoyed having their statements written down and read back. Furthermore, Nihill had not, at this stage, travelled widely around Mare so that his overall estimate was based largely on unreliable hearsay. When Jones arrived a short time later, he reported the population at about 8,000, though he was not likely influenced by Nihill's account, for after he had visited the other areas of Mare, he modified his estimate to 5,000. 4

Yestad scanned the coastline from his ship in 1858, thought there were 3,500 Maroons, 5 and such a guess can probably be safely ignored. In 1860, the LMS missionaries counted 4,300 islanders, and this figure was copied from the Samoan Reporter by Jones in 1860, de Rochas

---

2 Nihill to Papa, 1 August 1852, W. Nihill Papers, MS. 720, Hocken Library.
3 Nihill to Papa, 1 August 1852, W. Nihill Papers, MS. 720, Hocken Library.
4 Jones to LMS, 20 June 1855, SSL, LMS; Jones in South Australian Register, 8 March 1888, Jones newscuttings, ML.
5 Yestad to Min., 23 April 1858, G 1856-1862, carton 42, ARGL.
6 Samoan Reporter, March 1860.
In 1858, Rougeyron thought there were 6,000, Testard 5,000, and in 1860, Bertrand suggested 4,600, while the Protestant missionaries pleaded for 7,000. In the early 1860s, administrators and visitors reported 5,000 or 7,000 depending on whether the source of their information was Catholic or Protestant. The French administration instructed the missionaries to make a careful count of the people in 1860. Each village was visited and after weeks of hard work, they reported the population was 5,748—a figure which is a pleasing compromise of the varying estimates of the early 1860s. Until 1875, this census was quoted time and time again, though the total was usually rounded off to read 6,000. The census of 1875 involved more than the counting of heads—the name of everyone on Lifou was meticulously copied down by the missionaries, who reported there were 6,294 Lifuans. The 1880 census put the number at 6,576, which dropped to 5,488 in 1901. By 1906 the population had risen to 5,659, and to 6,220 in 1910.

Although Uvea is small and the population considerably less than Mare or Lifou, the earliest population counts were conflicting. In 1842, Cheyne thought there were about 4,000 Uveans, but added that it was 'difficult to obtain correct information'. Bishop

---

18 Rougeyron to Poupinel, April 1858, VMA.
19 Testard to Min., 23 April 1858, CG 1856-1862, carton 42, AGQ.
20 Bertrand to Poupinel, 1 June 1860, VMA.
21 Samoan Reporter, March 1860.
22 7,000 was given by Jouan, 'Notes sur les Iles Loyalty', Auckland Public Library; and Guillain to Min., 5 July 1864, Rapports Politiques 1864-1866, carton 85, ANOM.
23 Census, September 1866, in Sleigh Papers, SSO, Box 1, LMS.
24 e.g. Fabvre to Germain, 11 August 1875, IV ONC, APH; Rapport, 18 November 1869, N.C. Rapports I, III ONC, APH.
25 Sleigh to LMS, 21 December 1875; and Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS.
26 Creagh, 10 year report, 25 December 1880, SSL, LMS.
30 Cheyne, Trading Voyages, 132.
in 1849, tried to gather information from the few people he met and he estimated the population at about 1,500. When the Catholic missionaries arrived in 1857, they thought there were 2,500 Uveans, and throughout the earlier part of the 1860s both the Catholic missionaries and Ella calculated that the population was somewhere between 2,500 and 3,000. Ella made a careful village by village survey of the southern half of Uvea in 1869 and counted 1,526 people. The Catholic mission reported that the population in the north amounted to 900, making a total of 2,426. Ella's estimate of 3,000 in 1882 was perhaps over-optimistic. The census of 1901, 1906, and 1911 gave 1,884, 2,002, and 2,028 respectively.

It is impossible to do little more than give a rough estimation, so did the early Europeans, of the total population at the time of European contact: possibly it was somewhere in the range of 10,000. From the 1850s, the missionaries, who knew more about the Loyalty Islanders than any other Europeans, had few doubts that the populations were numerically in a satisfactory state. The LHS reported in 1861 that in 'the Loyalty Group, where missionaries and teachers are at work, there is no great or marked diminution' of

31 Erskine, 346.
32 Foinzy to Fauvre, 11 May 1857; and Bernard to ?, 29 June 1858, IV OCN, APH.
33 Ella to his wife, 9 December 1864, Ella Correspondence 3, A204, ML; Rapport, 4 December 1862, N.C. Rapports, III OCN, APH; Bernard, 'L'Île d'Uvéa', Moniteur, 28 April 1861.
34 Ella to Guillanton, 8 May 1869, Ella Letterbook 1864-1876, A204, ML.
35 Rougeryon, Rapport 1870, N.C. Rapports I, III OCN, APH.
36 Hadfield to LHS, 26 April 1882, SSL, LMS.
37 Le Boucher to Min., 29 October 1885, CC 1885, carton 83, A200.
38 Bulletin du Commerce, 24 October 1931; L'Océanie Française, September 1911.
39 This figure is tentative and given with full realization of the limitations of early European estimates. See Norma Neathur, 'The Demography of Primitive Populations', Science, 167 (February 1970), 1097-1101.
Throughout the 1860s, extant mission reports of births and deaths suggest that, although numbers died in epidemics, the number of births was still far higher than the number of deaths. Even on Uvea, which seem to have suffered most from the epidemics of the early 1860s, Protestant missionaries expressed confidence that there would be no serious long-term depopulation. In spite of the overall decline in the three populations in the latter part of the nineteenth century, most contemporary observers stressed the relative stability of the populations and argued that the declines were mainly a result of the hundreds of islanders who went to Australia, and then to New Caledonia.

The graphs of the population figures from the 1860s through to the 1950s show a population that was basically stable, provided the census reports are accepted as reasonably accurate. Because of the age-structure of a population, demographic trends must necessarily be long term and seen over several generations. To suggest that there was 'depopulation' in the Loyalty Islands is misleading if depopulation is defined as a situation where death
year consistently exceed birth rates. The low points in the
graphs may well be recording periods when either the death rate
reversed and was higher than the birth rate, or when the birth rate
remained relatively stable death rate. The latter possibility
could have been the case. That is, periods of apparent numerical
decline, such as 1870 to 1880 on Mare, or 1880 to 1900 on Lifu may
have been partly the result of depleted cohorts of women reaching
child-bearing age. For example, the scarlet fever epidemic of the
clly 1860s may well have killed off significant numbers of young
females, such that when these females should normally have reached
child-bearing age, from about fifteen years onwards, the birth rate
would have been lowered, until the next cohort of women, unaffected
by this epidemic, started reproducing. The apparently sharp
increases in the populations after low points in the graphs are
recorded in the 1860s, and about 1901, and 1921, probably indicate
that cohorts born after an age-selective epidemic were moving
through their child-bearing age.

The fluctuations in the graphs suggest that the death rate
did not constantly exceed the birth rate. Furthermore, the very
considerable mobility of the populations outside the islands must
also be taken into consideration and apparent numerical declines
in population for particular periods may well have been largely due
to emigration, as contemporary observers suggested. The fluctuations
in the graphs for the ninety year period are probably indicative of
emigration, and of several depleted or weakened cohorts of women
tooking their way through the age structures of the populations.

No models of the nineteenth century populations of the
three islands can be constructed because of lack of information in
the census returns. There is, however, nothing to suggest that age
and sex structures were permanently distorted by continuous age-
selective mortality or anything else. In those counts where
Europeans did distinguish between males and females, there was

I am grateful to Norma McArthur for comments on these points.
In his 1894 article 'Les ethnies et les disparitions', Augustin Bernard noted that the overall population of New Caledonia was decreasing but the situation in the Loyalty Islands, where there lives an elite race... the population is stationary. The situation in New Caledonia has justified such comments. From a population of 27-30,000 in 1877, there were only 16,290 New Caledonians in 1906. The causes for such a catastrophic decline were allegedly epidemics, alcoholism, brutal suppression of revolts by French soldiers and, perhaps more importantly, loss of land, fragmentation and isolation of tribal remnants on reserves with consequent socio-economic and psychological disruption. The result was a high death rate and an extremely low birth rate because of abortions and sterility.

The effects of European contact on Pacific island societies cannot be measured simply in terms of the increases or decreases in their populations, though there is often some casual relationship, no matter how indirect, between European influences and demographic developments. The fact that the populations of the Loyalty Islands remained almost stable while those of New Caledonia such a short distance away fell dramatically is consistent with one of the underlying contentions of this study: although European contact with the Loyalty Islanders was extensive and constant, the Islanders were spared the drastic socio-economic upheavals that other Pacific Islanders were forced to endure.
Conclusion

The Loyalty Islanders' responses to Europeans from the 1840s to the 1870s are noteworthy in several respects. Most of the islanders' attitudes and policies towards these newcomers were defined very early in the contact period and, significantly, remained consistent during the rest of the century. There was no time when there was a major rethinking of their relationships with Europeans generally, and no periods of rejection of them or their ways. Rather there was a constant process of selective acceptance, adaptation, and exploitation of European ideas, activities, and material culture. The religious and national differences among the Europeans, for example, were immediately and continuously applied by the more mature island leaders to their own local politics. The various social and economic opportunities offered by Europeans were also exploited eagerly. The islanders immediately began to travel on European vessels and work in various parts of the Pacific. They were constant visitors to Australia from the 1840s to the 1870s when they turned from working on Queensland sugar cane plantations to New Caledonian mines. And they provided crews for almost every kind of trading vessel operating in and beyond New Caledonian waters throughout the entire period. Trading relations with Europeans were defined early, though the commodities and techniques of exchange varied throughout the century, the consistent feature of the trade was the understanding of the requirements of all those concerned, to their mutual advantage. The same pattern can be seen in the islanders' acceptance of Europeans who wished to settle amongst them. On all the islands, particularly Lifu, the Loyalty Islanders were renowned for their hospitality towards strangers. European resident traders were accommodated and either partially or fully integrated into island society in the 1860s just as castaways and beachcombers were in the 1870s. The same response can also be found in the islanders' attitudes towards and participation in the external requirements of Christianity. The populations were 'Christianized' with remarkable facility. Missionaries were urged to settle on the islands by the (albeit for a variety of reasons) rather than having to struggle for years to gain footholds and win converts. And the
You are saying on them, and were content to declare them 'Native Reserves'.

Loyalty Islanders' way of life, therefore, was not threatened as on the
New Caledonian mainland where large numbers of inhabitants lost their
land. Europeans, were resettled in areas not traditionally their
and had their tribal groupings fragmented by the French
administration. Whatever resentments many Loyalty Islanders may
have felt towards the French government, these were never expressed
in open rebellion as in New Caledonia in the nineteenth and early
twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the Loyalty Islands populations
were relatively small and were controlled by their own 'nobles' and
chiefs, and, for the size of the populations, a comparatively large
corner of missionaries. Therefore, changes and developments were
often organized by local leaders, frequently in association with
Europeans, and penetrated down through the social structure of the
various communities. Although the leaders may have been challenged
by others wishing to take their place, the nature and structure of
their authority was not in itself challenged. Also this authority,
and the social organization generally, had always been flexible
enough to accommodate outsiders and new ideas, usually to its
advantage. Overall, there was an absence of challenge to the social
order, and it is possibly of some significance that cargo cults and
other 'activistic' movements, so common elsewhere in the south-west
Pacific, never appeared on the Loyalty Islands.

Loyalty Islands history is characterized by a balance
between continuity and change. Culture contacts in the nineteenth
century should be seen in the context of the islanders' pre-contact
history. To begin this study of culture contacts in 1841 is in
some respects artificial for the Europeans were by no means the
first strangers to land on the islands, bringing new ideas and
techniques, and contributing to socio-political and economic changes.
At the time of European contact, Loyalty Islands affairs were already
shaped by immigration, warfare, and a continual rise and fall and
alignment of chiefdoms. Many aspects of the European arrival and
consequences for the island societies had, therefore, striking
contact precedents. It is likely that archaeological and other
studies which can add to our knowledge of the islanders' pre-
contact history will contribute significantly to a deeper under-
standing of the islanders' responses to Europeans in the nineteenth
century.
APPENDICES: SOME PROTAGONISTS
b. Si Medu (2 factions)

- Waitosone
  - (Ally of Si Gureschaba. Requested Marists when at Isle of Pines. Received Marists on March 1866. Went to Isle of Pines with Catholics 1870, did not return with them in 1875)

- Andre (Kawawa)
  - (T ook over chieftainship 1875. Continued to support Marists)

- Waïtheene
  - (Ally of Si Gurewoc. Claimed chieftainship. Killed by Waitosone's faction 1864 or 1865)

- Cegowene
  - (Claimed to be heir. Lali his regent)

- Lali
  - (Uncle of Cegowene. Acted as his regent. Supported LHS. Exiled to Cochin-China 1880. Died in exile)

Today the Si Medu region is divided into two administrative districts - Eni and Medu

More: missionaries. (Years on Mare. Visits away from Mare are not recorded)

- John Jones: 1854-1867; 1870-1887 (expelled).
- Stephen Creagh: 1854-1871.

[Christian Mission:]
- Prosper Gouxon: 1866.
- Francois Beaulieu: 1866-1870 (went to the Isle of Pines with Mare Catholics); 1873-1909; 1911-1926 (died).
- Jerome Guitta: 1866-1870; 1875-1876.
- Lubin Caide: 1876-1881.
- Auguste Boillot: 1882-1895 (died).

[Kalondaian Mission:]
- William Nihill: 1852; 1853-1854 (died).

[Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris:]
- Philadelphe Delord: 1898-1910.

Paid by the French administration:
- Jean-Pierre Cru: 1883-1890.
3 Life: great chiefs and others.

a. Wct: Gwiet

Received first Europeans 1842.
One of his sons killed by Cheyne's cannon-fire. Died early 1850s.

Ukeneso

Took over chieftainship when his father died. His authority was challenged by Wainya, chief of Chepenehe, who was supported by the LMS. Ukeneso requested Marist missionaries who arrived 1858. Baptized by them 1867. Died 1889.

line to present-day chief (Catholic)

b. Gaitcha: Zeula (Sayhwe)

Received first Europeans 1842. Died 1856 or 1857.

Zeula

Heir to chieftainship. He was about nine years of age when the Marists arrived 1858, and his regent and supporters followed them. Some of his people, however, supported the LMS. Baptized by Marists 1878.

line to present-day chief (Catholic)

c. Losi: Bula

Received first Europeans 1842. Supported LMS teachers. Died 1846.

Bula

Took over chieftainship 1849 after civil war in Losi 1847-1849. John Cho, his brother or brother-in-law, acted as regent in the 1850s. Bula and Cho supported LMS. Bula died 1876.

line to present-day chief (Protestant)
5. Ohwen: great chiefs and others.

a. Ohwen: Bazit
   - Met first Europeans 1842.
   - Accepted Marists 1857. Died 1869.
   - Took over chieftainship on his father's death. Continued to support Marists.

   line to present-day chief (Catholic)

Bazit

   line to present-day chief (Catholic)

Nekelo
   - Took over chieftainship on his father's death. Continued to support Marists.

   line to present-day chief (Catholic)

Nekelo

   line to present-day chief (Catholic)

Beka
   - Tacitly supported Marists 1857-1862. In 1862 rebelled against Bazit's laws drawn up in conjunction with Marist priests. His village at Onyat destroyed and he and his people driven to Wadrilla. People returned at end of the century.

   line to present-day chief (Catholic)

Owa
   - Supported Marists from 1857.

   line to present-day chief (Catholic)
b. Fayawe or Iai: Descendant of migrants from Kone, New Caledonia. Received first Europeans 1842. Died 1848 or 1849.

Johanie Whenegay

Aged about 16 in 1842. Took over chieftainship on his father's death. Asked for LMS teacher who arrived 1856. Killed 1856 to avenge Nekelo's death the same year.

Whenegay

Aged 2 in 1865. Henry Burns (sandalwood trader) acted as regent for a short time. Rogency taken over by Ombalu who supported LMS teachers. After French expedition to Lifou 1864, Ombalu transferred his allegiance to the Marists, leading to a schism in Fayawe. Ombalu imprisoned by French 1873 and Whenegay declared great chief. He tried to support neither mission, but failed. Asked French to release Ombalu. Ombalu returned and was effective ruler while Whenegay had only nominal authority.

line to present-day chief (Protestant)

c. Muli: Dumai Wallisian descent. Great chief of Muli. Received first Europeans 1840s. Supported the Marists from 1858. Died 1867.

Dumai Took over chieftainship on his father's death. Supported the Marists.

line to present-day chief (Catholic)

Pumali Descendant of Tongans who arrived with Wallisian migration. Paid tribute to Dumai and supported the Marists 1858-1864. In 1864 he abandoned allegiance to Dumai and supported the LMS. Died 1867 (before Dumai).

Pumali On his father's death, changed the clan allegiance back to the Marists.

line has since died out
b. French administrators.

Governors of New Caledonia:

On annexation in 1853, New Caledonia was under the control of Commandants des Etablissements français de l'Océanie until 1860.

- Auguste Fabvier Despointes, 1853
- Louis Tardy de Montravel, 1854
- Joseph-Fidèle Eugène du Bouzet, 1855-1858

During du Bouzet's absences, control was by Commandants particuliers:

- Jules Testard
- Edouard Le Bris
- Jean Durand
- Roussel
- Jean Maisot, 1859-1860

In 1860 New Caledonia was declared a colony distinct from other French possessions in the Pacific, with its own governor.

- Jean Durand, 1860-1862
- Charles Guillain, 1862-1870
- Eugène Gaultier de la Richerie, 1870-1874
- Léopold de Pritzbour, 1875-1878
- Jean Olry, 1878-1880
- Amédée Courbet, 1880-1882
- Léopold Pailu de la Barrière, 1882-1884
- Le Boucher, 1884-1886
- Roux, 1886-1888
- Noel Pardon, 1889-1891

b. French officials resident on the Loyalty Islands:

- Lifou.
  - Commandants:
    - Eugène Bourgey
    - Jules Testard (not Jules Testard)
    - Treve

- May-June 1864
- June-July 1864
- July 1864 -
- January 1865
Guillanton
Pallières

1865--1869
1869--1870

Residents:
Caillet
Boucher
Bordereaux
Luguière
Dollon

1870-1874 or 1875
1875-1878
1878-1880

In the 1890s Dollon was elected representative of the Loyalty Islands in the Noumean 'conseil général'.

Mare.
Resident:
Dollon

'Sous-
Resident':
Tournois

1880-1883
1883-1886?

After 1880 on Lifu and 1886 on Mare, information on resident officials is sparse and unreliable. There was no resident official on Uvea in the nineteenth century.
PRIMARY SOURCES

A. MANUSCRIPT

Official records

Australia:

Queensland State Archives

Official letters to the Governor of Queensland, Gov/A3, 527-731; Gov/A7, 247; Gov/A8, 812-814.

France:

Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères

1 Mémoires et Documents. Océanie, IV, Nouvelle-Calédonie, Iles Loyalty 1862-1865.

2 Mémoires et Documents. Océanie, VIII, Iles Loyalty 1885-1891.

Archives Nationales, section Marine

Sub-series D/A, Campagnes. Correspondence of officers commanding naval vessels. Cartons for 1853 to 1890 were examined. Those containing relevant information are: 797, 1036, 1604.

Archives Nationales, section Outre-Mer

The New Caledonian section has been described elsewhere.¹

The cartons containing relevant information on the Loyalty Islands are:

38. Affaires de Maré 1886.
42. Correspondance générale 1856-1862.
85. Iles Loyalty: Rapports Politiques 1864-1866; Correspondance générale 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868-1891, 1894-1895.
86. Iles Loyalty: Correspondance générale 1854-1864, 1865-1866, 1867-1871, 1877-1884.

Bibliothèque Nationale

Nouvelles acquisitions, 9448, Océanie et îles australes: Nouvelle-Calédonie.

United Kingdom: (Public Record Office. Consulted on microfilm, ANL)

Admiralty

Admiralty 1. Secretaries' In-Letters 1840-1900. The volumes to 1870 were consulted. Relevant letters and reports are: 5506, Cap. E12, Cap. E60, Cap. E61.

Colonial Office

In-letters, New South Wales series, Admiralty section, CO 201/386. (This file concerns an inquiry into the activities of Boyd's Velocity and Porvenir at the Loyalty Islands, 1847).

Foreign Office

1 France. General correspondence, FO 27, 1866-1890. Those files specifically relating to the Loyalty Islands are: FO 27/1537, 1554, 1555, 1567, 1592, 1670, 1693, 1694, 1701, 1798, 1801, 2063, 2064, 2090, 2098, 2108, 2146, 2160, 2161, 2190, 2233, 2244, 2265, 2282, 2297, 2356, 2992.


Official missionary records


1 Two large bundles of uncatalogued documents including Marist missionary letters and reports, and French administration regulations, letters, and reports, concerning the Loyalty Islands, and especially Uvea and Mare.

2 BERNARD, Jean, 'Notices Historiques sur l'île Ouvéa et les îles Beauprés', [c.1873], MS.

3 PADURE, Jean-Baptiste, 'Notices Historiques sur Lifou', n.d., MS. and TS.
Personal Files. Files of all the Marist missionaries on the Loyalty Islands were consulted.

[Uncatalogued]

Pionnier, 'Les origines d'Ouvéa', n.d., TS.

London Missionary Society Archives, London. (Consulted on microfilm ANL)

South Seas Journals, 1840-1866.
South Seas Letters, 1854-1900.
South Seas Odds, Box 1, James Sleigh Papers; letters from the LMS to Loyalty Island missionaries.
Box 11, miscellaneous documents on the finances of the Loyalty Island mission.
Box 12, Loyalty Island minutes, 1857-1877, 1878-1887; accounts for the Mare mission, 1858-1871.

South Seas Personal,

Box 1, W. Wyatt Gill, Notebook (for documents on the expulsion of the Polynesian teachers).

South Seas Reports, 1866-1900.

Villa Maria Archives. Marist Fathers. Archives of the Province of Oceania, Sydney. (These documents were consulted in 1970. They have since been transferred to Suva).

Nouvelle-Calédonie: Correspondance, 1858, 1860-1869.

Private collection of Father M.J. Dubois

Father Dubois spent some thirty years as a missionary at La Roche on Mare. On his return to Paris, he took with him the nineteenth century papers from the mission station, so protecting them from the ravages of time and the periodic and enthusiastic burning of accumulated rubbish (most Marist archival material on Lifu and Uvea has long since been destroyed). The extensive collection fills a trunk and consists of hundreds of invaluable notes, letters, reports, journals, diaries, and local histories written by the Marist missionaries, particularly Beaulieu. There are also many similar items written by French officials. The collection is arranged chronologically.
Unpublished notes, private papers, journals, etc. 
(all are original MSS. unless otherwise stated)


CHEYNE, Andrew, Log of the Brig Naiaed, extracts in the possession of Dorothy Shineberg.

ELLA, Samuel, collection of private papers, Mitchell Library:
  Diary 1864-1867, B249.
  Diary 1868-1878, B250.
  Diary 1867-1879, B251.
  Correspondence 3, 1863-1864, A204.
  Correspondence 6, 1865-1867, A207.
  Correspondence 5, 1867-1869, A206.
  Correspondence 7, 1870-1872, A208.
  Correspondence 4, 1873-1874, A205.
  Correspondence 12, 1847-1878, [sic] A213.
  Correspondence 11, various dates, A212.
  Correspondence 8, various dates, A209. (N.B. volume number and HL number for this correspondence).

GILL, W. Wyatt, 'Diary of a tour of the Gilbert, Ellice, Union and Loyalty Islands in the John Williams... 1872', B1444, Mitchell Library.

JONES, John, collection of private papers, Mitchell Library:
  Mission Papers 1845-1876, A399.
  Mission Papers 1877-1885, A400.
  Mission Papers 1886-1908, A401.
  Note Book 1867-1877, A395.
  'Nengone Habits, tales, traditions', 1863, A396.
  'Nengone Customs, Traditions and Anecdotes', n.d., A398.
  Newsclippings, 1 box.

JOUAN, Henri, 'Notes sur les Isles Loyalty', 1860, Auckland Public Library.


MARISY MISSION, baptismal register, Nathalo, Lifu, Loyalty Islands.
Australia:

Queensland: Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly:


'South Sea Islanders in Queensland', III, 1876, 49.

'South Sea Islanders', II, 1878, 39.

Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into Certain Alleged Cases of Kidnapping of Natives of the Loyalty Islands, etc., Together with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, Sydney, 1869 (in Royal Navy-Australia Station Correspondence. Vol. 21: Kidnapping, 1869-1875, microfilm, ANL).

United Kingdom:

Great Britain: Parliamentary Papers:

'Queensland (South Sea Islanders)'; and 'South Sea Islanders (Deportation)', 43(1868-1869), 1005-1168.

'South Sea Islanders (Queensland)', 48(1871), 155-551.

'Queensland (Polynesian Labourers)'; and 'South Sea Islands', 50(1873), 39-314.

'Correspondence Respecting the Expulsion of the Rev. J. Jones from Maré, one of the Loyalty Islands, by the French Authorities', 109(1888), 75-139.

Collections of documents
(read for the years indicated)

Annales des Missions d'Océanie, 1855-1899.
Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 1857-1900.
Colonial Church Chronicle, 1852-1854.
Journal des Missions Évangéliques, 1890-1900.
Missions Catholiques, 1868-1890.
Newspapers, journals, reports

Annuaire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et dépendances pour l'année 1890, Noumea, 1890.


Bulletin officiel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1864-1890.

Messager des Loyalty, (nos. 2, 3, 5, 10) 1893-1894.

Moniteur impérial de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et dépendances, 1859-1880. (Known as Moniteur de la Nouvelle-Calédonie after 1861).

Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle, 1840-1870.

New Zealand Church Almanac, 1852.

Océanie Francaise, September 1911, January-February 1922.


Samoaan Reporter, 1845-1862.

Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 23 March 1844, 12 July 1851. (See also Simpson in primary books and articles).

Sydney Gazette, 24 May 1842.

Sydney Herald, 24, 25, 26 May 1842.

Sydney Morning Herald, 11 August 1842, 20 March 1844, 21, 27 September 1864.

Books and articles


ANDERSON, J.H., Notes of Travel in Pijj and New Caledonia with some remarks on South Sea Islanders and their Language, London, 1880.


BALANSA, B., La Nouvelle-Calédonie et ses dépendances, Paris, 1873.

ELLA, Samuel, 'The Action of the French towards the Protestant Mission at the Loyalty Islands', Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 7 (March 1890), 3-16.

ERKINE, John Elphinstone, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific including the Tuamotus and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Race, in H.M. Royal Yacht Minerva, London, 1857.

GACHIER, Matthieu, étude ethnologique sur la Religion des Néo-Calédoniens, Saint-Louis, 1905.


GILL, William, Selections from the Autobiography of the Rev. William Gill..., Being chiefly a Record of his Life as a Missionary in the South Sea Islands, London, 1880.

CLAIRAVEY, Gustave, 'Ethnographie des Insulaires de Kunéa (Ile des Pins)', Revue d'Etnographie, 8 (1887), 336-342.


'Les îles Loyalty', Revue Maritime et Coloniale, 1 (1861), 363-375.
[JOUX, GRIGNOLT, BUTALIUS, etc.], 'Les Îles Loyalty', Annales Hydrocynthiques, 29(1864), 207-222.


LAMBERT, Pierre, Histoire et Superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens, Noumea, 1900.

LEHIRE, Charles, La Colonisation Française en Nouvelle-Calédonie et dépendances, Paris, [1900].


J.M. [MAGILLIVRAY, John], 'A Look in at Lifu', Empire, 11 April 1864.

[MARIST MISSION], Rapport sur les Superstitions Calédoniennes, Noumea, 1891.

[HAYEZ, Claude], Auguste Marcou, Capitaine de Frégate, Commandant de l'Arche d'Alliance, II, Paris, n.d.

[MELANESEAN MISSION], Two Letters and Melanesian Mission Reports etc, a collection of printed material relating to the Melanesian Mission, Mitchell Library.

MIALAET, Théophile, 'Notes sur les Maladies cutanées à Maré, Îles Loyalty', Archives de Médecine Navale et Coloniale, 56 (1891), 59-63.


MURREY, A. H., Missions in Western Polynesia: being Historical Sketches of these Missions from their Commencement in 1839 to the Present Time, London, 1863.


PATOUILLET, Jules, Trois Ans en Nouvelle-Caledonie, Paris, 1873.

PIGEARD, Charles, Voyage dans l'Océanie Centrale sur la Corvette Française le Bucéphale, Paris, 1846.


'Géographique mythique et traditionnelle de Maré', thèse de doctorat d'état, [Sorbonne, n.d.].

'Les Eletok de Maré d'après la tradition. Etude d'ethnographie', thèse de doctorat de 3e cycle, [Sorbonne, 1971].


Books and articles


BROU, Bernard, Mémonto d'histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Noumea, 1970.

BURNET, F. Macfarlane, Natural History of Infectious Disease, Cambridge, 1953.


CANE, E., 'Infiltration des Polynesiens dans les îles voisines de la Nouvelle-Calédonie', Études Mélanésiennes, 3(January 1948), 14-17.


NAISILINE, Henri, 'Notes sur l'organisation sociale du district de Nace', Etudes Mélanésiennes, 6(September 1952), 36-44.


O'REILLY, Patrick, 'Deux Sites Fortifiés du district de la Roche dans l'Île de Maré (Îles Loyauté)', Journal de la Société des Océanistes, 6(December 1950), 87-93.


PIRIE, Peter, 'The effects of treponematosis and gonorrhoea on the populations of the Pacific Islands', Human Biology in Oceania, 1(February 1972), 187-206.


SOCIETE DES MISSIONS EVANGELIQUES DE PARIS, Un Siège d'Evangile A Ouvéa 1856-1956, Noumea, [1956].


WRIGHT, Harrison M., New Zealand 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact, Massachusetts, 1959.


Addendum:

TRYON, D.T., and DUBOIS, M.J., Nengone Dictionary. Part II English-Nengone, Pacific Linguistics, Series C, no. 23, Canberra, 1971. In spite of the official date of publication, this dictionary was not available until March 1973 - too late, unfortunately, to have been used for this thesis.


SOCIETE DES MISSIONS EVANGELIQUES DE PARIS, Un Siècle d'Envoi de Pasteur à Ouvea 1856-1956, Noumea, [1956].


HEDGWOOD, Camilla H., 'Some aspects of warfare in Melanesia', Oceania, 1(1930-1931), 5-33.

WRIGHT, Harrison M., New Zealand 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact, Massachusetts, 1959.


Addendum:

TRYON, D.T., and DUBOIS, M.J., Nengone Dictionary. Part II English-Nengone, Pacific Linguistics, Series C, no. 23, Canberra, 1971. In spite of the official date of publication, this dictionary was not available until March 1973 - too late, unfortunately, to have been used for this thesis.